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Booklet of Short Abstracts

Invited Speaker 1   **2-1-3 Orders in Dutch Verb Clusters**
Ad Neeleman
UCL

In this talk I will present joint work with Peter Ackema (University of Edinburgh) on verb clusters like the one in (1a), which occur alongside examples like (1b).

(1)   a. Mooi   om dit concert **te kunnen hebben meemaken**!
           beautiful for this concert to can   have   experience
           'Great to have been able to experience this concert!'
     b. Mooi   om dit concert   **te hebben kunnen meemaken**!
           beautiful for this concert to have   can   experience

The remarkable thing about clusters of this type is that they display 2-1-3 order. Thus, the example in (1a) expresses, like (1b), that is great to have been able to experience this concert, not that it is great to be able to have experienced this concert (which hardly seems coherent), nor that it great that there is a possibility that the speaker has experienced this concert. These semantic considerations suggests that the cluster cannot be analyzed as having 1-2-3 order, a conclusion confirmed by two further observations. (i) In finite examples, the modal cannot undergo verb-second (see (2b)). This is expected if the modal is verb 2. (ii) The structure requires IPP. Verb 3 cannot show up as a participial (see (2c)), and neither can the modal (see (2d)), suggesting that the auxiliary does not select verb 3, but rather the combination of verb 3 and the modal.

(2)   a. Mooi   dat we dit concert   **kunnen hebben meemaken**!
           beautiful that we this concert can   have   experience
           'Great that we have been able to experience this concert!'
     b. *Gelukkig **kunnen** we dit   concert **hebben meemaken**.
           happily   can   we this concert have   experience
     c. *Mooi   dat we dit   concert **kunnen hebben meegemaakt**!
           beautiful that we this   concert can   have   experience.PPLE
     d. *Mooi   dat we dit concert **gekund hebben meemaken**!
           beautiful that we this concert can.PPLE have   experience

2-1-3 orders are not normally allowed in Dutch and are highly unusual crosslinguistically (see Abels 2016 and Wurmbrand 2017). As Wurmbrand puts it "the distribution of the 2-1-3 order is very restricted, and […] it is barely found with the core verb cluster elements (modals and auxiliaries) […]". Yet, the structure is grammatical in our Dutch and robustly attested on Google.
      The structure has several other remarkable features. (i) verb 1 must be *hebben* 'have'. (ii) Neither verb 1 nor verb 2 can be in focus. (iii) Verb 1 must surface as an infinitive. (iv) Verb 2 must surface as an infinitive or a plural present-tense finite verb (which is identical in form to the infinitive), or it must remain uninflected (which is the form that modals obligatorily assume in the first- and third-person singular present tense and optionally in the second-person singular present tense). I will argue that at least some of the peculiarities of examples like (1) can be understood if the 2-1-3 order is derived by a post- syntactic inversion rule, thus preserving the insight in Abels 2016 that core syntactic mechanisms are unable to generate 2-1-3 clusters.

Session 1A

Silent nouns in the syntax of special uses of personal proper names
Marcel den Dikken & Éva Dékány

We analyze DPs in which a personal proper name refers to a work of art by the person named (*There's Bach on the program*). We suggest that these structures are projected from a silent noun representing the work of art, standing in a predicative relationship with the proper name (its Agent). The predication is mediated by a functional head, a RELATOR. This RELATOR can take the Agent either as its specifier (canonical predication) or as its complement (reverse predication).

Canonical predication with silent WORK, [RP *Name* [R′ RELATOR [WORK]]], captures the use of the definite article with these uses of proper names. While *we start with* the *Brahms* is grammatical in English, the Dutch equivalent resists the article: *we beginnen met (*de) Brahms.* This patterns with the fact that in Dutch, spelling out abstract WORK by the appropriate designator for Brahms's art form is fine when the containing NP is article-less but not in the presence of an article: *(*de) Brahms muziek.* This is because DP-internal juxtaposition of two NPs without an overt RELATOR but with an outer determiner is generally impossible in Dutch (*die idioot* *(*van een*) *dokter*).

The outer article is obligatory under attributive modification of the abstract noun (English *a/the new Brahms,* Dutch *een/de nieuwe Brahms*). Here a silent count noun PIECE heads the complex noun phrase (cf. *a/the new piece by Brahms*), licensed by the attributive adjective, which requires a local relation between ADJ and PIECE. This obtains in reverse predication only: [*a/the new* PIECE RELATOR=*BY Brahms*].

The restrictions on the definite article do not arise in the visual arts (English *the Vermeers/Rodins*, Dutch *de Vermeers/Rodins*). The silent N has the same value for the mass/count distinction as its overt counterpart; 'literature' and 'music' are mass nouns; 'painting', 'sculpture', and 'film' can be used as count.

Definite articles need not project DP: A more fine-grained NP/DP-language distinction
Hiromune Oda

Based on a number of cross-linguistic generalizations, Bošković (2008, 2012) proposes that languages with definite articles have DP in the nominal domain (i.e., DP-language), while languages without definite articles lack it (i.e., NP-language). For instance, Bošković establishes the generalization that only languages without definite articles may allow adjunct extraction out of a nominal phrase. The gist of Bošković's deduction of this generalization is that DP blocks the extraction in question in languages with definite articles, whereas the extraction is (in principle) possible in article-less languages because DP is absent.

Note that Bošković's NP/DP-language distinction is a two-way cut; whether a language has definite articles or not correlates with whether it has DP or not. Interestingly, however, Talić (2015, 2017) argues for a three-way distinction of NP/DP-languages, showing that affixal article languages (e.g., Bulgarian) pattern with article-less languages in some domains when the definite article is absent. For instance, adjunct extraction out of a nominal phrase mentioned above is allowed only in the absence of the definite article in Bulgarian. Talić thus argues that affixal article languages may lack DP in the absence of the definite article.

Note here that in both Bošković's and Talić's proposals, the presence of a definite article in a given language or a construction correlates with projection of DP. In this study, however, I show that mere presence/absence of a definite article does not straightforwardly correlate with the presence/absence of DP in Italian. I then propose possible options of merger of Italian definite articles in syntax under the Bare Phrase Structure Theory, which capture the otherwise mysterious behavior of this language. In a bigger typological picture, I argue that Italian is a different type of DP-language and that the NP/DP-language distinction needs to be more fine-grained than Bošković's two-way cut or Talić's three-way cut.

Interaction, satisfaction, and (a)symmetric object agreement
András Bárány

This paper argues that the interaction and satisfaction approach to Agree accounts for **symmetric** and **asymmetric agreement** in Bantu and beyond.

Object agreement in Bantu languages varies along several parameters, for example what triggers object agreement (animacy, humanness, information structure) and whether it is symmetric or not. In asymmetric agreement, only the highest object (usually a benefactive or recipient) can control agreement. In symmetric agreement, in contrast, lower objects, e.g. the theme, can control agreement too. Similar patterns are found outside of Bantu as well, e.g. in Tigrinya or Itelmen, where the discourse status of object referents determines which object controls agreement in a ditransitive construction.

I implement an analysis of (a)symmetric agreement building on Amy Rose Deal's interaction/satisfaction framework. On this approach, probes are specified for sets of interaction (INT) and satisfaction (SAT) features. INT features specify which features a probe can agree with (also repeatedly) while SAT features specify which features make a probe stop probing. I propose that **variation in SAT features derives variation in (a)symmetry** and that INT/SAT specifications can capture differential agreement patterns.

For example, sensitivity to information structure is modelled as a TOP value of a feature δ. A probe with the INT set {TOP, φ} can be valued by a topical (TOP) goal with person and number features (φ). If the probe's SAT set is {TOP}, it will stop once it has interacted with a topical goal. This approach can derive **symmetric** agreement with a higher or lower object, depending on which one is topical.

In contrast, in languages with **asymmetric** agreement, a SAT feature set {D} specifies that the probe is satisfied by any DP it interacts with, independently of its other features. This means that the probe cannot probe beyond the highest object it encounters.

The syntax of sluicing-like constructions in English
Jason Overfelt

Although considered to be a canonical wh-fronting language, English has semantico-pragmatically and prosodically distinguished wh-in-situ configurations. This talk investigates understudied Sluicing-Like Constructions in English that arise in the context of certain embedded wh-in-situ configurations. This includes the complement clause of non-factive predicates: *So, Anne invited someone, and you think who ~~she invited~~?*

Standard connectivity diagnostics, selectional restrictions, and island-sensitivity converge on a familiar Move-and-Delete analysis for these constructions. That is, the bare wh-remnant *who* is extracted from elided clausal structure. The salient concern, which makes these Sluicing-Like Constructions as opposed to canonical Sluicing, is that the complement to factive predicates are otherwise obligatorily wh-in-situ environments: *So, Anne invited someone, and you think she invited who?* This fact is seemingly problematic for a standard Move-and-Delete analysis, perhaps suggesting a need for alternatives that do not rely on syntactic movement.

We will see, however, that intricate intervention effects reveal that the bare wh-remnant of SLCs in fact undergoes syntactic movement, contrary to conventional wisdom regarding single wh-in-situ configurations. In line with recent work on multiple wh-questions and multiple Sluicing, this movement is island-sensitive and clause-bounded. These observations motivate an analysis in which the displacement of the bare wh-remnant, contrary to genuine Sluicing, is otherwise covert partial wh-scrambling that is rendered exceptionally overt in the context of ellipsis. This is achieved with a movement-chain pronunciation algorithm whereby pronunciation of a higher, usually unpronounced copy, is licensed in the case that ellipsis marks lower copies as unpronounceable. Finally, we will see that the adopted pronunciation algorithm makes additional correct predictions regarding when and where ellipsis permits exceptional pronunciation of higher copies of movement.

Session 1B

Consequences of Labeling for Morphophonology:
v*P Labeling, Feature Interaction, & Direct-Inverse Systems
Miloje Despić & Michael David Hamilton

In this paper, we discuss a subtype of Problems of Projection (POP; Chomsky, 2015) caused when two phrases merge, i.e., {XP,YP}, since there is no single unique head to determine the label. Originally, Chomsky (2015) proposed 2 possible resolutions: (i) XP undergoes another instance of Merge, leaving only YP as the label, or (ii) labeling under 'shared identity' of XP & YP, e.g., via Agree. Following Miyagawa et al (2019), who proposed that the latter need not involve Agree between XP & YP, we discuss 2 specific instances of {EA,v*P} POPs and propose that they are labeled $\langle \varphi, \varphi \rangle$ as a default without involving 'shared' identity'. As a consequence of this label, we present 2 instances of contextual allomorphy in which the EA φ-feature set can interact with the spellout of v*. First, we reanalyze the person/politeness verbal prefix in Acehnese (Legate, 2012 & 2014) as an instance of the post-syntactic interaction of the EA with a φ-feature-less v* which results in the conditioning of EA's -feature set on v*. Second, we reanalyze theme signs in Algonquian languages (e.g., Oxford 2019) as post-syntactic φ-feature interaction of the EA's φ-feature set with the spell-out of IA's φ-feature set on v*. Following the SMT, this reanalysis is preferable not only because it is a by-product of labeling (i.e., an independently necessary operation), but also because it is simpler than accounts with complex probing, e.g., Cyclic Agree (Bejar & Rezac 2009), or adhoc post-syntactic VI rule, e.g., Multiple Agree (Hiraiwa 2005).

Rethinking Indonesian-type passives: A view from Javanese
Hero Patrianto & Victoria Chen

A subset of Austronesian languages known as the Indonesian-type have long been considered typologically unusual wherein an ergative-aligned object voice construction co-occurs with Indo-European-style passive voice and an accusative-aligned active voice construction. We demonstrate instead that one of these languages—Javanese—is not as typologically rare as previously thought. Previously overlooked aspects of Javanese syntax indicate that the language is best viewed as exhibiting a run-of-the-mill accusative case system wherein the so-called "active vs. object voice alternation" indexes subject vs. nonsubject topicalization. We then present independent evidence that Javanese's so-called "passive construction" is essentially an object voice construction

that contains a third-person subject/initiator, according to which Javanese does not exhibit an Indo-European-type passive. We conclude that Javanese exhibits a reduced Philippine-style voice system where voice alternation is an Ā-phenomenon associated with topicalization and not argument structure alternation, similar to the "voice" system of Tagalog (Shibatani 1988; Richards 2000; Chen 2017), Malagasy (Pearson 2005), and Puyuma (Chen 2017) and the Nilotic language Dinka (van Urk 2015). This new analysis has important broader implications for our understanding of the syntactic typology of voice. Not only does it reveal a new locus of variation within languages traditionally considered to have a "hybrid" voice system where Indo-European-type voice co-occur with Austronesian-type voice, but it also reveals previously unknown variation within a cline of constructions traditionally termed the Indonesian-type passives, many of which have been claimed to be structurally equivalent to Indo-European-type passives (e.g. Indonesian: Aldridge 2008; Acehese: Legate 2012, 2014).

Matching locality domains across modules: A case study from Sinhala
Paula Fenger & Philipp Weisser

The concept of domains has played a key role in different modules of grammar: barriers or phases in the syntax; levels, strata or word-internal phases in the morpho-phonology. It has, however, proven difficult to determine whether or not the domains across these modules are in fact the same. Based on data from Sinhala (Indo-Aryan) we observe a striking correlation between word-internal domains (as diagnosed by the (non-)application of Umlaut) and word-external domains (as diagnosed by the choice of matrix vs embedded negation). Building on this observation and in the spirit of recent developments in the study of the syntax-morphology-phonology mapping, we develop a model that not only explains the general match between locality domains across modules but also proves flexible enough to account for the residual mismatches in cases where the correlation breaks down.

Distinguishing levels of morphological derivations in word-embedding models
Ido Benbaji, Omri Doron & Adele Mortier

In the study of word-formation, morphological processes are divided into two levels of derivation: Level 1 (L1), where derivations may be irregular and non-productive, and level 2 (L2), where they are regular and generally (more) productive. Given two words derived from the same base element, the two-level hypothesis argues that both the semantic and the phonological relation between them depends on the level in which their derivations diverge. While the meaning and form of words that diverge at L2 are predicted to be regularly connected, the connection between words that diverge at L1 is predicted to be looser. We show that word-embedding models are sensitive the L1/L2 distinction. More specifically, we show that previously-suggested morphophonological diagnostics are correlated with properties of a word's semantic representation in those models.

Invited Speaker 2	**Building blocks for idioms: the 'noncanonical' syntax of phi features** Artemis Alexiadou[1] & Elena Anagnostopoulou[2] [1]ZAS/HU & [2]University of Crete/HU

In this talk, we will explore how clitics participate in the creation of idioms and investigate the key role phi-features such as gender and number play in the generation of non-canonical meanings. Our empirical focus will be on Greek idiom formation, which we will compare to Romance.

       We will address the following questions: a) in what kind of constructions do clitics occur, b) what are the predicates they combine with, c) why are feminine and plural neuter privileged in idiom formation, and d) how is idiomatic interpretation related to the syntax of phi features and the syntax of idioms. As we will show, contrary to previous literature on the topic, clitics are i) not always expletive, and ii) feminine and plural (i.e., marked gender and number) clitics make systematic contributions to the meaning of the idiom and the interpretation of the non-fixed part thereof that are related to independent properties they have in the grammar. Finally, we will address the systematic mismatch that arises between a (non-)canonical syntax and idiomatic interpretation, which corresponds to a different decomposition of the VP domain that is part of the idiom.

Session 2A

An event semantics analysis for the bridging effects of verbs of creation
Meghan Lim

A basic observation with regards to limits of noun phrase (NP) extraction is that extraction from a definite NP is typically blocked, while extraction from an indefinite NP is allowed. This is the *definiteness effect*, which is robust but remains subject to some exceptions. One of these exceptions is that when the definite NP is headed by a verb

of creation (VOC), extraction is once again permitted. Despite the revived interest in definiteness effects, the unique status of VOCs in alleviating the island status of definite NPs has been largely overlooked.

This work investigates these bridging effects of VOCs on extraction from definite NPs and suggests a novel, event-semantics proposal that builds on the Single Event Condition (SEC). Firstly, I propose that not all VOCs, but instead a salient, narrower set of VOCs – Verbs of conception (Vcon) – result in bridging effects. A Vcon refers to a verb that denotes the moment its object complement comes into existence, for example *snap* in *snap a picture.* An example of a VOC that is not a Vcon is one that denotes the creation of an iteration of its direct object complement, rather than its conception, such as *print* in *print a picture.* Secondly, I propose that only Vcon can form a single event with its object complement, rather than all VOCs, which crucially fulfils the SEC, allowing for extraction out of a definite NP object complement. To support this proposal, an experiment conducted to investigate the correlation between the ability to extract out of a definite NP and to what degree a verb can be considered a Vcon revealed the two dimensions to be significantly correlated ($p < 0.001$), accounting for 65% of the observed variance (Adjusted $R2=0.653$).

Asserted and Presupposed Gender on Animal Nouns
Nadja Fiebig

In many languages with masculine, feminine and neuter gender, masculine is the unmarked gender among human nouns. Surprisingly, sex- differentiated animal nouns do not follow this pattern in several of these languages. This contrast can be illustrated with the German nouns for 'cat' and 'boss': masculine human nouns like ChefM 'boss' can refer both to the generic category reading and the specific male interpretation in German. The marked feminine form ChefinF is not able to do so, it can only refer to a female boss.

The opposite is true for German animal nouns like KatzeF 'cat': it refers to both the generic category reading and the specific female interpretation, while the masculine form KaterM can only ever refer to a male cat.

In this talk, I extend the empirical knowledge about the phenomenon at hand by providing data from five Afro-Asiatic languages (Amharic, Arbore, Beja, Hausa, and Iraqw) and six Indo-European languages (German, Greek, Latvian, Russian Spanish and Waziri Pashto). I show that in all these languages, feminine, and in some cases neuter forms of animal nouns can emerge as unmarked forms. This is in systematic contrast to human nouns, for which in all of these languages (except for Iraqw) only masculine is unmarked. On the theoretical side, I show that the only existing theoretical account (Spathas and Sudo 2020), although working for Greek, makes wrong predictions for other languages which exhibit the same asymmetry. This point is illustrated by novel data from Spanish. I further propose a modification of the existing account within a n approach to gender in the style of Kramer 2015. This account can account for the systematic asymmetry of human and animal nouns and also correctly predicts the differing behavior of Spanish and Greek animal nouns.

Keeping *fake* simple: a similarity-based theory
Janek Guerrini

Privative adjectives are usually defined via a specific entailment pattern: an *Adj N* is not a *N*. In a way, the challenge posed by privative modification is to account for, e.g., how fake *N*s are related to *N*s without thereby *being N*s. (I) Partee (2010) proposed we meet this challenge by keeping lexical meanings atomic and specifying pragmatic principles that yield privative entailment patterns. (II) Others have chosen to enrich lexical meanings, but specify compositional operations to constrain possible interpretations of *NP*s. Dual Content Semantics (Del Pinal, 2018) has it that *NP*s have a bi-dimensional structure: the E-structure of nouns determines extensions, while the C-structure incorporates the related "core facts", a set of beliefs about the extension organised around different dimensions. (III) Contra Del Pinal, I propose there is no need to move to richer lexical meanings to account for 'fake': a one-dimensional semantics suffices. Contra Partee, I propose the entailment pattern characteristic of 'fake' derives from its meaning, rather than from its interaction with pragmatic principles of interpretation. I show that with this simple, one-dimensional semantics we can well-predict the behavior of 'fake', besides in simple application, in *iterated* application, a prediction that is unmet by main theories on the market. I propose we base 'fake' on similarity, and more precisely that a fake gun is an object that is (i) intended to resemble a gun, but (ii) isn't a gun.

Nominal size and case assignment in a PP
Polina Pleshak

Using primary data from Moksha (Finno-Ugric < Uralic), I show that the P layer is not necessarily built on top of DP, and P complements can be smaller than a DP. In Moksha, complements of spatial postpositions (SPs) can appear in the genitive case, as well as be bare. Only the marked type can occur in the plural and/or definite form and determine optional agreement on the selecting SP. Bare complements can also take nominal modifiers, which rules out the incorporation analysis.

To account for the difference between the two types of complements, I adopt the hierarchical structure model of noun phrases with several functional projections on fop of NP, as well as configurational theory of case assignment, in which a noun phrase is assigned case in relation to other phrases in the domain, if any. I also follow the view that agreement is dissociated from licensing (cf. Preminger 2011). I argue that the complements that lack nominal marking are nPs rather than full DPs. The lack of nominal marking follows from the absence of functional projections that would host nominal morphology. And since nPs lack features that agreeing probes look for, the absence of agreement with unmarked nominals is also explained. Additional evidence for the nP/DP distinction in complements of SPs comes from agreement in possessive phrases. In absence of the DP layer, the genitive possessor phrase is a visible goal for the external probe on the SP and can be agreed with.

The complement marking pattern is similar to differential object making involving pseudo-noun incorporation, where there are two kinds of objects: full DPs that receive case marking and reduced nominals that cannot receive case and stay in-situ.

Session 2B

There isn't a form-meaning mismatch in double-negation slifting, I don't think
Tom Roberts

Slifting (Ross 1973) is a construction in which a 'slifted' assertion is followed by a clause-embedding (CE) predicate that apparently lacks an overt complement (1a).

(1)   a. Belinda is a semanticist, I think/John said.
          b. I think/John said (that) Belinda is a semanticist.

Slifting sentences differ from truth-conditionally equivalent vanilla attitude reports (1b) in two ways. First, in slifting, the CE predicate necessarily has a secondary 'parenthetical' interpretation (Urmson 1952, Simons 2007, Hunter 2016), an. Second, slifting imposes notable restrictions on the CE predicate. In English, the CE parenthetical with slifting usually cannot be negated (Hooper 1975, Maier & Bary 2015), but it *can* be negated if the parenthetical verb is neg-raising, occurs with a first-person subject, and sentential negation also occurs in the slifted clause (2). These 'double negation slifts' appear to have a puzzling form-meaning mismatch: although they contain two overt instances of negation, only one is interpreted.

(2)   Belinda isn't a semanticist, I don't think.

I argue that this apparent mismatch is illusory: double negation slifts are, despite appearances, transparently compositional, given two independent assumptions: 1) Slifting involves making a single coherent speech act of two distinct, but prosodically integrated, sentences related by an independently-motivated felicity condition on such integrated sentences (Roberts & Rudin in prep) amounting to a requirement that the utterance of the latter clause 'justifies' the utterance of the former (Koev 2021), and 2) The parenthetical complement is anaphoric to a proposition made available by the slifted clause, which can be positive even if the slifted clause is negative (Krifka 2013). I will show that these two assumptions straightforwardly derive the interpretation of slifting sentences in general, without resorting to construction-specific stipulations, and explain several restrictions on what kinds of predicates can be used as slifting parentheticals.

Fake evidentials in counterfactuals: a form-meaning mismatch
Vesela Simeonova

In many languages of the world, **conditionals** interact with tense and aspect. In many languages of the world, **evidentials** interact with tense and aspect. And while each of these phenomena has been the object of fervid interest, the question whether evidentials and conditionals semantically **interact** has not been addressed to date. This talk begins to fill this gap with data from Bulgarian, a language with an intricate tense-aspect system that interacts both with evidentiality (as is well known) and with conditionals (novel observations).

The main finding is that the use of different evidential markers affects in different ways the range of interpretations that a conditional allows. Crucially, the direct evidential gives rise to unambiguously counterfactual readings and loses its face-value evidential properties, i.e. it is used in sentences that objectively cannot be about a directly observed event – a form-meaning mismatch parallel to the puzzle of 'fake' tense and aspect across various languages. This finding gives rise to a new research program:

> *in languages with TAM-based evidentiality and TAM-based counterfactuality, we need to ask not only whether tense and aspect are 'real' or 'fake', but also whether evidentials are 'real' or 'fake'*

The reportative evidential, in contrast, is interpreted as 'real' and does not affect the conditional meaning. This is discussed in view of Izvorski's (1997) seminal account, which is formally rooted in a parallel between the evidential use of perfect morphology and fake tense/aspect in counterfactuals.

Directional syncretism without directional rules
Johannes Hein & Andrew Murphy

Directional syncretisms, where there is a 'take-over' of the form of one cell by the form of another have been analysed in two ways: (i) by rules of referral (RR; Zwicky 1985; Stump 1993, 2001), and (ii) by impoverishment rules and insertion of unmarked features (Noyer 1998). RRs stipulate that one cell takes the form of another, while impoverishment derives take-overs by manipulating the feature set to ensure insertion of the spreading form. In contrast to unrestricted referral rules, impoverishment-based analyses have an inherent markedness restriction, such that only a form associated with a less marked feature specification may spread to a more marked context (Noyer 1998). Those working in DM argue that impoverishment should be preferred for reasons of restrictiveness (Bobaljik 2002), whereas proponents of RRs claim that there are patterns of directional syncretism, in particular divergent bidirectional syncretism, which are incompatible with a markedness restriction on impoverishment (Stump 2001; Baerman 2004; Spencer 2019). We argue that all bidirectional syncretism (BDS) can receive a unified analysis in terms of Noyer's impoverishment plus insertion once an underappreciated aspect of Noyer's analysis is taken into account, namely that insertion via redundancy rules may not reinsert a previously deleted unmarked value. Impoverishment then has two possible outcomes: (i) genuine impoverishment, (ii) insertion of a less-marked value. We will show that both of these are necessary to analyze BDS. Furthermore, we identify a further pattern of bidirectional syncretism that had been previously analyzed as morphomic (Stump 2001; Brown et al. 2007; Trommer 2016). We show that this particular pattern (the 'diagonal morphome') can actually be treated as a case of regular directional syncretism.

Limits on pronominal gender: A semantic account of a morphological pattern
Bronwyn M. Bjorkman, Elizabeth Cowper, Daniel Currie Hall, Daniel Siddiqi & Isabelle Boyer

We propose a semantic account of a typological asymmetry in pronominal systems: gender is commonly marked only in third person (3π), often only in 3πSG. Confirming the asymmetry by a survey of pronoun systems in 112 languages, we argue, building on past work, that participant π-features derive an e-type individual, while 3π φ-features derive an et predicate. The asymmetry arises because gender features can appear in two positions: on n, in which case gender distinctions are possible in all persons, or on D, in which case gender is limited to 3π. We argue that our account is preferable to three other possibilities: a feature-geometric approach, an Impoverishment approach, and an approach in which all and only 3π pronouns are DPs, with D hosting the gender feature.

We propose that the semantics of gender restricts a domain of reference to members of a gender class and thus composes only with predicates. If gender occurs on n, before person features compose, gender can co-occur with all persons. If pronominal gender originates above person, by contrast, it can compose only with non-participant bundles, because only non-participants are type et.

In our survey, languages with gender only in SG are a near subset of languages with gender only in 3π (a single language, Hausa, does not fit this generalization). More tentatively, we suggest that the association of gender with SG, especially 3πSG, may reflect different structural positions for number, together with a preference for composing gender before number.

The position of formal features thus varies, both across and within languages. This paper adds to the growing evidence that even when a feature's function is cross-linguistically stable, its structural position need not be; variation in the position of specific features may explain typological patterns in the morphology and semantics of inflectional contrasts.

Session 3A

Numerals maximize over degrees: evidence from exclusives and polarity
Lucas Fagen

A central question in number semantics concerns the source of upper-bounding inferences in sentences with numerals (*I have three cats -> I have exactly three cats*). On one prominent analysis, upper bounds are scalar implicatures, derived either through pragmatic enrichment or compositional exhaustification. An alternative approach derives upper bounds compositionally via a degree-specific maximality operation. This paper makes a novel argument for maximizing over degrees based on the interactions of numerals, exclusive modifiers, and negative polarity items in English. The English exclusives *just, merely*, and *mere* can license NPIs when they compose with numerals and other degree terms, but not otherwise (*Just six/#some American skiers have ever won two medals in a single Olympics*). This paper proposes an analysis in which the exclusives do not license NPIs directly, but create an environment in which the maximality operator can. *Just, merely*, and *mere* are analyzed as ordering alternatives by rank rather than entailment. As a result, they exclude alternatives without reversing logical strength, and therefore fail to license NPIs (unlike their lexical cousin *only*). Bare numeral sentences do not usually license NPIs either because both lower and upper bounds are at-issue. However, since exclusives presuppose lower bounds, only the upper bound is at-issue in a sentence with exclusives and numerals, so that maximality does reverse logical strength--but crucially, NPIs are licensed by the upper bound contributed by the maximality operator itself, not the exclusive. The analysis therefore provides evidence for an upper-bounded quantificational analysis of numerals. Further, the analysis requires numerals (as degree quantifiers) to outscope the maximality operator, supporting a view that numerals and maximality should be decomposed over an approach that builds maximality into their lexical meaning.

The ɩ type-shifter in headless relative clauses: Implications from Mayan
Carol Rose Little, Scott AnderBois & Jessica Coon

Research on the (in)definiteness of bare nouns has developed various proposals regarding which type-shifters exist in language and which principles are needed to govern their distribution (Carlson 1977; Partee 1987; Chierchia 1998; Dayal 2004 i.a.). At the same time, literature on headless relative clauses (HRCs), primarily focusing on free relatives (FRs) in Indo-European languages, has also developed type-shifting principles (Jacobson 1995; Caponigro 2003, 2004). Caponigro (2003, 2004) has argued for an ɩ type-shifter to derive definite interpretations for FRs in English and Italian. A gap in the literature is how these type-shifters for FRs differ from those found elsewhere in a given language. Why is ɩ *un*available in English and Italian in the nominal domain by Chierchia (1998), yet available for FRs by Caponigro (2004)?

In this presentation, we provide new evidence that the type-shifting operations available to bare nouns in a given language diverge from the type-shifters available to HRCs. We present data from two Mayan languages which diverge from one another in the behavior of bare nouns, and which possess several different kinds of headless relative clauses. We show that so-called "super-free relative clauses" (SFRCs; Caponigro et al. 2021), which lack a wh-word, pattern in ways parallel to bare nouns in the respective languages and are syntactically *nominal*. We also demonstrate that HRCs headed by a wh-word—i.e., FRs—are CPs, and diverge from bare nouns: they pattern similarly to one another across the languages under investigation, and in ways similar to what has been reported for FRs cross-linguistically. We provide evidence that there is a dedicated FR type-shifter (FR-ɩ), inserted as a last resort mechanism to resolve a type-mismatch, building on work by Caponigro (2004). Our novel contribution is that this FR-ɩ is available regardless of the presence or absence of other type-shifters in a language.

Examining the Meaning of Polarity Subjunctive in Peninsular Spanish
Raquel Montero & Maribel Romero

Traditional grammars of Spanish draw a distinction between cases of rigid mood selection and cases in which mood alternations are possible (Laca 2010). The prevailing view in the literature is that when such alternation occurs in the complement clause of a negated verb, as in (1), the use of the indicative presupposes commitment to the embedded proposition *p* on the part of the speaker, whereas the use of the subjunctive does not trigger such presupposition (Borgonovo 2003).

*1) **No** sabían [que Pedro se **había/hubiese** ido de viaje]*

'They didn't know that Pedro had.IND/SUBJ gone on a trip.'

We investigated these claims by looking experimentally at 15 different verbs: **(class V1)** 5 cognitive factives such as *saber* 'to know', **(class V2)** 5 non-factive/non-fiction verbs such as *decir* 'to say', and **(class V3)** 5 fiction verbs like *soñar* 'to dream'. We found that, while the class V1 does indeed behave in the direction depicted in the literature, classes V2 and V3 do not show this semantic difference. We then propose an analysis that combines Romoli's (2015) scalar approach to the presuppositions of soft triggers with Schlenker's (2005) approach to mood, whereby IND presupposes that the referent of the world pronoun belongs to some salient accessible Context Set (CS), whereas SUBJ carries no presupposition. Romoli's (2015) analysis derives the difference observed between class V1 and classes V2/V3. Combined with Schlenker's (2005), it explains the difference in speaker commitment brought by mood choice in the case of class V1. The proposed analysis makes more accurate predictions than existing accounts such as Quer (2000) and Borgonovo (2003), which do not predict a split amongst verb classes.

A unified analysis of rationale clauses
Thomas Grano

RATIONALE CLAUSES are infinitives optionally preceded by *in order*, e.g., *(in order) to leave* or *(in order) for me to leave*. Previous work recognizes two apparently distinct functions that these clauses have: with simple action or state descriptions, they give rise to a CAUSAL reading, offering a teleological explanation for the named action or state, as in (1). By contrast, with necessity statements, they give rise to ambiguity between the causal reading and a CONDITIONAL (a.k.a. *anankastic* or *determinative*) reading, offering a hypothetical goal for which the named necessity is a precondition, as in (2).

(1) Ann opened the window [(in order) to get some fresh air].
 ≈ Ann opened the window **because** she wanted/needed to get some fresh air. *causal reading*
(2) Ann has to open the window [(in order) to get some fresh air].
 ≈ Ann has to open the window **because** she wants/needs to get some fresh air. *causal reading*
or: ≈ Ann has to open the window **if** she wants/needs to get some fresh air. *conditional reading*

I present new data showing that necessity statements are neither necessary nor sufficient for triggering the conditional reading; instead, conditional readings are triggered by genericity or by the presence of *would.* I argue for a unified analysis whereby rationale clauses uniformly encode teleological modality and are always mapped onto the restriction of a higher modal. By default, that higher modal is veridical, giving rise to the causal reading ("**Because** *p*, *q*"), but if that modal is replaced by a generic operator or supplemented by *would*, the conditional reading arises ("**If** *p*, *q*").

 The proposal implies that rationale clauses are parallel to *if*-clauses in restricting (sometimes covert) modals. Apparent ambiguity arises not from ambiguity in the rationale clauses or *if*-clauses themselves but rather in the nature of the restricted modal.

Interpreting past epistemic modals in Dutch, English and French
Annemarie van Dooren & Anouk Dieuleveut

Sentences where epistemic modals bear past tense morphology, like (1), might in principle be interpreted in two ways: as in (1a), with the epistemic modal *have to* scoping over past Tense (epi>Tense), or as in (1b), with Tense scoping over the epistemic modal *have to* (Tense>epi).

(1) It **had to** be raining yesterday.
 a. Given the evidence available now, it was raining yesterday.   epi > Tense
 b. Given the evidence available in the past (yesterday), it was raining. Tense > epi

There is a debate about the possible interpretation(s) for sentences like (1). We present results from two online experiments on English, Dutch, and French. We tested whether there is a cross-linguistic pattern regarding the interaction between tense and modality, and specifically, whether the lexical status of the modal ((semi-)auxiliary vs. verb) affects the judgments. Our hypotheses were that: (H1) epistemic modals all scope over tense, as they take a Tense Phrase complement. (H2) while auxiliaries (English, French) *only* scope over tense (2a), epistemic modal verbs (Dutch) can *also* scope below tense (2b), namely, the tense of their own clause. In Dutch, Tense>epi should thus also be available. We further manipulated time pressure, to get at the primary interpretation. In Experiment 1 ('reflective'), participants had unlimited time to answer. In Experiment 2 ('speeded'), they had to answer quickly. The results suggest that indeed, there is a pattern based on the lexical status of the modal (verb vs. auxiliary). However, the time manipulation in Experiment 2 makes the difference between Dutch and French/English disappear, suggesting that the Tense>epi reading in Dutch might require additional processing.

(2)   a. [$_{\text{ModP}}$ modal [$_{\text{TP}}$ tense]]   (epistemic auxiliary, English/French)
      b. [$_{\text{TP}}$ tense [$_{\text{vP}}$ modal [$_{\text{TP}}$ tense]]]   (epistemic verb, Dutch)

<div align="center">**Session 3B**</div>

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C-V interactions in Polish without segmental co-occurrence
Jelena Stojković

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Polish LOC marker for MASC and NEUT nouns has two realisations: [e] after coronal-final stems, preceded by prepalatal in LOC, and [u] after an underlying palatal or after a velar, in Rubach (1984) "palatalisation" and "vowel retraction". The former alternation is a topic of many studies, while the other are avoided, from the perspective of co-occurrence restrictions such as PAL or *[+back][-back].

       I propose the LOC UR as a vowel with two floating [back] features, underspecified for height. If Polish palatals are [-back,+high] and velars are [+back,+high] (Rubach 1984), coronals must be [-high]. Since the allomorphs of LOC always match in height with the preceding consonant, the abstract UR allows to treat the matching height as non-accidental.

Dissimilation: The crucial ranking deriving [u] after /Cʲ / is DE[-back] ≫ ASSOCIATE[-back]; DE[+back] ≫ ASSOCIATE[+back], meaning that [-back] is either preferably realised on the stem or not at all. The illusion of dissimilation is achieved through fusion of [-back] on the consonant, and fusion of [+back] on the morpheme vowel.

Retraction: The crucial ranking for deriving [u] after velars is UNIFORMITY[+back] ≫ ASSOCIATE[-back] ≫ UNIFORMITY[-back], meaning that [+back] fusion is disallowed. Instead, tautomorphemically realised [+back] and unrealised [-back] create the illusion of vowel retraction.

Palatalisation: The ranking *SHARE[±high] ≫ *SHARE[±back]¦ ≫ ASSOCIATE[-back] means that, when sharing [±back], it is preferred to not share [±high] simultaneously. The illusion of palatalisation is created through sharing [-back] and non-realisation of [+back], in addition to reassociated [-high] and epenthetic [+high].

       The palatalisation effect on the surface is thus a consequence of floating [-back], and not of co-occurrence restrictions. The empirical advantage of this proposal lies in predicting C-V interaction based on the morpheme: an abstract UR induces a change on the stem, while a concrete UR (e.g. INS.M.SG *-em*) does not because its well-formedness is underlying.

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Degrees of dominance:
Lexical accent typology as argument for gradient representations
Eva Zimmermann, Razieh Shojaei, Ekaterina Medvedeva & Prithivi Pattanayak

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We present a new typological argument that lexical accent systems are best analysed with gradient phonological representations that allow competition of accents with different strengths. Although there are a multitude of theoretical proposals and empirical case studies on lexical accent (other examples are Kiparsky and Halle, 1977; Halle and Vergnaud, 1987; Czaykowska-Higgins, 1993; Inkelas, 1998; Butska, 2002; Vaxman, 2016; Bogomolets, 2020), there is so far no large-scale typological study that tests the predictions of existing accounts. We started conducting a lexical accent database where for each language, a single parameter 'Leftmost/Rightmost 'decides the competition in case multiple accentual morphemes are present. For contexts where this is insufficient, a hierarchy of accentual morpheme classes is assumed which thus introduces (degrees of) dominance. So far, our database contains 22 languages where a binary distinction into unaccented and accentual morphemes is insufficient to capture the accent pattern. In addition, we found multiple counterexamples to various predictions made by existing alternative accounts: a) Roots can not only be accentual or non-accentual but also' dominant '(vs. the prediction in Halle and Mohanan, 1985 and Alderete, 1999), b) affixes can employ degrees of dominance (vs. the prediction in Halle and Mohanan, 1985 and Revithiadou, 1999), and c) not all dominant morphemes are morphological heads (vs. Revithiadou, 1999; Yates, 2017). We argue that the assumption of Gradient Symbolic Representations (Rosen, 2016; Smolensky and Goldrick, 2016) can predict all these properties of lexical accent system. In such a system, the degrees of dominance follow as a lexical property since all linguistic objects (e.g. H-tones or feet for accent) have a certain underlying activity that can gradiently differ (Zimmermann, 2018).

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A 'starting-small' effect on biased learning of transparent and opaque vowel harmony
Tsung-Ying Chen

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The current study investigates a 'starting-small' effect on biased learning of transparent and opaque backness vowel harmony (VH) in two artificial grammar learning (AGL) experiments. The effect reflects a cognitive ease of processing and learning structural regularities in shorter (structurally simpler) and frequent input tokens, perhaps

due to a limited working memory (WM) capacity optimized for processing shorter input strings in a naturally skewed distribution. This effect could benefit the learning of opaque VH, which could not skip an intervening *neutral vowel* in trisyllabic or longer domains, thus making the process strictly local and compatible with local VH acquired from disyllabic (more frequent) input. By contrast, the learning of transparent VH could not benefit from the effect; transparent VH skips a neutral vowel, but this long-distance dependency can be observed only in longer (less frequent) domains and is not compatible with local VH acquired from disyllabic input. The starting-small effect was tested in AGL experiments that exposed learners to two different input distributions including *both* VH patterns and disyllabic/trisyllabic tokens. In the 'starting-small' condition, learners were exposed to a skewed distribution with more disyllabic than trisyllabic tokens. In the 'balanced' condition, learners were exposed to the same number of disyllabic and trisyllabic tokens. During the test phase, the starting-small group outperformed the balanced group in extending opaque VH to novel items, and neither group of acquired transparent VH. The lack of learning any VH pattern for the balanced group suggests an overall higher cognitive load when learners had to process the same amount of structurally simple and complex VH patterns simultaneously, rather than 'started small' with local VH in structurally simpler tokens. This interpretation is further supported by the secondary finding that high-WM learners of the balanced group demonstrated a test performance similar to that of the starting-small group.

Allomorphy without context specification: A case study of Czech n
Pavel Caha, Karen De Clercq & Guido Vanden Wyngaerd

1. The puzzle. Many adjectival roots in Czech cannot appear bare, but require the suffix n, which we call an augment. Table 1 shows the complex distribution of the augment n: some adjectives have n both in the positive and the comparative (Class I), while others lack n altogether (Class II). Some adjectives have it only in the comparative (Class III), and others only in the positive (Class IV). Note also that if the comparative contains n, the augment determines the particular comparative allomorph (*ěj-š*). If there is no augment in the comparative, the root determines the choice of the comparative allomorph.

Table 1: The distribution of -n

Class I		POSITIVE			COMPARATIVE				GLOSS
Class I		pěk-	n-	ý	pěk-	n-	ěj-	š- í	'prett-y'
Class II	a.	čir-	ø-	ý	čiř-	ø-	ej-	š- í	'pure'
	b.	star-	ø-	ý	star-	ø-		š- í	'old'
Class III		žádouc-	ø-	í	žádouc-	n-	ěj-	š- í	'desirable'
Class IV	a.	pozd-	n-	í	pozd-	ø-	ěj-	š- í	'late'
	b.	snad-	n-	ý	snaz-	ø-	-	š- í	'easy'

2. Aims. We discuss how the complex distribution of n is difficult (if not impossible) to capture by context-sensitive rules of insertion at terminal nodes. We show that a Nanosyntactic approach where morphemes may be specified for multiple features (but crucially lack context specifications) provides an elegant and insightful way to analyse the allomorphy at hand.

Root-Affix Sensitivity Across Phases: The View from Kabyle Morphophonology
Lydia Felice

A well-established crosslinguistic generalization in morphophonology is that roots are more resistant to undergoing phonological alternations than affixes are (McCarthy and Prince 1995). In cyclic phonological approaches like Cophonologies by Phase (Sande et al. 2020), this tendency is formalized through an assertion that phonology at later cycles cannot access morphosyntactic material from earlier cycles, such as the root-affix distinction. The resistance of roots to undergo phonological alternations falls out from cyclic phonology and Output-to-Output correspondence constraints (McPherson & Heath 2014); roots tend to be deeply embedded in the structure and are thus more likely to be protected by Output-to-Output correspondence constraints at subsequent phonological cycles. I bring new data from Kabyle (Amazigh; Algeria) haplology to demonstrate that this cannot be the whole story. In Kabyle, haplology is triggered by two adjacent affixes of the form /-t/, but not a /t/ that belongs to a root, even when a cyclic boundary intervenes between the affixes. Haplology thus seems to be sensitive to both morphological and phonological factors. This is puzzling if morphological material is not accessible to phonology at later cyclic domains. To generate the Kabyle haplology facts, I argue that phonology at later cycles must be sensitive to the root- or affixal status of adjacent material, and that encoding information regarding root or affixal status in the morpheme's prosodic specification accomplishes this without enabling the

phonological computation at later cycles to reference morphosyntactic structure of earlier cycles. The analysis supports a Vocabulary Item that is enriched with a prosodic subcategorization, as in Cophonologies by Phase. Additionally, this analysis supports the body of literature which suggests that phonology may be phase-cyclic, demonstrating that a phase-cyclic framework which incorporates no-lookback can generate a previously-unanalyzed morphophonological phenomenon.

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Session 4A

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Epistemic modality as an indicator of deliberate reasoning
Valerie Wurm

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It is uncontroversial that epistemic necessity modals (ENMs) like English *must* in some way involve an inferential process: intuitively, a statement of the form *must-φ* indicates that the speaker *s* has concluded *φ* from a certain set of premises, i.e. salient pieces of evidence. Consider e.g. (1):

(1) Where is Fran? It's summer break, her car is gone, the shutters on her windows are closed, I know that Fran was planning a trip. Me:
a. *Fran must have left town.*

Yet the exact nature of (i), the relation between ENMs (and arguably other modals or evidentials) and the presumed inferential process, and (consequently) (ii), the implementation are still a matter of debate.

I discuss recent accounts of ENMs which point out crucial empirical contrasts; however, they suggest licensing requirements (indirect evidence, lack of knowledge, inference) that fail to generalize, or are not fine grained enough to explain certain subtle contrasts. Contrary to that, I suggest that the licensing of ENMs is connected to the process of inferring initially inaccessible consequences of one's accessible beliefs; i.e. ENMs indicate deliberate reasoning.

I sketch an implementation that adapts a concept known to play a role in discourse: questions under discussion (QUDs). Combined with an idea addressing the problem of logical omniscience that structures belief states by assuming different layers of accessibility of the propositions constituting them, I claim that *must-φ* statements indicate that the speaker had to resolve a sequence of questions that consecutively became accessible and result in the belief that *φ*.

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Perfectivity disrupts neg-raising
Paloma Jeretič & Deniz Özyıldız

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In this talk, we focus on negated imperfective and perfective thought reports in French, in (1) and (2).

(1) Zoé ne pensait pas qu'il pleuvait.
Zoé didn't think that it was raining. (imperfective)
Implies: Zoé pensait qu'il ne pleuvait pas. (neg-raising)

(2) Zoé n'a pas pensé qu'il pleuvait.
Zoé didn't think that it was raining. (perfective)
Does not imply: Zoé n'a pas pensé qu'il pleuvait. (no neg-raising)

On the empirical front, we show that the former are stative and neg-raising, whereas the latter are eventive and non-neg-raising. This result is consistent with a generalization that states that only stative predicates may give rise to the inference (Bervoets 2014, among many others). We propose that a recent treatment of the neg-raising inference as a Scaleless Implicature (Jeretič 2021, 2022), augmented with independently motivated assumptions about tense and aspect, predicts exactly this result. This differs from familiar accounts of the neg-raising inference in terms of an Excluded Middle presupposition (Bartsch 1973, Gajewski 2005), which, given the same set of assumptions about tense and aspect, make wrong predictions about the meaning of perfective thought reports like (2).

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POSS-*ing* as Kimian states
Zi Huang

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POSS-*ing* (such as *Clay's/his winning the game*) is a nominalized -*ing* form that takes a possessor subject and a direct complement. It is incompatible with predicates that select for event-denoting expressions (**Clay's winning the game took place in the morning*) and therefore does not denote events. There have been various proposals on

the ontological status of POSS-*ing*. In this talk I explore the possibility of modelling POSS-*ing* as Kimian states (K-states).

Maienborn (2005) proposes that copular sentences describe K-states, making use of Kim's (1976) conceptualization of events as temporally bound property exemplifications, represented as [*x*, *P*, *t*], where *x* is an object, *P* a property and *t* a time. As an abstract object, K-states are more concrete than facts in being temporally bound. I follow Asher (1993) and Maienborn (2005) in representing K-states in DRT.

I show that POSS-*ing* demonstrates the three core properties of K-states: (1) They are not accessible to direct perception and have no location in space; (2) They are accessible to higher cognitive operations, such as anaphoric reference; (3) They can be located in time. Despite Vendler's (1976) observation that temporal prepositions cannot take POSS-*ing*, I show counterexamples from the BNC corpus and argue that POSS-*ing* has temporal properties which can be interpreted when analyzed as K-states. Modelling POSS-*ing* as K-states also better captures its structural and discourse properties. The possessor in POSS-*ing*, or bearer of the property in a K-state, is extensional and almost always given in the context; the property in a K-state is intensional and accounts for the opacity of POSS-*ing*.

Getting even without "even" in Turkish
Yağmur Sağ & Ömer Demirok

In some languages, a lexical item that supports a purely additive construal may also license scalar inferences in certain environments. We undertake a case study on the Turkish additive particle DA, which can be translated into English as *even* in particular contexts (e.g., antecedents of conditionals). We argue that DA is an additive particle and that the scalar inferences associated with sentences that feature DA surface as an implicature arising from Gricean Maxim of Quantity. In particular, we adopt the idea that some additive particles, which DA is an example of, require that discourse be incremental, i.e., more informative from one proposition to the next, and take the interpretation of a DA-marked sentence to be a series of conjunctions. Accordingly, in the conditional assertion [[if it is rainy-DA] we go to picnic], the other preceding conjuncts can be overt or silent. Given the incrementality requirement, the silent presupposed conjuncts are accommodated as *less* informative than the overt conjunct. In case of conditionals, this means that the silent conjuncts are *contextually entailed* by the overt, asserted conjunct: e.g., given that rainy situations are less favorable for picnic than sunny situations, asserting [[if it is rainy] we go to picnic] contextually entails [[if it is sunny] we go to picnic], satisfying both the additive presupposition and the requirement that the discourse be incremental. In other words, the utterance of the rain conjunct yields the scalar implicature that this situation is the most informative alternative, and hence, the worthiest of mention, resulting in an even-like interpretation. We demonstrate that the proposal correctly predicts scalar inferences for DA outside conditionals, whenever a scale can be accommodated thanks to contextual (or logical) entailment.

Session 4B

Implicational Complementation Hierarchy and size restructuring in sign languages:
evidence from control clauses in Sign Language of the Netherlands
Evgeniia Khristoforova

Complementation strategies, i.e., ways in which clauses can function as an object of the main clause, are subject to intriguing cross-linguistic variation. This observation has recently been captured by the Implication Complementation Hierarchy (ICH) (Wurmbrand & Lohninger 2019), distinguishing three classes of complements: *Events*, *Situations* and *Propositions*. Languages tend to demarcate these complement types in a coherent fashion but the marking itself can be different across languages. Thus, *Event* and *Situation* complements (e.g., control clauses), are cross-linguistically more syntactically and semantically integrated in the matrix clause than *Propositions* (e.g., propositional attitude complements). The ICH explains this by suggesting a hierarchical relationship between complement types and predicts it to hold across languages. While existing typological research on spoken languages supports the claim, it has not been yet fully explored for sign languages (SLs). The aim of this study is to enrich the typology of complementation by adding data from the SL of the Netherlands (NGT) and testing the predictions of ICH by using acceptability judgments involving nine native NGT signers.

The results reveal that NGT does conform to the predictions of ICH in that it differentiates control clauses (*Events/Situations*) from propositional attitude complements (*Propositions*) via specific word order patterns. Thus, control clauses in NGT allow for object scrambling (BOY APPLE WANT [__ EAT]) and center-embedding (BOY [APPLE EAT] WANT), the latter but not the former also being previously found for control clauses in other SLs (Pfau

et al., 2016). *Propositions*, however, are only accepted with sentence-final complements, i.e., MOTHER THINK [DAUGHTER SICK]. The observed patterns and their variation can be captured by *size restructuring*, which derives abovementioned properties of control clauses by suggesting them being structurally smaller, thereby lacking certain matrix projections, hence movement of the embedded object in scrambling or the entire embedded clause in center-embedding to the matrix middle-field.

Word Order and Differential Object Marking in Three Cohorts of CENA Signers
Andrew Nevins & Diane Stoianov

Existing studies of sign language word order note the prevalence of SOV in transitive clauses, and an alternation with SVO order in reversible transitives. We demonstrate that OSV is an alternative employed for such cases, motivated by differential object marking (DOM) and clause structure. DOM for animate (and specific) objects often leads to a higher object position than non-DOM objects in terms of Object Shift of DOM-objects (henceforth DOM-OS). What happens if DOM-OS occurs in a language in which subjects obligatorily stay low within the vP? Our explores this with data from **Cena,** a village sign language with 34 deaf signers spanning three generations in isolated village community of northeastern Brazil.

We propose the subject stays low within a head-final vP. In *irreversible* transitives ('woman moves box'), where SOV is the most frequent order. However, in *reversible* events ('woman pushes girl'), OSV is the preferred order. We argue this is a result of DOM-OS, with the subject staying low in the vP. For ditransitive events, signers showed no clear preference among ISOV, SIOV, or otherwise, across any cohort. A "human-first" principle that allows human O to precede S in OSV cannot derive why ISOV orders fail. We propose the problem with ISOV is that S interrupts adjacency between IO and DO, which is required for a more transparent mapping of the transfer-of-possession relation, and for prosodic phrasing of IO and DO together. Conflicts within the syntactic derivation yield non-adjacency between IO and DO, an **ISO**V pattern that crashes at both syntax-external interfaces.

Searching for negative polarity items in DGS
Cornelia Loos & Marc Schulder

Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) are expressions such as *any* that cannot occur in positive assertions with simple past (**Mary bought any books*), but become acceptable under the scope of negation (*Mary didn't buy any books*). While NPIs have been claimed to occur in virtually every language, evidence for their use in signed languages is still very limited. Our study seeks to identify potential NPI candidates in German Sign Language (DGS) by performing a collocation analysis of negation signs in the *DGS Corpus* dataset.

To this end, we compiled an initial list of NPI candidates in DGS by identifying signs that commonly occur in the context of negation, as indicated by their cooccurrence with licensers such as lexical negation signs, morphologically negated signs and headshake negation. The signs with the highest context ratio were then manually inspected to determine whether their observed uses actually indicate a use as NPIs.

To implement this approach, we addressed various limitations imposed by the available corpus data and lack of automatic tools for signed languages. These include a lack of syntactic structural information, e.g., to determine licensor scopes, a lack of explicit clause or sentence boundaries, and limitations of sample size (at >660,000 tokens, the *DGS Corpus* is very large for a sign language corpus, but quite small compared to many spoken language text corpora).

Our collocation analysis revealed several signs worth investigating further for their potential as NPIs. It also highlights challenges, such as identifying loan expressions from sign-supported German, and the need to include further types of licensors, such as downward-entailing operators and question markers, as well as complex-phrase NPIs. Nevertheless, our findings show that collocation analysis can be an important tool in the search for NPIs in signed languages.

Perspective Blend and Indexical Shift in Hong Kong Sign Language (HKSL)
Linghui Eva Gan

In this study, I argue for a unified perspective blend account to explain indexical shift in sign languages with and without role shift. Previous studies on indexical shift in sign languages have focused on cases that occur under attitude role shift. There are two main theoretical approaches. The monstrous approach argues that role shift is a realization of a context-shifting operator (Schlenker 2017a; 2017b; Zucchi 2004; Quer 2005). In comparison, the demonstration/quotation approach parallels (attitude) role shift with a quotation (Davidson 2015; Maier 2016, 2018).

By comparing Hong Kong Sign Language (HKSL) with other sign languages, I show that indexical shift is not only attested in sentences with (attitude) role shift, but also in sentences without role shift. This calls for an account for indexical shift beyond role shift. In addition, there are cross-linguistic variations regarding whether the indexicals under role shift always shift together. Moreover, attitude role shift in HKSL displays a mixture of properties between a direct report and an indirect report (see also German Sign Language (Herrmann & Steinbach) and American Sign Language (Schlenker 2017a)). Neither the monstrous approach nor the demonstration/quotation approach sufficiently addresses these observations, which motivates the current proposal of a perspective blend account. The proposal is based on the observation in HKSL and several other sign languages that multiple perspectives can co-activate in the same utterance.

A similar phenomenon involving perspective blend has been attested in Free Indirect Discourse (FID) in spoken languages. By adapting the bicontexcual approach by Schlenker (2004) for FID, I propose a formal analysis for perspective blend. Specifically, reported speech is evaluated based on two co-activating contexts, utterance context and reported context. Different factors may constrain the blending of the two perspectives. For instance, in some sign languages, the association between role shift and the reported context is strong and exclusive, yielding obligatory indexical shift under role shift. In contrast, such association is weaker in other sign languages, allowing mixed-indexicality under role shift.

Invited Speaker 3	What we learn by comparing sign language and gesture
	Diane Brentari
	University of Chicago

In this talk I ask what we learn by comparing sign language and gesture. I will employ examples across the range of sign language and gesture studies from my own work and the work of others to offer a new lens through which we can understand how visual information can be used **_as_** language, and how it can be used **_with_** language. I begin with the claim in Goldin-Meadow and Brentari (2017): namely, that the appropriate comparison between spoken and sign languages is not *s*peech vs. sign, but rather _speech + gesture_ vs. _sign + gesture_.

I will consider work in which gesture is clearly the object of study in signed and spoken language, work in which linguistic structure is clearly the object of study in signed and spoken language, and work in which we are investigating the very nature of the contrast between gesture in speakers and language in signers. I will offer a suggested schema for interpreting this entire range of work. I will focus specifically on work that is concerned with iconic signs, those that refer to space (classifiers, pronouns, verb agreement, etc.), arguing that these forms are both language and gesture, and that access to the linguistic analyses of these structures allows us to see differences between language and gesture that we can't access in another way.

The research questions and methods we formulate as scholars are likely to vary based on the kind of visual data we collect, and from whom we collect these data, and hence the results of our investigations require a range of interpretations and theories as we draw conclusions from visual data. I will argue that there is neither a single scale moving from gesture to language, nor a single boundary between gesture and language, but rather autonomous levels of representation for gesture and language.

Session 5A

Co-occurring plural marking and classifiers in Bishnupriya Manipuri
Shweta Akolkar

It has often been claimed that numeral classifiers and plural markers are in complementary distribution cross-linguistically (T'sou 1976, Chierchia 1998, Borer 2005, i.a.). Bishnupriya Manipuri (Eastern Indo-Aryan) provides a counterexample to this generalization: the language has a productive plural marker that surfaces as a suffix on classifiers, obligatorily co-occurring with them. I show that the Bishnupriya Manipuri pattern is incompatible with Borer's (2005) conjecture that both classifiers and plural markers compete for the same syntactic position. Instead, I argue that classifiers and number markers realize separate functional heads, Cl and Num, in the extended nominal projection. Building on Nomoto (2010), I propose that the primary function of classifiers is to restrict the ontological sort of entities to *objects* or *kinds*, and not to individuate or create atoms. Meanwhile, number markers are responsible for restricting the nominal denotation to singularities or pluralities. The fact that classifiers and *nominal* plural marking are in complementary distribution in other languages can still be derived under this analysis: the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984) blocks the plural feature in Num from being realized on N when an intervening classifier is present.

The role of Lowering and non-cyclic heads in Udmurt stress placement
Lena Borise & Ekaterina Georgieva

This paper accounts for stress placement in indicative, negated, and imperative verbs in Udmurt (Uralic). Udmurt has fixed final stress, including in indicative verbs, but also has several classes of exceptions with initial stress, which include imperatives and negated verbs (GSUJa I 1962; Denisov 1980; Winkler 2001). In our analysis, we adopt and build upon (i) Borise & Georgieva's (2021) conclusion that Udmurt indeed has initial and final metrical stress (as opposed to e.g., final stress being a non-metrical phrase-edge effect; cf. Jun & Fougeron 1995 for French), and (ii) Georgieva et al.'s (2021) analysis of Udmurt verbal morphosyntax, according to which functional heads like T and Neg undergo Lowering (Embick & Noyer 2001) to form a complex head with v. In line with Oltra-Massuet & Arregi (2005) for Spanish, we argue that T plays a crucial role in stress assignment, though the Udmurt facts are considerably more complex. We provide the derivation of stress placement in indicative and negated verbs in Udmurt, expand it to imperatives, and show that the complex head derived via Lowering constitutes the domain of stress assignment.

Our analysis makes two contributions to the understanding of the morphology-phonology interface. First, it presents an argument for (DM-based) approaches that allow for deriving stress placement from the positioning of (certain) non-cyclic heads (cf. Oltra-Massuet & Arregi 2005 for Spanish) rather than exclusively from the positioning of category-defining heads (Embick 2010; Marvin 2013). Second, it shows that the domain of stress assignment in Udmurt verbs corresponds to complex heads built by Lowering.

The syntax of the content reading in German nominalizations
Johanna Benz

Over the course of the investigation of nominalizations, we have learned a lot about the systematic ambiguity of nominals such as observation between an event reading (Complex Event Nominalization, CEN, Simple Event Nominalization, SEN) and a result reading (Result Nominalization, RN). The questions at the center of this investigation have been how this ambiguity arises and what it can tell us about the syntactic structure of nominalizations and their syntactic surroundings. I argue in this paper that another reading, the content reading, offers a window on the structure of nominalizations. Complex Content Nominalizations (CCNs) are neither SENs nor RNs, emphasizing the ambiguity problem in nominalization anew. I argue that German CCNs and their characteristic syntax of CP-complementation are best accommodated in a structural polysemy account in terms of allosemy. While the addition of yet another reading is problematic for the prevalent homophony-based approaches to nominalization ambiguity, a small but '> 2' set of readings is in fact expected once the readings are derived from the mechanisms of allosemy.

In the allosemy-based theory, two heads, subject to allomorphy and allosemy, determine form, syntactic behavior, and interpretation of the nominal. This is an advantage over the common homophony approaches to nominalization, which distinguish large, 'more verbal' structures from small, purely nominal ones. They run into problems when the morphology or the meaning space or the syntactic distribution of nominalizations calls for further differentiation, including that homophony between different structures is less plausible the more different structures there are. Polysemy approaches, on the other hand, are traditionally purely lexical, and thus offer little insight into the syntactic behavior of the nominalizations. The broader claim is that the structural polysemy approach affords the right amount of flexibility to the interpretation and structural configuration of nominalizations, and that allosemy is a promising approach to ambiguity phenomena in derivational morphology more generally.

On the preference for nonconcatenative morphology in Dinka
Coppe van Urk & Adam Chong

The morphology of the Nilotic language Dinka (South Sudan) is cited as a challenge for concatenative approaches to morphology, because of its apparent preference for non-concatenative processes (e.g. Aronoff & Fudeman 2011:54; Inkelas 2014:72; Arkadiev & Klamer 2018:450). Many inflected forms are marked only by changes to the root syllable, including alternations in length, tone, and vowel quality. Although a concatenative approach to morphology accommodates such alternations by means of underspecified affixes, such as floating moras or floating tones (Lieber 1992, Bye & Svenonius 2012, Zimmermann 2017), the question remains why a language should prefer an inventory of such affixes.

In this paper, we argue that the apparent preference for nonconcatenative processes reflects surface conditions on the wellformedness of suffixes. First, we demonstrate that Dinka affixes are subject to significant restrictions and that licit -V suffixes in Dinka show vowel reduction. We develop a concatenative view of nonconcatenative morphology, in which fully specified -V suffixes undergo metathesis into the root to escape a ban on vowel contrast in final position. This proposal explains the strong correlation between grade changes and lengthening across paradigms in verbal and nominal morphology and provides a principled explanation of an apparent exception in -CV affixes. As a result, Dinka morphology in fact provides evidence for an approach in which non-concatenative expression may be determined by the phonology.

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Session 5B

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Simplex and Complex Anaphors Revisited
Shiori Ikawa

It has traditionally been claimed that morphologically complex anaphors only allow local binding, while simplex anaphors also allow long-distance (LD) binding across a clause boundary. Although the validity of this generalization has been questioned from a cross-linguistic point of view, the generalization at least seems to hold internally to Japanese (Katada, 1991; Kishida, 2011; Nogushi, 2018 a.o.). This work aims to revisit this observation in Japanese, especially under the context of the "mediation" approach to LD bound anaphors proposed by the previous studies (Nishigauchi, 2014; Charnavel, 2019; 2020).

Under what I call the mediation approach, what looks like LD binding of a simplex anaphor can be reduced to local binding by a pro in the left periphery of the same clause coindexed with the apparent antecedent and, hence, the violation of Condition A is only superficial. Such an approach has a clear advantage of capturing the various aspects of LD binding, including the coreferential constraints of multiple anaphors and LD binding into an island.

However, if there is a mediating pro that can bind an anaphor following Condition A, why does it fail to bind certain kind of anaphors, specifically complex ones? I claim that, given the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) in Chomsky (2001), the difference between simplex and complex anaphors follows from the mediation approach. More specifically, I claim that a complex anaphor has an additional layer of an nP inside it and, being phasal, this projection blocks (a part of) the complex anaphor to locally access the pro in question. I further claim that this phase-based analysis correctly predicts when complex anaphors can exceptionally get LD-binding as well as when simplex anaphors become exceptionally subject to a locality constraint.

Syntactic and semantic agreement in coordinated clauses
Einar Freyr Sigurðsson , Oddur Snorrason & Jim Wood

We present a novel 3/4 pattern in the area of syntactic and semantic subject-verb agreement in written Icelandic sports commentary. We focus empirically on agreement with the names/abbreviations of sports teams which are formally singular or have no clear formal number. (1) shows the four logically possible agreement patterns in

conjunction reduction with a formally singular but semantically plural subject *Stjarnan*. Strikingly, all patterns are found in our corpus except for (1d) (PL+SG), see Table 1.

(1) a. **Stjarnan**(SG) **er**(SG) með boltann og __ **sækir**(SG) fram. SG+SG 72 (43%)
    b. **Stjarnan**(SG) **er**(SG) með boltann og __ **sækja**(PL) fram. SG+PL 53 (31%)
    c. **Stjarnan**(SG) **eru**(PL) með boltann og __ **sækja**(PL) fram. PL+PL 43 (26%)
    d. ***Stjarnan**(SG) **eru**(PL) með boltann og __ **sækir**(SG) fram. PL+SG 0 (0%)
     '**Stjarnan has**/**have** the ball and __ **is**/**are** advancing.' Table 1: Agreement patterns

This pattern sheds light on where and when syntactic and semantic ϕ-features are introduced in the derivation, and where the features of the elided subject in conjunction reduction are copied from. We propose that the locus of ϕ-features is (i) within the DP, and (ii) at the phasal edge, adopting the notion of context linkers.

In (1a), the subject of the first verb (SubjConj1) triggers morphosyntactic agreement on the finite verb. The silent *pro* SubjConj2 copies these ϕ-feature values, resulting in the same kind of subject-verb agreement. In (1b), SubjConj1 behaves alike, but SubjConj2 gets its values from a context linker. In (1c), *Stjarnan* triggers a semantically plural agreement via a context linker. From this point, if SubjConj2 gets its features from SubjConj1, as in (1a), the result is plural. If it gets its features from the context linker, see (1b), the result is still plural. Either strategy leads to the form in (1c). However, (1d) cannot be derived: Once semantic agreement features are accessed, subsequent agreement operations can only access semantic features.

John and possibly Mary: a reduced free relative analysis
Andrew Weir

This talk considers adverbs and verbs, normally assumed to take propositions as semantic argument and clauses as syntactic argument/modificand, but which appear in (1, 2) to be modifying noun phrases (*Collins conjunctions* or CCs, after Collins 1988; also Vicente 2013, Schein 2017, Bogal-Allbritten & Weir 2017, Condoravdi et al. 2019 a.o.)

(1) Sue gave Ted and {possibly/unfortunately/I think/I suspect/*slowly} Bill some flowers.
(2) John, Mary and {possibly/unfortunately/I think/I suspect/?*sneakily} Bill met in the park.

There are diagnostics of 'hidden clauses' in such structures, e.g. in languages such as Spanish, Polish or Hungarian, verbal 'interrupting categories' (e.g. *I think*) come with complementizers (Vicente 2013):

(3) Al y creo **que** Blas fueron de compras.
    Al and I.think **that** Blas went shopping. (Spanish)

But previous analyses attempting to reduce (1-3) to clausal ellipsis (e.g. Bogal-Allbritten & Weir 2017) do not fare well with collective predicates; (2) cannot be derived from infelicitous (4).

(4) #John met and Mary met and possibly Bill met.

The present analysis argues for clausal structure, conjoined with truth-functional *and*, but located *within* a single, complex (but not itself coordinate) DP; what is conjoined is (the propositional core of) *reduced free relatives* which express a parthood relation between each of the DPs and an operator (cf. Križ & Schmitt 2012 a.o. on parthood in CCs). The operator moves across-the-board from each of these clauses to create a single DP.

(5) [DP/FR Op$_i$ [[CP t$_i$ ≥ John] and [CP t$_i$ ≥ Mary] and [CP possibly t$_i$ ≥ Bill]]] met in the park.
    Paraphrase: a group of which John was a part and Mary was a part and possibly Bill was a part met in the park.

The talk also considers the tight relationship between verbal interrupting categories and the predicates that can embed fragment answers.

Sakha "say" complementization: A Case-by-Agree approach
Christine Soh Yue

The optional accusative case marking on the subject of Sakha embedded clauses has previously been used as evidence for uniquely a dependent case analysis, given the prima facie absence of a functional head to assign case. We claim that the key to understanding this phenomenon lies in the word "*dien*." The Sakha complementizer dien, historically derived from a converbal form of *di-* 'to say,' is identical to this converb *di-en* 'say-CVB.' Based on new fieldwork data, we argue that both elements are present synchronically, and we claim that this exceptional

accusative case on embedded subjects is assigned by converb *di-en* 'say-CVB.' We provide several diagnostics to distinguish the complementizer *dien* from the converb *di-en*. Comparing the converb construction to sentences with matrix verb 'say' and its embedded clause, we argue that accusative case is assigned via ECM from the verb of saying. Furthermore, we look in depth at constructions with intransitive psych predicates and find that both the converb and CP constructions are compatible. Looking at the distribution of accusative case on the embedded subjects of several constructions controlling for this lexical ambiguity, we find that there is no dependent case algorithm that captures the full range of data, while our case-by-Agree analysis does. The present analysis not only reduces accusative case in Sakha embedded subjects to standard verbal object case assignment but also contributes to the discussion on 'say' complementization, arguing that Sakha has a complementizer that is distinct from the converb form of 'say' from which it is derived.

Invited Speaker 4	**Classical meaning for universal expressions?**
	Viola Schmitt
	HU Berlin

Work on natural language (NL) quantification often (and often implicitly) assumes that (i) NL contains correlates of classical logical quantifiers and connectives and (ii) that these correspond to morphologically primitive elements. In this talk I will argue that when considering universals — with intersective conjunction and distributive universals as classical elements — (ii) does not hold and the status of (i) is unclear: Drawing on joint work (reported in Flor et al. 2017, Haslinger et al. 2019, Dočekal et al. in prep), I will argue that in the case of conjunction, cross-linguistic correlations between morpho-syntactic markedness and available interpretations suggest that (seemingly) intersective interpretations involve additional morphology; my point concerning distributive universals (based on joint work reported in Haslinger et al. in prep.) will be somewhat analogous. I will then discuss the status of (i) in relation to data suggesting that even (complex) expressions that seemingly correspond to classical logical operators do not consistently exhibit this behavior for all speakers/in all languages in all syntactic contexts (this part of the talk is based Haslinger & Schmitt 2018, Haslinger et al. 2019, Dočekal et al. 2022, but see also e.g. Schein 1993, Kratzer 2000, Champollion 2010, Chatain 2022 for relevant discussion). The final part of the talk will address two questions that these results raise for existentials: First, what are the implications for accounts of linguistic phenomena involving existentials that appeal to a (classical) universal alternative? Second, could morphological markedness asymmetries found for existentials (disjunctions, existential quantifiers) lead us to conclusions (structurally) similar to those discussed for universals?

Session 6A

Turkish causatives embed a thematic VoiceP, and the Causee is an argument
Faruk Akkuş

This study investigates two aspects of Turkish causatives, which have featured prominently in recent literature: (i) the size of the embedded constituent, (the bracketed part in (1)), and (ii) the status of the Causee (çocuk 'child' in (1)). Regarding (i), many studies (e.g., Key 2013; Harley 2017; Çetinoğlu et al. 2008), have classified Turkish causatives as verb-selecting (a lá Pylkkänen's (2008) selection-typology), as such the causing event embeds a vP layer, but not a VoiceP layer. Nie (2020, 137) proposes an essentially identical structure in terms of the relevant properties. She suggests that Turkish causatives embed a VoiceP, but this VoiceP is non-active (or non-thematic), found in anticausatives/unaccusatives, i.e., it lacks the specifier position. Regarding (ii), all these studies argue that the overt (dative) causee is an adjunct (to Caus'/CausP in Key 2013; Harley 2017 and to non-active VoiceP in Nie 2020), and not an argument introduced in embedded Spec,VoiceP. These conclusions have been used to motivate various theories of argument licensing and causative structures (cf. Ramchand 2008; Schäfer 2012; Key 2013; Harley 2017; Nie 2020).

(1)   Anne-si   [çocuğ-aödev-i   bit-ir]-t-ti.
        mother-3sg.poss [child-dat   homework-acc   finish-trans]-caus-pst
        'His mother made the child finish the homework.'

This paper argues that neither of the conclusions regarding Turkish causatives are tenable. We demonstrate that Turkish causatives embed a VoiceP (contra Key 2013; Harley 2017; Çetinoğlu et al. 2008), which crucially is also thematic (contra Nie 2020). These new findings also reveal an active-passive alternation in Turkish causatives despite the absence of any passive morphology (pace Haspelmath 1990; Kiparsky 2013).

Anaphoric interpretations of the nominal use of Japanese classifier phrases
Yuta Tatsumi

This study focuses on the nominal use of Japanese classifier. In the nominal use, classifier phrases can appear without any overt host nominal. In (1), the classifier phrase *hutari* 'two.CLS' is semantically associated with *Taro* and *Ziro*, but these proper nouns cannot be a host nominal of the classifier phrase because they are independent nominal arguments.

(1) a. $Taro_1$-wa $Ziro_2$-ni huta-ri$_{\{1,2\}}$-no-tameno ie-o   katte-ageta.
    Taro-TOP Ziro-to two-CLS-GEN-for house-ACC buy-gave
    Lit. '$Taro_1$ bought $Ziro_2$ a house for two$_{\{1,2\}}$.'
  b. $Taro_1$-wa $Ziro_2$-ni [huta-ri$_{\{1,2\}}$-ga katta to] tsutaeta.
    Taro-TOP Ziro-to two-CLS-NOM won C told
    Lit. '$Taro_1$ told $Ziro_2$ that two$_{\{1,2\}}$ won.'

This paper argues that the partial binding interpretation of nominal classifiers as in (1) arises because nominal classifiers can combine with a covert plural pronoun *pro*PL. To be more precise, following Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002), Corver & Kranendonk (2008) and also the spirit of Abney's (1987) analysis of the English associative construction, I argue that nominal classifiers can be analyzed as an instance of the associative construction (e.g. *we linguists*). The proposed analysis is schematically represented in (2).

(2) a. $Taro_1$-wa $Ziro_2$-ni [*pro*$_{\{1,2\}}$ huta-ri]-no-tameno ie-o   katte-ageta.
    Taro-TOP Ziro-to   two-CLS-GEN-for house-ACC buy-gave
  b. $Taro_1$-wa $Ziro_2$-ni [[*pro*$_{\{1,2\}}$ huta-ri]-ga katta to] tsutaeta.
    Taro-TOP Ziro-to   two-CLS-NOM won C told

The proposed analysis has cross-linguistic implications. The English numeral *two* cannot be interpreted as having split antecedents unless it appears with the definite article *the*, as shown in (3).

(3) a. $Mary_1$ bought $John_2$ a house for *(the) two$_{\{1,2\}}$.
  b. $Mary_1$ told $John_2$ that the result of the exam would determine the future of *(the) two$_{\{1,2\}}$.

It will be argued that partial binding with definite numerals involves deletion of a plural pronoun, in a similar way as Japanese nominal classifiers.

Predication, Specification, and Equation in Ch'ol
Jessica Coon & Martina Martinović

It is generally agreed that there are at least three types of copular constructions: predicational (*Maria is a teacher*), specificational (*The teacher is Maria*), and equative (*Clark Kent is Superman*) (e.g., Mikkelsen 2005, 2011). One of the key questions that research on this topic addresses is if and how these clauses are related to one another, both derivationally and in their underlying structure. Specificational sentences are the most controversial type, having been argued to be either inverted predicational sentences (e.g., Heggie 1988, Moro 1997, Heycock 1994, Mikkelsen 2005, den Dikken 2006a), inverted equatives (e.g., Heycock and Kroch 1999, 2002, Rothstein 2001), or a distinct sentence type (e.g., Romero 2005, Arregi et al. 2021).

    In this paper we discuss new data from copular sentences in Ch'ol (Mayan). We show that the three types of copular sentences have different surface syntax in Ch'ol, and argue that agreement patterns show that predicational and specificational sentence also differ in their underlying structure. Specifically, while predicational sentences obligatorily show absolute agreement with a 1st or 2nd person referential subject (***I am a teacher***), there is no agreement with the referential constituent in specificational sentences (*The teacher is **me**.*). We argue that, given assumptions on how absolutive agreement arises in Ch'ol, its obligatory absence in specificational sentences is unexpected under analyses that propose the referential constituent to be the underlying subject in both predicational and specificational sentences, with the surface order being the result of syntactic inversion. Additionally, we argue that specificiational sentences are also not a subtype of equatives. We propose that the non-referential constituent in specificational sentences (***The teacher** is me*) is in fact the underlying subject, and that

specificational sentences are therefore a sentence type distinct from both predicational sentences and from equatives.

Modal ingredients of causative *have*
Jonathan Palucci

As described in Myler (2014), causative *have* constructions can receive two different interpretations: the engineer interpretation (*Mary had John cook dinner*) and the cause interpretation (*The chef's absence had John cooking dinner*). The former involves deliberate planning on the subject's part while the latter simply involves causally related eventualities. Myler argues that these two interpretations arise from distinct flavors of Voice: one that assigns the subject a novel ENGINEER theta role for the engineer interpretation and one that assigns a HOLDER theta role for the cause interpretation. In this talk, I present novel evidence in favor of an ambiguity analysis by focusing on the different semantic properties associated with each interpretation. In particular, it is observed that both interpretations interact differently with disjunction. A sentence like, *Alex had John or Mary cook dinner,* gives rise to two different readings: one conveying ignorance concerning who cooked dinner (John or Mary) and another conveying that Alex provided a cooking choice between John and Mary (i.e. a free choice reading). In contrast, a sentence like, *The chef's absence had John or Mary cooking dinner,* only gives rise to a reading conveying ignorance. I also argue for an analysis where each interpretation involves a different Voice head: one Voice head, corresponding to the engineer interpretation, introduces a quantificational meaning — a modal operator — that interacts scopally with disjunction whereas the other, corresponding to the cause interpretation, doesn't. This approach provides a more transparent characterization of the two interpretations which doesn't rely on theta-roles as primitives. Instead, I explain how the external argument relates to *have's* complement in each interpretation: through agent-oriented modality in the engineer interpretation and through cause-and-effect in the cause interpretation. As a result, the different causal semantics are what give rise to the observed differences between the two interpretations.

Session 6B

E-Extension and the Uniformity of Silence
Ido Benbaji & David Pesetsky

This paper advances the conjecture that all syntactic processes that silence an otherwise overt expression α accomplish this with a "silence me" feature [E], an instruction to silence every element (reflexively) dominated by α. Focusing on the silencing of syntactic heads, we argue that (at least some) ellipsis phenomena arise from the following rule:

E-extension *(optional)***:** If a head H° bears [E], copy [E] to the smallest node containing H° and its selected complement.

Crucially, the reasons H° receives [E] may be heterogeneous, but the consequences of E-Extension are uniform: the broader silencing traditionally described as ellipsis. We argue that E-Extension applied to a complementizer silenced by the Doubly-Filled Comp effect yields Sluicing, while E-Extension applied to the silenced trace of a moved head yields Head-Stranding Head-Projection ellipsis. Ellipsis is thus not a thing unto itself, but parasitic on head silencing.

      In **Sluicing**, E-extension applies to a complementizer silenced by a Doubly-Filled COMP rule (yielding Merchant's *Sluicing-Comp Generalization*), silencing material moved to C as well as the complement of C — crucially leaving adjuncts to C overt.

      In **"VP-ellipsis"**, E-extension applies to a trace of verb movement, silencing the complement of this trace. again excluding adjuncts of the relevant VP. We argue that this generalization subsumes the phenomenon Landau (2018) discusses under the name *Adjunct Exclusion*. Though Landau used Adjunct Exclusion to argue against Verb-Stranding VP ellipsis, we argue that Adjunct Exclusion and other restrictions that do not involve adjuncts actually favor a VVPE analysis.

Why *surprise* doesn't embed *whether*?: question-to-cleft reduction
Ziling Zhu & Yimei Xiang

Cognitive factives (e.g. 'know') can embed both *wh-* and whether questions (polar or alternative), while emotive factives (e.g. 'be surprised') cannot embed whether questions. We provide a question-to-cleft reduction account that explains their different selectional restrictions, drawing on facts about anaphoricity, focus-sensitivity, and existential presuppositions.

Motivated by facts on anaphoricity, we first assume that questions of different types vary in the 'answer discourse referent (ans-dref)' they introduce. Ans-drefs are discourse referents introduced by questions that may serve as short answers. *Wh-*questions introduce exactly one ans-dref; alternative questions introduce more than one ans-dref (each alternative introduces one); polar questions introduce no ans-dref, admitting only propositional short answers.

Motivated by facts on focus and existential presuppositions, we further assume that the meaning of a question embedded under emotive factives must be reduced to a cleft. For example, 'Jane is surprised who^d danced' is semantically equivalent to Jane is surprised that it is d that danced.

We propose that forming the cleft meaning from the embedded question requires the extraction of a unique ans-dref. This requirement is only satisfied by *wh-*embeddings: *wh-*questions each introduce a unique ans-dref and may form a cleft, while alternative questions introduce too many ans-drefs and polar questions introduce no ans-dref.

Formally, we define two question-reduction operators: QC (question-to-cleft), which reduces a dynamic question into a cleft answer, and QP (question-to-proposition), which reduces a dynamic question into the strongest propositional answer. We incorporate the operators into the lexical entries of emotive and cognitive factives and reserve the QC-operator for the emotive component of emotive factive.

One *self* to bind them all
Isabelle Charnavel & Dominique Sportiche

English or French *self*-forms (*her-self / elle-même*) can be anaphors (and logophors) or intensifiers, a common crosslinguistic synchronic pattern (Gast&Siemund 2006), with well documented cases of diachronic genesis (König&Siemund 2000) suggesting that this pattern is non-accidental. In addition, English *self* and cognates in other languages (but not French *même*) can be prefixed to predicates (e.g., *self-immolate*) with correlated interpretive effects.

Chomsky's 1986 binding theory or Charnavel&Sportiche 2016 fails to explain why anaphors are anaphors, why e.g. there is a condition A they are subject to, and does not address the relation between reflexives and intensifiers. Alternatives (Cresswell 1973, Reuland 2011, Lechner 2012, Sauerland 2013) do try to address some of these questions but will be shown to be unsatisfactory.

Unlike most previous work (but like Browning 1993, e.g.), we start from the requirement that a single lexical entry for *self* is to be postulated that organically explains the dual use of *self*-forms as reflexives and as intensifiers, and all their properties: we propose a lexical entry for *self/même*, attempting, in interaction with independent principles, to derive (i) why *self* forms like *herself* are anaphoric (or logophoric) reflexives, (ii) why they are subject to Condition A of the Binding Theory, (iii) why the reflexive interpretations of *self* predicates and of pronominal reflexives systematically differ, particularly in attitudes contexts, (iv) why they are used as intensifiers, (v) why qua intensifiers, they display particular distributional restrictions and interpretations (cf. e.g. Eckardt 2002, Gast 2006, Ahn 2010).

The central idea is that *self* is a binary predicate with two arguments a and the pronoun b, and, as standard, a (quasi) identity function on its first argument (self(b)@ b). Relativizing a yields intensification; Moving it to a q position yields reflexivization.

I'll Give You that Interpretation If You Give Me the Right Configuration:
Accounting for the Gradience of Inverse Scope in Insular Scandinavian
Gísli Rúnar Harðarson & Cherlon Ussery

This talk examines the availability of inverse scope in ditransitive constructions in the Insular Scandinavian (IS) languages Icelandic and Faroese. We show that syntactic structure, linear order of quantifiers, and telicity interact to determine the availability of inverse scope. Building on the ¾ signature proposal in Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2012), we model this gradience through violable constraints.

We report four observations in IS. First, inverse scope is more acceptable in PPs than in DOs similar to what has been described for English (e.g., Bruening 2001/2010). Second, in both DOs and PPs, inverse scope is marginally available when the existential quantifier ($\exists$) linearly precedes the universal quantifier ($\forall$). However, when $\forall$ linearly precedes $\exists$, inverse scope is fully available. Third, in Icelandic DO constructions in which the

direct object linearly precedes the indirect object, inverse scope is marginally available when ∀ linearly precedes ∃, but completely unavailable when ∃ linearly precedes ∀. This effect of quantifier ordering is in line with experimental work on English (Anderson 2004). We show that the difficulty of inverse scope is, therefore, related to adding to the context. Since the superset is not already present in the context, shifting from the subset to the superset is costly. The costliness of this shift also accounts for our fourth observation: atelic constructions facilitate inverse scope more than telic constructions do.

We model the observed pattern in terms of violable constraints, building on Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2012): an accumulation of violations yields a decreased acceptability, and eventually ungrammaticality. As the majority of the constraints involved appear to be directly connected to an increased processing cost, we hypothesize that a possible explanation for the different nature of non-violable and violable constraints is that only the former are hard-coded in grammar, whereas the latter are an extra-grammatical performance factor.

Neutralization in an unnatural process: Labial palatalization in Xhosa
Aaron Braver

Incomplete neutralization—when a small phonetic difference remains between the two putatively neutralized sounds—poses a problem for the standard model of the phonetics/phonology interface: *phonologically* identical strings should also be *phonetically* identical.

One strategy to resolve this contradiction is to claim that processes that neutralize incompletely are not "truly" phonological. I argue that phonetically "unnatural" phenomena are a great testbed for incomplete neutralization. Phonetic naturalness, then, may serve as a predictor of when neutralization is likely to be complete or incomplete.

In Xhosa, labial segments undergo palatalization when triggered by [w], contrary to major crosslinguistic trends in palatalization. Xhosa palatalization is phonetically unmotivated, and so should be considered a "truly" phonological process.

A wug-type task was conducted in which 18 native speakers of Xhosa were given 40 nonce verbs in active voice, and were asked to produce them in passive voice—which is realized with -w- (the palatalization trigger). Three acoustic correlates of palatalization were measured: (a) F2 of the preceeding vowel, (b) F2 at the midpoint of the nasal portion of the target segment, and (c) center of gravity in the fricative portion of [ᵐdʒ] trials. No differences were detected between derived and underlying segments for any of these measures.

This result suggests that derived and underlying palatals in Xhosa fail to maintain a phonetic distinction, and do not show incomplete neutralization. We should examine other cases of neutralization to determine whether phonetic naturalness is a prerequisite for incomplete neutralization.

Recursive numeral systems optimize the trade-off between lexicon size and average morphosyntactic complexity
Milica Denić & Jakub Szymanik

Human languages vary in terms of which meanings they lexicalize, but there are important constraints on this variation. It has been argued that languages are under two competing pressures: the pressure to be simple (e.g., to have a small lexicon size) and to allow for an informative (i.e., precise) communication with their lexical items, and that which meanings get lexicalized may be explained by languages finding a good way to trade off between these two pressures (Kemp and Regier, 2012 and much subsequent work). However, in certain semantic domains, it is possible to reach very high levels of informativeness even if very few meanings from that domain are lexicalized. This is due to productive morphosyntax, which may allow for construction of meanings which are not lexicalized. Consider the semantic domain of natural numbers: many languages lexicalize few natural number meanings as monomorphemic expressions, but can precisely convey any natural number meaning using morphosyntactically complex numerals. In such semantic domains, lexicon size is not in direct competition with informativeness. What explains which meanings are lexicalized in such semantic domains? We will argue that in such cases, languages are (near-)optimal solutions to a different kind of trade-off problem: the trade-off between the pressure to lexicalize as few meanings as possible (i.e, to minimize lexicon size) and the pressure to produce as morphosyntactically simple utterances as possible (i.e, to minimize average morphosyntactic complexity of utterances).

The syntax of the Greek reciprocal construction
Lefteris Paparounas & Martin Salzmann

In this talk we investigate the syntax of the understudied discontinuous reciprocal construction in Modern Greek, whereby the distributor `the one' and the reciprocator `the other' are independent constituents. Our main focus is the intricate locality properties of the two elements. We argue that the distributional pattern of the reciprocator, especially its sensitivity to the presence of a structural subject, suggest that it is subject to Condition A of the Binding Theory and is thus best analyzed as a plain anaphor. As for the distributor, which requires a more local relationship with the antecedent, we have proposed that it should be analyzed as a floating quantifier since its distribution perfectly mirrors that of the floating quantifier *o kath-enas* `the each-one'. We will show that the distributional properties of the two reciprocal elements, viz., the fact that they can occur inside islands, strongly

argue against establishing the relationship with the antecedent by means of Agree or movement (contrary to much of the recent literature on binding and floating quantifiers). Finally, the size of the binding domain, especially the possibility of the reciprocator to occur in embedded subject position, speaks against reducing the binding domain to phasehood, instead supporting more traditional definitions of the binding domain as the smallest XP containing the anaphor and a distinct and accessible subject.

Words (a)cross domains: lessons from Japanese verbs
Paula Fenger

When phonological operations do not pick out the same word-domain, the question arises where these mismatches stem from. I show, on the basis of a close investigation of the Japanese verbal domain that phonological mismatches stem from whether the word-unit is built in the syntax or at a later derivational stage. Moreover, I show that the limit of a syntactic word is not random, but in fact systematically falls after aspect (when present). I derive this by assuming that (i) word-building is sensitive to syntactic domains, but (ii) at a later stage in the derivation the syntax can be masked by further operations. Taking into account phonological processes, their mismatches, and their (mis)alignment with syntactic processes is important for different modules of grammar: For phonology it informs us what should be taken as exceptional and what as regular phonology, and for syntax it informs us what should be modeled as syntactic variation. Moreover, the model developed here not only has implications for variation in word-building crosslinguistically, it has implications for the nature of locality domains in different modules of grammar as well. A close investigation of word-internal and word-external domains in the Japanese verbal domain provides evidence that morpho-phonological domains can be inherited from the syntax, which is in line with recent developments in the syntax-morphology interface In conclusion, carefully considering a complete (verbal) paradigm in a language, and taking into account various phonological and syntactic operations reveals underlying syntactic systematicity. Therefore it is beneficial to have an holistic approach to grammar.

Parallel interaction between infixation and root domain constraints
Sören E. Tebay

The typology of the interaction between infixation and morpheme structure constraints provides an empirical argument for parallel Optimality Theory with constraint domains. Some languages use infixation, where an affix attaches inside its base. Phonological segments of the root that were adjacent in the input are not adjacent anymore in the output. This leads to an interesting interaction with Root Domain Constraints (RDC), static constraints that only hold within the root domain. Can infixes be included in these root domains? Do RDCs extend to discontinuous roots created by infixation? A small-scale study of 55 patterns from 32 languages with 32 interacting patterns reveals that the former question is answered on a language-specific basis. The latter question on the other hand is uniformly answered positively. RDCs always extent to discontinuous roots, i.e. infixed roots are never exempt from RDCs. The typological pattern is unexpected from a serial point of view. A RDC that ignores discontinuous roots is easily modeled as a process applying only after infixation. In a parallel Optimality Theory approach, some device has to be used to restrict constraint violations to certain domains. I will propose that this is achieved by relativizing constraints to hierarchical domains, including a root domain √C. Due to a fixed ranking of constraints on the root proper above constraints on the root+infix domain, any RDCs that holds for the root+infix domain will also hold for the root proper, excluding the unattested pattern.

Root suppletion in Italian: a nanosyntactic account
Pamela Goryczka

This contribution provides a new analysis of verbs presenting the so-called -isc- augment in Italian within the framework of Nanosyntax. The Italian root extension -isc- is restricted to (the majority of) third conjugation verbs ending in -ire. Furthermore, it only appears in the Present Indicative and Subjunctive forms – except for the 1PL and the 2PL – as well as the 2SG Imperative (e.g., (Io) finisco 'I finish' vs (noi) finiamo 'we finish').

Very few studies based on syntactic approaches to morphology have been dedicated to the formal analysis of -isc-, though practically all of them are couched within the framework of Distributed Morphology. Crucially, these accounts usually assume additional morphological processes to account for the difference between the underlying syntactic structure and the phonological surface form.

However, the discrepancy can be explained in a more straightforward way without having to resort to additional morphological operations. From the perspective of Nanosyntax, it all comes down to the absolute size of the (morphological) root. Since one of the main pillars of the theory holds that only phrasal constituents can be targeted by lexical insertion, we may assume that, with respect to the Italian data, we are in fact dealing with two types of

roots: both roots spell out √ and *v*, but, crucially, the information encoded in *v* is not the same. We may thus distinguish between large(r) roots which spell out the whole *v*P structure, and smaller roots which encode a reduced *v*P structure.

Kipsigis across-the-board tonal polarity is epiphenomenal
Armel Jolin

In Kipsigis (sgc, kips1239; Kalenjin (Southern Nilotic), Nilo-Saharan), nominal modifiers possess three forms, termed *predicative*, *absolute* and *nominative*, which are exclusively distinguished by tonal means. Descriptively, the absolute-nominative distinction can be derived by replacing every absolute tone by its polar opposite, i.e. absolute L corresponds to nominative H, and absolute H, to nominative L. Kouneli and Nie (2021) argue that these data represent the first attested case of across-the-board, paradigmatic tonal polarity, and they suggest that a dedicated polarity mechanism may provide a better account of the pattern. I offer a reply to Kouneli and Nie's (2021) claim, providing a reanalysis of the data that obviates reference to polarity and only employs discrete exponents. The account uses one tonal affix per tonal shape (predicative: floating H prefix; absolute: floating L suffix; nominative: floating LH melody), which are then introduced at different phonological strata (predicative: first stratum; absolute and nominative: second stratum). The crucial difference between the absolute and nominative shapes follows from the interaction between the shape of their respective exponent and a high-ranked CONTIGUITY constraint (Trommer 2022), which demands the contiguous realization of tautomorphemic tones: absolute forms surface as H(H…)L under vacuous satisfaction of this constraint, whereas nominative forms, because of the bitonality of the nominative exponent, enforce the non-realization of all the tones of the base, yielding a general L(L…)H pattern. The account shows that the existence of true polarity patterns still does not require polarity-specific mechanisms in the grammar, and that they can be derived in a purely concatenative, item-and-arrangement way, contra Kouneli and Nie's (2021) claim.

An experimental investigation of the case matching requirement in Polish ATB movement and RNR
Johannes Rothert

I will present the results of an acceptability rating study that investigated the case matching requirement in Polish sharing constructions (SCs). I obtained judgments from native speakers on Polish examples of across-the-board (ATB) topicalization and right node raising (RNR) where the shared DP bore either (i) a matching case form, (ii) a syncretic case form, (iii) a case form unambiguously indicating the case assigned by the verb in the adjacent conjunct, or (iv) a case form unambiguously indicating the case assigned by the verb in the distant conjunct. The three main findings of the study can be summarized as follows: First, both constructions show the same pattern of acceptability ratings across the four investigated case patterns. Second, both constructions exhibit a case syncretism effect (i.e., syncretic case forms obviate the ungrammaticality of SCs with case mismatches). Third, both constructions also exhibit a case proximity effect (i.e., case forms only matching the case requirements of the verb in the adjacent rather than the distant conjunct obviate the ungrammaticality of SCs with case mismatches). Based on the results of my study, I argue that there is no case matching requirement that restricts the range of well-formed SCs. Furthermore, I claim that ATB movement and RNR require the same kind of derivation due to their similar behaviour regarding the acceptability of the investigated case patterns. Of the theoretical approaches to the syntax of SCs discussed in the literature, the ellipsis approach is most compatible with the results of my study. Under this approach, the shared DP is marked for the case assigned by the verb in the adjacent conjunct regardless of whether it is syncretic with the case assigned by the verb in the distant conjunct.

Pronouncing PRO in Wolof
Suzana Fong

In Wolof, control clauses differ in whether or not the controlled subject is pronounced. In (1), the embedded subject is obligatorily null, while in (2) the embedded subject is obligatorily an overt pronoun (2).

(1)   Maymuna   fas-na   *(**mu**)   jàng   taalif   b-i.
              Maymuna   try-NA.3sg   *(3gs.subj)   read   poem   cm.sg-def
              'Maymuna tried to read the poem.'

(2)   Dimbali-na-a   a-b   xale   *(**mu**)   jàng   téere   b-i.
              help-NA-1sg   indef-cm.sg   child   *(3sg.subj)   read   book   cm.sg-def
              'I helped a child read the book.'

That (2) is indeed a case of control can be argued on the basis of the properties that characterize this type of construction (i.e. bound reading, de se interpretation, sloppy reading under ellipsis).

The absence of a pronounced subject (1) correlates with the obligatoriness of clitic climbing and the prohibition of the occurrence of a clitic in the position where a WH-phrase moves from in the embedded clause. Conversely, the obligatoriness of a pronounced subject (2) correlates with the prohibition of clitic climbing and the obligatoriness of WH-resumption.

I propose, thus, that control clauses with an overt subject project a ΣP which "impedes" movement. Assuming that obligatory control is derived by movement (Hornstein 1999), I model the pronounced PRO in (2) as the partial residue of movement (Van Urk 2018) that has been impeded (Lee 2003). WH-resumption is also modeled as a residue of impeded movement, which accounts for why these properties dovetail.

Control clauses with a null subject are an instance of restructuring (Wurmbrand 1998.). This captures why subject control has the opposite properties as those showcased by object control.

How to covertly move: Evidence from Passamaquoddy-Wolastoqey
Peter Grishin

I argue that the clause-embedding verbs *'pawatomon* 'want' and *'kisehtun* 'make' in Passamaquoddy-Wolastoqey (Eastern Algonquian) participate in a raising-to-object (RtO) construction, whereby the highest argument in the embedded clause raises (potentially covertly) into the matrix clause, and is agreed-with like a matrix clause (indirect) object—expanding the list of known cases of covert A movement, as in Adyghe (Potsdam & Polinsky 2012) and Nez Perce (Deal 2018). The evidence for this comes mainly from matrix verb agreement patterns, as well as the behavior of obviation marking, which indicate the raised argument c-commands the embedded clause from which it originates, even when surfacing inside it. I also demonstrate that these verbs are not object control verbs, due to their ability to embed weather predicates as well as their inability to take thematic DP objects in the clause-embedding structure. I then argue that Passamaquoddy-Wolastoqey covert RtO is only compatible with a lower copy pronunciation analysis of covert movement, rather than movement on the LF branch of a Y model of syntax. I provide feeding arguments to this effect, demonstrating that covert RtO can feed narrow-syntactic processes like agreement and further A movement (which are visible due to morphological reflexes on the matrix verb), as well as LF phenomena like scope reconstruction—which distinguishes Passamaquoddy-Wolastoqey covert RtO from Nez Perce covert RtO, which does not reconstruct (Deal 2018).

Plural pronouns as quantificational expressions
Madeleine Butschety

Plural Pronoun Comitatives in Slavic, and Pro[NP] constructions in Icelandic give rise to an unexpected singular 'I' interpretation (henceforth '2p'; see (1a,2a)) of the plural pronoun. This reading contrasts with the default 'we'-interpretation (henceforth: '3p'; see (1b,2b)).

(1) Juče   smo   mi/*pro*   s   Mariju   otišli   u   muzej.   (BCMS, Torlakian)
    yesterday   AUX.1PL   we/*pro*   with   Maria.INSTR   went   in   museum
   a. 'Maria and I went to the museum yesterday.' **2p**
   b. 'We and Maria went to the museum yesterday.' **3p**

(2) Vid   Maria   forum.   (Icelandic)
    we.NOM   Maria.NOM   went.1PL
   a. 'Maria and I went/left.' **2p**
   b. 'We and Maria went/left.' **3p**

This ambiguity can be accounted for under the assumption that plural pronouns have a lot in common with quantifiers, such as introducing a restrictor. I claim that the difference between (1a,2a) and (1b,2b) can be explained in terms of whether the comitative phrase/the NP occupies a structural position within the plural pronoun's DP (=2p) or not (=3p).

The restrictor of a plural pronoun such as *we* is assumed to consist of three ingredients: A silent instance of its singular counterpart (reference to the speaker), a contextual assignment function $g(i)$ (reference to 'other(s)'), and a silent operator OP which conflates these two referential instances. I propose that *with* in Slavic PPCs under their 2p-meaning has the same semantics as OP, whereby the comitative phrase acts as the spell-out of the more general OP+$g(i)$ part present in a plural pronoun's restrictor structure. In Icelandic, there is no overt element matching OP's semantics and thus, Pro[NP] constructions lack a comitative.

(3) $[[OP]] = [[with]] = \lambda x_e . \lambda y_e . \lambda z. z \leq x \vee z = y$

But plural pronouns and quantifiers also share syntactic properties. I suggest that a movement operation similar to Quantifier-floating is responsible for the availability of 2p-readings for split PPCs in some Slavic languages. The fact that Icelandic Pro[NP]s cannot be split is explained by the lack of a comitative element.

Doubt and anti-additivity
Irene Smith

The predicate *doubt* licenses strong NPIs, such as *in years*, for some speakers. For example, many speakers find the sentence *Jim doubts that the lake has been this low in years* perfectly acceptable. According to Zwarts's (1998) theory of strong NPI licensing, this datapoint would suggest that *doubt* is anti-additive, although Zwarts's view has been challenged. Since strong NPI licensing isn't a sure-fire test for anti-additivity, we need more diagnostics to know whether *doubt* is actually anti-additive. Direct reasoning about anti-additivity for *doubt* yields confused and variable judgements. For example, speakers give unclear answers when asked if *Jason doubts it will rain, and he doubts it will snow, but it's not the case that Jason doubts it will rain or snow* is a contradiction, which is the expected judgment if *doubt* is anti-additive. I propose the following new test for anti-additivity. Assume a context in which Jack is about to roll a six-sided die: the sentence *for every number between 1 and 6, Jack doubts he'll roll that number* is infelicitous. Intuitively, this is because it expresses that Jack doesn't think he will roll *any* number, which is impossible in this context. This result suggests that *doubt* in fact is anti-additive. One possible analysis is then that *doubt* means *think not*, which is decidedly anti-additive. This would go a long way towards explaining *doubt*'s anti-additive behavior, but raises new issues. For example, speakers have a strong intuition that *doubt* and *think not* mean different things when placed under the scope of a downward-entailing operator. Additionally, as alluded to earlier, not all speakers can license strong NPIs with *doubt*, whereas all speakers can license strong NPIs with *think not*. I conclude by sketching out an alternative analysis for *doubt* that could produce a "quasi anti-additive" meaning and explain the contrast with *think not*.

Manner/result polysemy as contextual allosemy: Evidence from Daakaka
Jens Hopperdietzel

In Daakaka (Vanuatu, Oceanic, Austronesian), a group of transitive verbs like *tiwiye* is polysemous in lexicalizing either a manner or a result-meaning component (cf. manner/result polysemy). In its manner variant (1a), the verb denotes the manner of action without entailing any result state, whereas in its result variant, the verb denotes the result state of an underspecified action (1b).

(1) a. *Bong ma **tiwi-ye** pwesye ente a to setyup.*
      Bong REAL press.manually-TR branch DEM but REAL.NEG be.broken
      'Bong pressed that branch manually, but it didn't break.'

    b. *Bong ma **ta** **tiwi-ye** lee ente, # a to setyup*
      Bong REAL cut break-TR tree DEM but REAL.NEG be.broken
      'Bong broke that tree by cutting them, # but it didn't break.'

As the respective interpretation is determined by the syntactic context in which the verb appears in, I present an analysis in which roots are only interpreted in their relative syntactic configuration to their verbalizer (via contextual allosemy). In particular, I argue that roots function as event modifiers in the modifier position of *v* (sister to *v'*) but as (stative) event arguments in the complement domain of *v*. Suppletive intransitive verb forms that correspond to manner and result interpretations provide novel discriminating evidence for such a syntactic analysis of manner/result polysemy, as they challenge alternative analyses based on coercion, derivation, and homophony. Consequently, Daakaka manner/result polysemy also supports a syntactic approach to manner/result complementarity and sheds new light on the nature of root meaning.

Obligation, prohibition, non-finite complementation
Diti Bhadra & Arka Banerjee

In this comparative study of verbal deontic necessity modals expressing obligation and prohibition, we focus on the interaction of modal semantics with their mandatorily non-finite complements (infinitives and gerunds). Infinitives and gerunds are often given a similar semantics, as either kind-like abstract individuals/eventualities (Carlson 1977, Chierchia 1984, 2016), or as sets of minimal situations (Portner 1992). We show that in Bangla (/Bengali, Indo-Aryan), deontic necessity modals make a crucial difference between these two non-finite complement types, and they cannot be given a similar semantics. We develop a distinct semantics for infinitives and gerunds, and develop their compositional interaction with the semantics of prohibition and obligation. Firstly, the Bangla modal verbs 'hobe'/'lagbe' (*have-to/got-to*) expressing obligation crucially differ from those

expressing prohibition 'mana'/'baron'/'nishedh' (*forbid/prohibit/disallowed*) in taking only infinitival complements while the latter take both gerunds and infinitivals. Secondly, the infinitival and gerund complements of the prohibitive modals are not interchangeable in all contexts. Only the gerund complement is felicitous in contexts of *general prohibition* such as on signs, etc. So far, a similar semantics for infinitives and POSS-ing gerunds as kind-denoting individuals have been posited for English based on their compatibility with kind predicates (Carlson 1977, Chierchia 1984, Portner 1989). However, in Bangla, the same cannot be posited because Bangla kind predicates can take only gerunds, but not infinitives. We argue that Bangla infinitives introduce an existential quantifier over events, that eventually leads to a set of worlds, while the gerunds have a standard semantics (Parsons 1990, Portner 1991) as a property of eventualities. We also argue for two types of Bangla verbal prohibitives, while verbal obligatives are of a single type, proposition-taking. Overall, we show that studying the interaction of different sub-types of deontic necessity modals with non-finite complementation enriches our theoretical and typological understanding of both domains.

A two-step clitic placement algorithm in Khwarshi
Philipp Weisser

In this talk, I investigate the complex placement pattern of the polysyndetic coordinator clitic in the language Khwarshi (NE Caucasian, Tsezic), which, I argue, should be conceived of as a two-step process: (i) It right-attaches to the noun phrase bearing absolutive case in every conjunct regardless of the structural position of the absolutive phrase. (ii) If there is no absolutive phrase in a conjunct, then it simply attaches to, linearly, the first XP in the conjunct.

Based on this pattern, I defend the following claims: 1. The two-step placement pattern should be accounted for as the interplay of independently attested clitic placement patterns. Pattern (i) is an instance of a head-anchoring clitic that cannot be reanalysed as being a restricted to a very specific domain (pace Anderson 2005) and pattern (ii) is a regular second position clitic. 2. Unlike other instances of morphosyntactically determined clitic placement, the placement of the coordinator cannot plausibly be the result of syntactic movement. 3. The interplay between patterns (i) and (ii) does not need to be stipulated but falls out from a sequential model of postsyntax where syntactic structure is translated into linear strings in a stepwise fashion (see e.g. Arregi & Nevins 2012).

Failure to apply an earlier clitic displacement rule can be repaired at a later point by subsequent rules. 4. What looks like distinct clitic displacement rules on the surface can be unified to a single instance of morphological merger applying before or after Precedence relations are established.

The Syntax and Semantics of Asymmetrical ATB Wh-Constructions in Mandarin Chinese
Haoming Li

Across-the-Board (ATB) constructions were first introduced by Ross (1967). There are two main camps of analyses, based on whether the extraction is symmetrical (from both bon conjuncts), or asymmetrical (from only one conjunct). The first camp includes Sideward Movement (Nunes 2001) and Parallel Merge (Citko 2005); the second camp includes the parasitic gap analysis (Munn 1992), the extraction-ellipsis analysis (Salzmann 2012; Ha 2008), and the pro-ϕP approach (Zhang 2009). Mandarin Chinese ATB data have been accounted for in many of the approaches. However, there is a previously unreported kind of asymmetric ATB construction in Mandarin, featuring the wh-phrase in the first conjunct and a gap in the second conjunct. I argue that this construction defies analysis by all the previous approaches to ATB constructions. The correct structural analysis involves a Qu wh-operator, based generated in the left periphery of the first conjunct and unselectively binding the wh-phrase, semantically a variable, in situ in the first conjunct; the gap in the second conjunct is the result of ellipsis and is fundamentally just a null object, ubiquitous in Chinese (c.f. Li 2014). Mechanisms of dynamic semantics ensure that the Qu operator in the first conjunct can bind the variable in the gap, which is out of the former's syntactic scope. This asymmetric treatment of the Qu operator is supported by facts from Weak Crossover and Focus Intervention, both of which target the first conjunct only. The ellipsis approach to the gap in the second conjunct is supported by the lack of island effects in both conjuncts and the availability of sloppy readings for anaphors contained inside the wh-phrase. In short, the Mandarin ATB construction involves operations that are neither movement nor across-the-board but is the result of the interactions between processes independently available in the language, i.e., unselective binding and object drop.

An experimental study on kind and generic readings across languages: bare plural vs. definite plural
Imke Driemel, Johannes Hein, Desiré Carioti, Jakob Wünsch, Vina Tsakali, Artemis Alexiadou, Uli Sauerland & Maria Teresa Guasti

Kind and generic readings can be realized with a multitude of structures within and across languages. Romance languages (1c) and Greek (1d), e.g., use *definite plurals* but Germanic languages employ *bare plurals* (Krifka et

al. 1995, Chierchia 1998, Alexiadou et al. 2007). German is exceptional, as both definite plurals and bare plurals license generic readings (1b). The cross-linguistic patterns replicate for kind readings (not shown here).

(1)   a.   (*The) dogs love to play.
        b.   (Die) Bieber bauen Dämme.
        c.   *(I) cani amano giocare.
            the dogs love. to.play
        d.   *(I) ghates ine aksiolatrefta plasmata.
            the cats. are adorable   creatures
            Recently, Acton (2019) observed that even in English generic readings can be expressed with definite plurals, though with the effect that the speaker distances themselves from the kind expressed, shown in (3).

(2)   a.   Americans love cars.   (Acton 2019)
        b.   The Americans love cars. (speaker distance)

We present results from a comparative judgement study comparing English, German, Italian, and Greek, investigating definiteness marking for kind/generic readings, and the distancing effects in (2). Our results indicate that German is similar to English in expressing kind/generic readings primarily with bare plurals (pace Longobardi 1994, Krifka et al. 1995, Dayal 2004), but German speakers make use of the definite plural in distance contexts.

Extraction without an escape hatch: the case of Greek possessor extraction
### Nikos Angelopoulos & Dimitris Michelioudakis

Possessor sub-extraction from DPs, (1) from Greek, is standardly analyzed as a 2-step process, with movement to Spec,DP followed by A'-movement of the possessor into the left periphery, (2):

(1)   <Pjanu>   dhiavases   to   vivlio < pjanu>?
          whose.GEN read.2SG   the   book.ACC whose.GEN   'Whose book did you read?'
(2)   [CP Pjanu DP [C' [TP diavases V+T [… [VP ~~diavases~~ V [DP ~~pjanu~~ [D' to [NP vivlio NP ~~pjanu~~ DP]]]]]]]]

Based on new evidence we present *against* (2), we propose an alternative derivation, (4), which is compatible with the idea that D is a bounding node, and in which the possessor can be separated from the possessum. In contrast to (2), we argue that Greek D lacks an escape hatch. Even though D differs from C in that it lacks a non-criterial Spec, we argue that it resembles C in that it projects discourse-related projections, Foc(us)P and Top(ic)P. Movement to these positions is only for interpretive reasons, suggesting that FocP, TopP are criterial positions,(3):

(3)   All Spec-positions in the Greek DP are criterial.   (4)

In (4), the possessor carries a +Foc and a *wh*-feature. +Foc is satisfied via movement of *pjanu* to Spec,FocP. The possessum *vivlio* has a +Top feature, and pied-pipes the DP-remnant into Spec,TopP where fronted XPs are interpreted as topicalized, and +Top is licensed. Criterial freezing blocks movement of the possessor, *pjanu*, from Spec,FocP into Spec,CP. Instead, the possessor pied-pipes the FocP-remnant into the Spec of a criterial head, C+wh, where the possessor's *wh*-feature satisfies the relevant criterion; here, no (phase) impenetrability condition is violated as only a part of the extended projection of the DP is moved but no constituent dominated by the DP. With this in mind, we show that (4) accounts for patterns that (2) cannot generate and rules out others that (2) wrongly predicts to be grammatical.
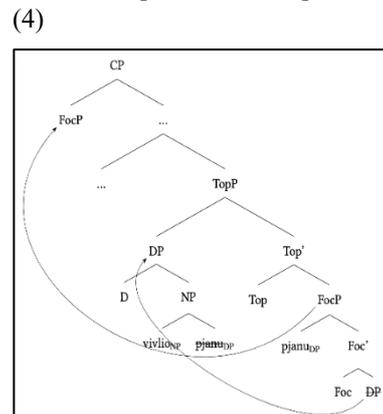
Focus is not sufficient for an interrogative interpretation of quexistentials
Andrew A. Hedding

In many languages, morphemes used as wh-words also function as non-interrogative indefinites in specific environments. Recent work has proposed that the interpretation of these morphemes ("quexistentials") is tightly correlated with focus: specifically, focus marking on a quexistential forces an interrogative interpretation, while the lack of focus forces a non-interrogative interpretation.

In this presentation, I analyze the licensing requirements of quexistentials in Peras Tu'un Savi (Mixtec). Besides establishing the existence of quexistentials in the language, the main empirical contribution of this presentation is to demonstrate that focus on a quexistential does not force an interrogative interpretation. A focused non-

interrogative quexistential (~*someone*) can felicitously contrast with a negative indefinite (~*no one*). Curiously, however, the quexistential meaning *someone* cannot contrast with a universally quantified expression (~*everyone*), a pattern that I also claim generally holds for the English existential indefinite *someone*. Thus, it is not the case that the focus alternatives of quexistentials include all possible ways of quantifying over the domain of entities they introduce. Instead, I propose that focus on a quexistential highlights the contrast in polarity with a salient alternative, similar to verum focus. For this reason, *no one arrived* (=it is not the case that someone arrived) can be felicitously followed up with *someone arrived* (=it IS the case that someone arrived) because these two expressions contrast in polarity.

   Overall, the data suggest that quexistentials may only be able to be focused in certain specific contexts, potentially explaining why focused quexistentials are often reported to be dispreferred cross-linguistically. However, they suggest that there is no universal ban on focusing morphemes of this type.

Voiced and Voiceless Intransitives in Halkomelem Salish: Rethinking Antipassives
David Basilico

There are two morphemes in Halkomelem Salish that appear in morphosyntactic intransitive clauses and have been likened to antipassive morphemes: the 'activity' -*els* and the 'middle' -*m* (Gerdts and Hukari 2006). I argue that these suffixes are not detransitivizers. Instead, I consider that -*els* is a Voice head (Kratzer 1996); it is the counterpart of the transitive -*t* suffix that appears in Voice and adds an agent thematic role predicate and external argument. However, unlike -*t*, it does not assign ergative case. The middle -*m* is a *v* head that both categorizes a root and introduces the external argument, creating either an unergative verb or a non-core transitive verb (Levin 1999). <u>No VoiceP is present</u>.

   This analysis adds a further nuance to Davis's (1997) claim that transitives and unergatives in Salish are derived by morphosyntactic operations. It is similar in spirit to Wiltschko (2009) but does not need a lexical vs. syntactic introduction of arguments. It complicates our understanding of the ap construction; an ap morpheme does not involve argument reduction/demotion but introduces either an external argument in Voice or is involved with both verbalization of a root and the introduction of an external argument. We give further support for monotonicity in natural language (Kiparsky, 1983; Koontz-Garboden, 2009, 2012). This view of antipassivization in Salish supports Tollan's (2018) argument, based on data from unergatives and cognate objects in Samoan, that some clauses lack a Voice head.

Forward, Backward, Crossed: Voice restructuring and semantic binding
Shannon Bryant, Iva Kovač & Susi Wurmbrand

We provide a unified account of the obligatory control relation attested in a range of very reduced restructuring configurations—backward control, crossed control, and long passive/patient Voice. Prior work has treated backward control, crossed control, and long passive/patient Voice individually. However, these constructions are strikingly similar in two key respects: they are typically restricted to the smallest class of restructuring complements and they require coreference between the (understood) matrix and embedded Agents. We suggest a unified approach in terms of two basic mechanisms: i) a syntactic feature dependency between the matrix and embedded Voice heads; and ii) semantic argument sharing via semantic binding which enforces coreference between the matrix and embedded Agents (whether overt or understood).

Ambiguity in High/Low Construal Revisited:
Wh-Complementizer, Structures of SAY Verbs, and Temporal Modification
Qiuhao Charles Yan

In this paper, I propose a novel account, based on feature valuation, for ambiguity in high/low construal observed in the derivation of English temporal adverbial clauses (Geis 1970, 1975), arguing against the widely-accepted operator movement analysis (Haegeman 2012; Larson 1987, 1990). As illustrated in (1), *when* can relate to either the local verb or a more deeply embedded one, giving rise to ambiguous readings. Representations (1a') and (1b') together suggest that it is the distinct launch site of the *wh*-operator that determines its reading.

(1) I saw Puffy in Canary Wharf *when* [she said [that she would leave]].
    a. High construal: at the time that Puffy made the statement.
    a'. [$_{CP}$ when$_i$ [$_{TP}$ she said [$_{CP}$ that [$_{TP}$ she would leave]] t$_i$]]
    b. Low construal: at the time of Puffy's presumed departure
    b'. [$_{CP}$ when$_i$ [$_{TP}$ she said [$_{CP}$ t$_i$ that [$_{TP}$ she would leave t$_i$]]]]

I put forward a non-movement analysis consisting of three points different from the conventional one. First, grounded on a series of diagnostics relevant to *wh*-dependencies, e.g. *wh*-modifier floating, I argue that adverbial *when* is a base-generated *wh*-complementizer rather than a movable *wh*-operator. Second, following the proposal

in Yan (2022), I further argue that ambiguous high/low readings of *when* are in fact reflections of the eventive/stative uses of SAY verbs (Grimshaw 2015; Major 2021). That is, the high construal is only allowed by eventive *say*, while the low construal is available only with stative *say*. With these two arguments at hand, I posit that the derivation of temporal adverbial clauses involves feature valuation between *when* and an assumed light noun TIME in the SpecAspP, the distribution of which only occurs within an eventive verbal extended projection. Adopting the interpretation mechanism from Adger & Ramchand (2005), the ambiguous readings of *when* can be explained eventually at LF.

Mixed probe, competing for nominal licensing and information-structural neutrality in Shilluk
Zhouyi Sun

Shilluk (Nilotic, South Sudan) has a voice system with characteristics of those found in Austronesian languages and the more closely related language Dinka (Erlewine, Levin & Van Urk 2017). As a language with transitive clauses showing a V2 effect with a strict word order, Shilluk clauses have i) a privileged clause-initial topical argument (henceforth "pivot"), ii) voice morphology indicating the semantic role of the pivot, iii) A' extraction restriction to the pivot in the sense that for an argument in the embedded clause to be relativized, it has to be the pivot of the embedded clause, and iv) special marking of non-pivot subjects. Two characteristics make Shilluk unique: 1) Passive is the default transitive clause; 2) Non-pivot subjects must be personal pronouns, immediately following the verb and bearing special marking. This work, based on a descriptive grammar of Shilluk (Remijsen & Ayoker 2018), shows that both puzzles can be derived from a mixed A/A-bar position as argued for the closely related language Dinka (Van Urk 2015) as well as many other languages such as Yiddish (Diesing 1990), and competing for licensing between nominals as the pivot position is the only available Case position in transitive clauses (see Van Urk 2015 and Erlewine 2018 for similar proposals for Dinka and Toba Batak respectively). The neutrality of passive is in essence no different from Object Voice being information-structurally neutral in some Austronesian languages (see Arka 2002). The restriction, position as well as marking of non-pivot subjects are all consequences of licensing under adjacency (Levin 2015 et seq.).

(In)dependence of features on Composite Probe
Magdalena Lohninger & Ka Fai Yip

While the notion of Composite A'/A Probe (Obata & Epstein 2011, van Urk 2015, Wurmbrand 2019, *i.a.*) has been fruitful in a wide range of empirical domains including *wh*-movement with A-properties and cross-clausal A-dependencies (CCA, e.g. long-distance agreement and hyperraising), its cross-linguistic distribution remains poorly understood. This study probes into the question of how Composite Probe is organized and systemically varies across languages. We uncover a novel correlation between two cross-linguistic differences in CCA: only languages that do not have semantic restrictions on the DP involved in CCA (CCA.DP) allow additional A'-movement to CCA. We suggest that this correlation follows from the **Composite Probe Hierarchy** proposed by Lohninger et al. (2022), where Composite Probes may differ in in how dependent their single parts (A' and A) are from each other. Specifically, for (i) *Dependent Probe*, [A'] and [A] probe together for a single Goal; and for (ii) *Independent Probe*, [A'] and [A] probe independently and can trigger agreement/movement on their own. In CCA, the CCA.DPs in Dependent Probing languages receive a discourse-bound interpretation (e.g. topic), including Japanese, Romanian, Tsez, Turkish, etc., indicating joint probing with [A'] (e.g. [TOP]). Importantly, these languages disallow another A'-movement (e.g. *wh*-movement, topicalization, focalisation or relativisation) to co-occur with CCA, which follows from the dependence of [A]/[A'] features: [A'] must participate in the CCA and cannot attract another A'-element, bleeding further A'-movement. On the other hand, Independent Probing languages (e.g. Brazilian Portuguese, Cantonese, Mongolian, Vietnamese, etc.) do not have such semantic restriction on the CCA.DP, showing that [A] probes independently of [A']. They crucially allow A'-movement to co-occur with CCA, a natural consequence of the independence between [A]/[A'] features: they may probe separately and attract movement of more than one element. The findings implicate that features are systemically organized on Probes.

Equating by quantifying over kinds: Dutch *zo...als* equatives
Jianrong Yu & Lena Heynen

We provide a compositional semantic analysis of (Belgian) Dutch equative constructions involving adjectives and verbs that utilize the proform *zo* 'so'. Specifically, we propose that *zo* compositionally introduces kinds, with the equative standard clause marker *als* 'as' quantifying over sets of kinds and introducing an equative relation between them. The analysis is shown to be supported by various pieces of morphological and semantic evidence. First, *zo* is a cross-categorial pro-form ranging over degrees (adjectives) or manners (verbs) depending on what it modifies even in non-equative contexts; that it is used to build equatives suggests that equatives involve kinds. Second, *zo...als* equatives only have degree readings with adjectives and only manner readings with verbs, exactly as in the use of *zo* as an anaphoric pro-form in non-equative contexts. Finally, *zo...als* equatives show scope ambiguity with a matrix modal verb of the sort well-known with comparatives, which only have degree readings. This scope ambiguity is observed not just with adjectival equatives, which may be expected since they involve degrees like comparatives, but also with verbal equatives equating manners. Taken together, the data and analysis counterexemplify proposed generalizations about the cross-linguistic morphosyntax of equative constructions and previous analyses that postulate a difference between how adjectival and verbal equatives are built. The Dutch data and analysis here, in addition to observations from equatives across other Germanic languages like English and German, add to growing work arguing for different morpho-semantic strategies of building equatives.

A procedure for annotating non-manual markers in question sentences in sign languages
Marloes Oomen, Tobias de Ronde & Floris Roelofsen

We report on the development and application of a procedure for annotating non-manual markers in question sentences in experimentally obtained sign language data, using ELAN Linguistic Annotator. In natural sign languages, facial expressions, body movements and other non-manuals serve a wide range of linguistic functions, in addition to the gestural and affective functions they may fulfil in visual communication in general. Many studies exploring the linguistic features of non-manuals tend to focus on just one type of marker (or cluster of markers) connected to one type of linguistic function, and lack fine-grained qualitative annotation of non-manuals.

We conducted a study where such a level of detailed analysis was a necessity. Investigating the role of bias in the marking of polar questions in Sign Language of the Netherlands (NGT), we developed and tested a new annotation procedure for non-manual markers. As part of the study, data were elicited from seven deaf NGT signers in a controlled production experiment, which yielded a total of 305 target questions that were subsequently annotated for non-manual marking. This happened in four steps: (1) development and (2) evaluation of the annotation guidelines; (3) annotation of a subset of the data by two coders, following the improved annotation guidelines, to establish a measure of inter-rater reliability, and (4) annotation of the full data set by one coder.

We hope that both the newly created annotation protocol and our report on its process of development and challenges encountered are of use to other studies on sign languages and visual communication in a similar vein.

Constraints on interactions between morphological processes and gesture in signed languages
Gaurav Mathur & Christian Rathmann

This paper argues for two points: (a) only certain morphological processes in signed languages require interaction with gesture while others do not, even if they appear iconic; and (b) when they interact with gesture, they do so in specific, constrained ways. In the case of 'verb agreement', which marks the person and number features of two animate entities and is realized through a change in the direction of the movement and/or orientation of the hands, only the realization of the nonfirst person feature is unspecified and requires interaction with gesture, specifically a deictic gesture as opposed to other types, e.g., an iconic gesture. Turning to 'classifier constructions' describing the location or motion of an entity, they are taken to consist of a classifier and a root; the classifier marks the class of an entity and is realized through handshape while the root donotes the location or motion of the entity and is realized through movement of the hands. The realization of the classifier is always specified and does not involve interaction with gesture, while the realization of the root is unspecified and requires interaction with gesture, specifically an iconic gesture that reflects the path of movement of the entity. In contrast to these morphological processes, aspectual modulations, which mark the internal temporal properties of events, have a fully specified realization, namely, a modification of the movement of the hands, which does not require interaction with gesture, though they have an iconic, ideophonic quality that is historically rooted in gesture and that may be extracted and modified for effect. The distinction between morphological processes that interact with gestures and those that do

not appears with other morphological processes and correctly predicts cross-linguistic similarities with regard to the former and cross-linguistic variation with regard to the latter.

Restrictiveness of constraint indexation: a case study on segmental contrast
Aleksei Nazarov

In this paper, I will demonstrate limits of indexed constraints' (Pater 2000) power and learnability using computational simulations in the domain of segmental contrast (Round 2017). I propose a Contrast Indexation MaxEnt Learner (CIMEL), which uses the gradient of a MaxEnt model's weights to find potential indexed constraints.

A **transparent, opaque**, **exceptionful**, and 3 **random** (toy) languages are learned under three different morphophonological learning scenarios. A set of phonetic constraints is given to the learner that promote height harmony, backness harmony, and palatalization, in addition to constraints on individual segments' qualities. If a language is successfully learned (based on training data log-likelihood), the resulting grammar is also tested on a large Richness-of-the-Base (ROTB) tableau.

As expected, the random languages cannot be learned (very low training data log-likelihood). The other three languages can be learned in any of the three scenarios, but only the scenario that has morphological structure, but no settled underlying forms/faithfulness constraints leads to correct generalization of the pattern in the ROTB test. These results demonstrate clear limitations to indexed constraints: there are languages that cannot be represented even by the powerful mechanism of segmentally based indexed constraints (given a particular constraint set), and the learnability of a generalizable indexed constraint analysis depends on just the right morphophonological scenario. The existence of these limits implies that representing notions like segmental contrast and opacity with indexed constraints does not mean giving up on restrictiveness. Rather, the typological implications of the limitations of indexed constraints in the segmental domain can give us useful insights into how to best model phenomena for which access to segmental contrast is essential (including exceptionality, opacity, etc.).

Counting heads: A structural constraint on typological variation in personal pronouns
Silvia Terenghi

This paper considers a typologically varied sample of independent pronominal paradigms (673 languages representing 125 families/234 genera) and shows a new generalisation with respect to the variation in their featural make-up: namely, for a paradigm to encode (any type of) number oppositions (derived by at least one number feature), that paradigm needs to make at least a ternary person distinction (1–2–3, derived by two person features).

This generalisation is traced back to the structural relations among the relevant person and number features (under the assumption of action-on-lattice features, following works by Daniel Harbour): concretely, it is proposed that features merged in the internal structure of pronouns stand in an implicational relation, such that less deeply embedded features may not be present if more deeply embedded ones are absent. This restriction is in turn speculatively taken to hinge on the semantics of the relevant features and to mirror their acquisition.

Hence, assuming that the (low) internal structure for personal pronouns includes a lower person domain (the function of which is to map the person ontology onto the domain of animate beings; at most two person features may be active at this level) and a higher number domain (which makes the person domain countable; at least one number feature may be active at this level), this means that no one person feature can be missing, if at least one number feature is merged. This results in ternary or quaternary person systems encoding at least a two-way number opposition (in line with Greenberg's Universal 42). Conversely, number-neutral pronominal paradigms do not undergo this restriction and hence can be derived by a smaller subset of the person features, yielding binary person systems (contradicting Greenberg's Universal 42).

A unified account of compound and affix-induced accentuation in Japanese
Razieh Shojaei

I propose a Harmonic Grammar account (HG, Legendre et al. 1990) for Tokyo Japanese compound accentuation that naturally extends to affix-induced accentuation and unifies these two seemingly incompatible aspects of the Japanese accent system.

The advantages of this account over alternatives that analyse these two aspects independently and by different theoretical means include: (1) a wide empirical coverage capturing major compound types including the supershort and superlong, (2) extension to affix accentuation without recourse to ad hoc mechanisms, e.g. vertical concatenation (Trommer, 2019) and vertical/horizontal subcategorisations (Ito and Mester, 2021), and (3) maintaining the Indirect Reference Hypothesis while employing standard constraints in the Input-Output Correspondence-theoretic literature on tone (McCarthy and Prince, 1995).

All compound patterns are driven from a rightmost accent (here H-tone) preference that decides between (A) preservation of a non-final underlying H-tone, and (B) insertion of a junctural H-tone at prosodic word (ω) margins. (A) is ensured by DEP | and NON-FINALITY-H and (B) by CONTIGUITY-H$_\omega$ which restricts H to ω margins.

The rightmost preference overrides (A) and (B) if the H-tone crosses the rightmost threshold by violating the gradient ALIGNR-H too much (cf. McCarthy 2003).

The HG account extends to Japanese affix accentuation by implementing the assumption of Gradient Symbolic Representations (Smolensky and Goldrick 2016). Eight underlying representations are proposed for different suffix classes where difference in the activity or association status of H-tones and TBUs (μs) captures different accentuations from three mechanisms: (A) a gradient preference for rightmost realisation of the H-tone, (B) association of the strongest H-tones and μs, and (C) a dispreference for tautomorphemic H-μ associations. (B) is captured by the constraints H→μ and μ→H crucially scaled wrt. H/μ activations and (C) is ensured by ALTERNATION (Van Oostendorp, 2007).

Towards a less restrictive theory of tone-stress interaction
Aljoša Milenković

As a general tendency in many languages, higher tone attracts/is attracted by metrical prominence, while lower tone tends towards metrically weak positions. The existing Optimality-Theoretic accounts use either negative markedness constraints or prosodic licensing to model tone-to-foot mapping. In this paper, I argue that both markedness- and licensing-based approaches fail to capture the full range of cross-linguistic variation. The markedness-based approach faces two empirical problems. First, it predicts a universal dispreference for higher tone in the weak position of a foot. This prediction is at odds with the stress pattern of Neoštokavian (Standard) Serbian, a South Slavic dialect with tone-driven stress, which preferentially constructs disyllabic trochees with a High-toned nonhead. Second, given that negative markedness constraints penalize Low and Mid tone in stressed syllables, the theory treats stressed contour tones as marked because of the markedness penalty incurred by their Low/Mid-toned components. Consequently, contour tones are expected to be avoided and/or eliminated under stress. This is inconsistent with the fact that many languages restrict contour tones to stressed syllables, and no language restricts contour tones to unstressed syllables. The licensing-based account readily explains both the preference for High-toned foot nonheads observed in Serbian and the metrical behavior of contour tones. However, unlike negative markedness constraints, the licensing approach has no means to enforce higher tone in foot heads and lower tone in foot nonheads, thus missing a well-documented empirical generalization. As a solution, I pursue a hybrid approach which combines the *NONHEAD-Tone markedness hierarchy with the licensing constraints. The midway approach adopted here improves the typological coverage of both existing approaches.

Empathic and logophoric binding of Chinese reflexives: An experimental investigation
Jun Lyu & Elsi Kaiser

The empirical goal of this study is to test whether Chinese reflexives *ziji* ('self') and *ta-ziji* ('s/he-self') are empathic or logophoric or both. Following prior work (e.g., Pan'97,'01; Oshima,'07; Kaiser et al.,'09, Sloggett'17), we take an **empathic** reflexive to be a reflexive bound by an *empathy locus* and we take a **_logophoric_** reflexive to be sensitive to the *source vs. perceiver* role of the long-distance antecedent (Culy, 1994). The theoretical goal is to, based on experimental findings, evaluate Oshima's (2007) argument that long-distance (LD) reflexives in certain languages can have two uses: as an empathic reflexive or as a logophoric reflexive.

Using two sets of antecedent judgment and self-paced reading experiments, this study has produced three major findings. First, this study has shown that *ziji* can have an empathic use when the matrix subject is an empathy locus, lending empirical support to the prior argument that *ziji* is perspective-sensitive (e.g., Pan, 1997, 2001).

Second, we have found that *ta-ziji* is subject to the influence of discourse topic prominence – which can be viewed as an extension of the semantics-based Prominence Hierarchy proposed by Pan (1998) to the discourse level – but *ta-ziji* cannot be easily bound by an empathy locus. This suggests that *ta-ziji* may be by default perspective-non-sensitive (non-empathic).

Third, both *ziji* and *ta-ziji* show sensitivity to the logophoric role of the matrix subject, which mirrors recent discoveries about reflexives in other languages such as English (Sloggett, 2017) and Korean (Kim & Yoon, 2020). This is not easily accounted for by Oshima's (2007) taxonomy of reflexives as the division between empathic and logophoric reflexives is not clear-cut in our study. Overall, our findings have broad implications to our understanding of the discourse properties *ziji* and *ta-ziji*.

Accusative case in Turkish and Uyghur and the articulation of the verbal field
Robin Jenkins

I examine two aspects of case assignment, case assignment under passive/impersonals and differential object marking (DOM), in the closely related languages of Turkish and Uyghur. Although these phenomena are typically thought to be unrelated, I show there is systematic covariation between the two languages due to a single underlying point of syntactic variation. Regarding the first aspect, I observe that in Uyghur (as in Turkish), the passive and impersonal morphemes are syncretic. In Turkish, it has been observed that themes in both passive and

impersonal constructions resist accusative case marking generally. But in Uyghur, I show that while themes cannot be marked with accusative case morphology in passives, they must be marked in impersonals. Regarding the second aspect, I show that while Turkish instantiates a typical DOM pattern where accusative case morphology on direct objects systematically correlates with an obligatory specific interpretation, this is not the case in Uyghur. In Uyghur, accusative-marked direct objects receive an obligatory specific interpretation only when the object surfaces in particular structural positions. I propose that these two contrasts between Turkish and Uyghur are due to the presence/absence of a low Asp head in the verbal field. In Uyghur this Asp is present; in Turkish it is not. I propose that the presence of Asp in Uyghur both: (i) disrupts the selectional relationship between the impersonal/passive hosting Voice and *v,* which is the locus of [ACC] assignment; and (ii) provides a landing site for accusative-marked objects which can bleed specificity effects in DOM constructions. Conversely, in Turkish this selectional relationship between Voice and *v* holds, and there is no additional landing site for DOM objects. Thus, two otherwise unrelated phenomena are unified under a single point of syntactic variation and brought under a single analysis.

Investigating children's understanding of Mandarin *you* 'again' with goal-PPs
Ting Xu, William Snyder & Stella Christie

Availability of restitutive 'again' with a change-of-state predicate varies both cross-linguistically and language-internally. This raises a question: For each change-of-state construction, how do children determine if 'again' can be restitutive? In this study, we examined Mandarin-learning children's interpretation of *you* 'again' with goal-PPs (e.g. *Xiyi you pa-dao-le shitou-xia.* 'The lizard crawled under the rock again.'). Like English *again*, Mandarin *you* permits both repetitive and restitutive readings when modifying a goal-PP. Yet, *you* also differs from *again*: (i) it always precedes the predicate; and (ii) alongside repetition and restitution it permits other readings. Given these differences, it is less clear how its restitutive interpretation is derived and how it is acquired. Acquisitional evidence may provide a way to judge whether *you* is comparable to English *again*. 65 Mandarin-acquiring children (age 3;05-5;11, mean age: 4;8) and 16 adult controls participated in a modified Truth Value Judgment Task, in which they were tested on their understanding of repetitive and restitutive *you* with goal-PPs. We found that children performed well on both readings. This finding favors a structural account for *you*'s repetitive/restitutive ambiguity: *You* receives a restitutive reading when it is base-adjoined to a result-denoting constituent. Unlike English *again* (which loses the restitutive reading when preverbal), *you* is generated low, moves to a pre-verbal surface position, and later reconstructs. This analysis means learners with knowledge of the repetitive reading will get the restitutive reading for free, as soon as they know both (i) the syntax of the change-of-state predicate and (ii) the syntax of movement and reconstruction for *you*; hence no delay in the acquisition of the restitutive reading.

The Hell Bias
Michela Ippolito

This is a study of expletive the-hell interrogatives and it's part of a larger project whose goal is to understand expletive questions and more generally bias in constituent question. We start by discussing counterexamples to two common generalizations: (i) that the-hell questions are aggressively non-D-linked, and (ii) that the-hell questions are always incompatible with which-type wh-operators. We show that previous accounts based on the idea that either expletive the-hell triggers a domain extension (e.g. den Dikken & Giannakidou 2002) or a domain restriction eliminating all familiar entities entities (e.g. Martin 2020) are challenged by these counterexamples. We propose that the-hell questions are contextually restricted just like canonical constituent questions and propose that the-hell questions carry a conventional implicature according to which every proposition in the denotation of the question is subjectively less likely (to the speaker) than its negation. We account for both non-D-linked and D-linked occurrences of the-hell questions; for their limited embeddability; and for the intuition that, in uttering a the-hell question, the speaker believes that no given alternative is viable.

Diyari *marla:* intensification, comparison & polarity
Will Wegner, Josh Phillips & Claire Bowern

The Diyari (Karnic: central Australia) word *marla* is associated with a range of readings. It is attested as **(1)** an adjectival intensifier, 'very, really'; **(2)** a comparative morpheme glossed as 'more'; and **(3)**, in negative polar contexts, an aspectual ("phasal") adverb corresponding to 'anymore' (i.e. in CESSATIVE usage):

1	*nhaniya*	*mankarra*	*ngumu*	***marla***		**2**	*ngakarni*	*kinthala*	*pirna*	***marla***	*yikarna-nhi*
	3sf.DEM	girl.NOM	good	*marla*			1s.DAT	dog.NOM	big	*marla*	2s.DAT-LOC
	'This girl is **very** good'						'My dog is bigg**er** than yours'				

3a <u>*wata*</u>   **_marla_**   *nganhi yawarra yathayi*   **b** *karna*   <u>*wata*</u>   **_marla_**   *ngamayi*   *ngikirda*
NEG   *marla*   1s   language   speak.PRS   person   NEG   *marla*   sit-PRS   here
'I don't speak the language **anymore**'   'People don't live here **anymore**'

In this poster, we propose a lexical entry for *marla* that unifies the polysemy exhibited in **(1–3)**, and argue that this polysemy has arisen as a function of a diachronic trajectory where an original intensifier use expands into the comparative, and then cessative uses. Concomitant with this trajectory is a parametric shift—viz. the availability of "degrees" and explicit comparative constructions (see Beck 2004 *et seq*). Taking phasal adverbs as inherently encoding scalar phenomena (e.g. Israel 1997), we then provide a motivated account of *marla*'s innovative aspectual uses in negative polar environments. Further, we appeal to data which suggest related grammaticalisation phenomena crosslinguistically; understood here to furnish evidence of a formal kinship between comparative and cessative semantics.

Alternate categorization: a formal-conceptual semantics of reciprocal alternations
Imke Kruitwagen, James A. Hampton, Yoad Winter & Joost Zwarts

We present an experimental study that investigates how the different forms of reciprocal verbs are connected to each other. Reciprocal verbs like *hug*, *fight* and *collide* alternate between a unary collective form (1), a "with" form (2) and a binary form (3):

(1) Wendy and Pete are fighting.
(2) Wendy fights with Pete.
(3) Pete fights Wendy.

Currently, there is no general account of the semantic relations between these forms. We present a threshold-based model of those relations and discuss experimental data that allow us to evaluate the model. For instance, our model predicts – in contrast to the dominant view in the literature – that (1) and (2) do not entail (3). We conducted a series of experiments in which participants were asked to give truth-value judgements on sentences with either a unary, "with" or binary form of a reciprocal verb, all combined with non-symmetric situations. The results show strong support for our proposed model over alternatives. In our model, a verbal root has a conceptual core (CC) which specifies the semantic attributes of the different verbal forms, where the weights of those attributes vary between alternations. This accounts for (the lack of) entailments between alternates as in (1)-(3) without compromising the formal semantic coherence of the theory. Furthermore, in the threshold proposal, a "with" argument like *Pete* in (2) is free to show a varying degree of involvement between what is required from the agent and from the patient in the event, depending on the lexical semantics of the verb. Our findings thus support a more nuanced analysis of theta-roles than mere labels like 'agent' or 'patient'.

Declustering aggregates: A semantic analysis of Ukrainian singulatives
Marcin Wągiel & Natalia Shlikhutka

Singulatives are derived unit nouns, i.e., expressions designating a singular object individuated from a homogeneous collection of entities. In this paper, we examine Ukrainian word formations like *hrad* 'hail' → *hradyna* 'hailstone' and propose a mereotopological analysis on which the singulative morpheme *-yna* is an atomizer. It selects for an aggregate predicate, i.e., a property of entities prototypically conceptualized as clusters, and turns it into a predicate of discrete singular integrated wholes.

    The suffix *-yna* always attaches to an uncountable concrete noun to form a countable concrete unit noun, but it combines only with a subset of uncountable nouns. The base is typically an aggregate noun, i.e., an expression designating entities naturally perceived as cohesive collections.

	GRANULAR	OBJ MASS	AMBIGUOUS	LIQUID	PL TANTUM
BASE	*žyto*	*posud*	*cybuľa*	*rosa*	*korali*
	'rye'	'dishes'	'onion(s)'	'dew'	'coral beads'
SGV	*žytyna*	*posudyna*	*cybulyna*	*rosyna*	*koralyna*
	'a grain of rye'	'a dish'	'an onion'	'a dew drop'	'a coral bead'

We adopt mereotopology, a theory of wholes extending standard mereology with topological notions which enables to capture subtle distinctions between different spatial configurations of objects. The notion of MAXIMALLY STRONGLY SELF-CONNECTED (MSSC) allows for distinguishing between integrated wholes and other mereological

entities like arbitrary sums, whereas CLUSTER (CLSTR) defines pluralities of transitively connected entities. We assume that Ukrainian granular nouns like 'hail' denote aggregate predicates (1). The suffix *-yna* denotes a predicate modifier that takes an aggregate predicate and yields a predicate of MSSC objects (2). The resulting singulative *hradyna* denotes a set of separate hailstones (3). This accounts for the distribution of *-yna* and the effect of the singulative designating a unit within an aggregate.

(1) $[\![hrad]\!] = \lambda x[\text{CLSTR}(\text{HAIL})(x) \vee {}^{*}\text{HAIL}(x) \vee \text{MSSC}(\text{HAIL})(x)]$

(2) $[\![-yna]\!] = \lambda P_{: \text{AGGR}(P)} \lambda x \exists y[P(y) \wedge x \sqsubseteq y \wedge \text{MSSC}(P)(x)]$

(3) $[\![hradyna]\!] = \lambda x \exists y[[\![hrad]\!](y) \wedge x \sqsubseteq y \wedge \text{MSSC}([\![hrad]\!])(x)]$

Subject co-reference in Antecedent-Contained Deletion
Marie-Luise Schwarzer

Antecedent Contained Deletion (ACD) refers to a type of ellipsis in which the ellipsis site is contained in the antecedent phrase, as in (1).

> (1) a. Sue likes every boy that Mary does ~~[like *t*]~~.
>   b. Mary has read every book that June couldn't ~~[read *t*]~~.

In Dutch and some Romance languages, ACD is also possible, but only if the subject of the relative clause is co-referent with the main subject, (2).

> (2) Olaf heeft elk   boek gelezen dat   hij/ *David moest ~~lezen.~~
> *(2)*   Olaf has   every book read   that he   David must
> (3)   *„Olaf has read every book that he/David had to. "*

This kind of subject co-reference is only restricted to ACD in these languages, and not found in elliptical constructions generally (Aelbrecht 2010, Dagnac 2010, Gruet-Skrabalova 2020). I claim that the different behavior of English and Dutch/Romance can be explained with general differences between these languages regarding the sizes of the ellipsis sites (*v*P vs. VP) and the lengths of quantifier raising (low vs. high). If these criteria are mismatched in a certain way, obligatory subject co-reference arises. Concretely, I analyze it as a bound pronoun effect in the sense of Grano & Lasnik (2018). Based on this analysis, I argue for the generalization in (3).

> (3) Scope-rigid languages with ellipses that are larger than VP can only show ACD if the subject in the relative clause is co-referent with the matrix subject.

Syntactic ergativity without inversion: A composite probe analysis of ergative extraction
Emily Drummond

A subset of ergative languages shows a restriction on the A-bar movement of ergative arguments, known as syntactic ergativity. The standard analysis of syntactic ergativity relies on absolutive inversion: movement of the transitive object to a position above the transitive subject, which then intervenes for the purposes of ergative A-bar extraction. In this poster, I show that Nukuoro (Polynesian Outlier) shows an ergative extraction restriction without object inversion: transitive subjects always occupy a position higher than transitive objects, as evidenced by word order and A-dependencies. In light of this, I develop a case discrimination account of the Nukuoro ergative extraction restriction, which derives ergative extraction restrictions without reference to clause structure. Building on recent work that articulates the mechanism of Agree, I analyze the Nukuoro ergative extraction restriction as a composite A-bar probe, which searches for an A-bar feature and an absolutive Case feature on the same goal. The repair for this restriction in Nukuoro is to add an additional absolutive Case licenser, realized by the suffix *-Cia* and the post-verbal particle *ina*, which assigns an additional instance of absolutive to the transitive subject; this interpretation is supported by the presence of *-Cia + ina* in non-finite clauses, which fail to license the transitive subject. The composite probe analysis of syntactic ergativity reframes case discrimination in terms of independently-motivated machinery, integrating ergative extraction restrictions into the larger typology of Agree.

Type disambiguation and logical strength
Aron Hirsch & Bernhard Schwarz

Rooth (1985, 1992) proposed that focus alternatives are computed by replacing the focus with other elements of the same semantic type. We observe that a puzzle arises in (1). If *Macbeth* is of type e, the alternative set is (2a), assuming that the other salient plays are Hamlet and Othello. *Only* introduces the entailments that we do not have to read Hamlet and that we do not have to read Othello. The reading is, however, too weak. Suppose that we have

to read Macbeth, and one other play, but can choose either Hamlet or Othello. The entailments are verified, but (1) is judged false. *Only* must quantify over the larger set in (2b), which includes alternatives based on *disjunction*. *Only* would then assert, further, that we do not have to read Hamlet or Othello, and that entailment would fail. We show that (2b) is predicted in Rooth's system if *Macbeth* is Montague Lifted to be interpreted as a quantifier, rather than an entity, and pursue a general principle where a higher type meaning blocks a lower type meaning if it leads to a stronger reading. This principle offers a unified account for a range of puzzles, including in data involving questions and negative quantifiers.

(1)   We only have to read Macbeth.

(2)   a. { ¨(read(Macbeth)), ¨(read(Hamlet)), ¨(read(Othello)) }
        b. { ¨(read(Macbeth)), ¨(read(Hamlet)), ¨(read(Othello), ¨(read(Hamlet) ∨ read(Othello)), … }

Not all adjuncts are islands - the special case of conditional *om* 'if' in Norwegian
Ingrid Bondevik & Terje Lohndal

This work considers extraction out of finite adjunct clauses (FACs), such as:

(1)   *Who did Mary meet Bill before she phoned?

Recent studies have found variation for FACs between dependencies, languages and clause types. For Norwegian it has been shown that in a *topicalization*-dependency FACs are not a uniform class – FACs introduced by *fordi* 'because', *når* 'when' or *om* 'if' yield different results. This raises questions (1) whether FACs as a class will yield island effects in *relative clause* (*rc*)-dependencies in Norwegian, and; (2) whether the diverging results for the three FACs will replicate for *rc*-dependencies. We investigated these questions in an acceptability judgment study.
    Our findings for *rc*-dependencies replicate previous findings for *topicalization*-dependencies, thus demonstrating that we need a theory that allows for and explains differences between FACs in Norwegian. We find large island effects for *fordi* 'because' and *når* 'when' in an *rc*-dependency, so we assume that these FACs are a uniform group which categorically block extraction. We find that *om* 'if' cannot belong to the same group. *Om* 'if' yields intermediate effects that are substantially smaller than the other two FACs. We find no indications that satiation effects or variation between items or participants cause the intermediate effect. To explain the intermediate effects for *om* 'if', we propose an analysis in terms of Relativized Minimality: *om* 'if' does not block extraction categorically, but extraction is slightly degraded due to a possible worlds operator in the left periphery of the conditional clause acting as a partial intervener:

(2)   Analysis of relativization out of *om* 'if'
      X…   Y *om* 'if'…   Z …
      [+α, +β]   [+α]   [+α, +β]

Two new arguments for additives as de-exhaustifiers
Mathieu Paillé

Additive particles (*also*, *too*) are often obligatory in discourse (e.g. (1) "*Adam sang. Janm #(also) sang*"). Why is this? There are currently two proposals in the literature. Additives might be obligatory due to bearing a presupposition; Heim's (1991) maxim of Maximize Presupposition claims that presuppositionally stronger expressions must be used when possible. Or additives might be obligatory because they serve to avoid unwanted exhaustification effects/implicatures. On this view, without *also*, "*Janm sang*" in (1) would mean that *only* Janm sang, contradicting the first sentence. Bade (2016) gives a variety of arguments in favour of the de-exhaustification approach. In this poster, I build on this work by providing two more such arguments.
    The first new argument comes from the co-occurrence of multiple additive phrases. In (1), *also* stops being required if another additive phrase like *in addition* is present as well: (2) "*Adam sang. In addition, Janm (also) sang.*" The presupposition of *also* is still met in (2), so it is not clear why it would stop being required on the Maximize Presupposition account. On the other hand, if *in addition* can perform the same de-exhaustification work as *also*, we can understand why *also* is no longer required.
    The second new argument builds on previous work (Paillé 2020, 2021, 2022) on the interaction between additive particles and predicates. Additives can function to make apparently inconsistent predicates consistent: (3) "*This comedy is #(also) a tragedy.*" Here, *also* is interacting with the strength of a predicate. The Maximize Presupposition account is a non-starter, but the data can be understood if the strong/inconsistent meaning of the predicates without *also* is due to exhaustification, a problem which *also* can fix.

Unconventional measurements
Jon Ander Mendia & M. Teresa Espinal

We focus on a construction we dub Non-Agreeing Predicate constructions: constructions with the distinguishing grammatical feature that, even in languages where verbs agree with their subjects, some nominal predicates have nevertheless the ability to optionally disrupt this pattern.

(1) Four pizzas { are vegetarian / is too much food }

The alternation comes with important semantic consequences for the interpretation of the subject: for instance, while the subject *four pizzas* in (1) refers to particular existing pizzas of which being vegetarian is predicated, with the second non-agreeing predicate *is enough food* the subject does no longer pick out individual pizzas, but refers instead to an amount of four pizzas. Intuitively, the non-agreeing variant of (1) expresses that, on a scale of food amounts, four pizzas exceed some contextually determined threshold. Despite the cross-linguistic ubiquity of such patterns, the literature contains no systematic discussion of the linguistic contexts that support such nominal scales, their grammatical footprint, nor their precise semantic effects. We argue that these effects are fully general, and thus cases like (2) in Spanish constitute instances of **unconventional measurements**, where e.g. an amount of weight is specified in terms of book units, rather than kilo units.

(2) Tres { libros   / kilos } es   demasiado   peso
    Three books.PL   kilos.PL BE.SG too-much.SG weight.SG
    "Three {books/kilos} is too much weight"

Our main goals in this talk are thus twofold: (i) to provide a first systematic description of constructions such as (1)/(2), and to (ii) provide a first formal syntactic and semantic analysis. We argue that nominal predicates with such degree interpretations introduce a non-conventional scale, and subjects reach their status as unconventional units of measurement through a process of nominalization, which then results in a non-agreeing copula.

As complex as they appear: Children's comprehension of conjunctive expressions in Georgian
Cory Bill, Aurore Gonzalez, Imke Driemel & Tamar Makharoblidze

Mitrovic and Sauerland (2014, 2016) claim that across languages DP-conjunction decomposes into [XP1 MU] [J [XP2 MU]]]. Languages vary with respect to which of the J or MU-particles are pronounced. Our study focuses on Georgian, a language that shows triadic exponence of J and MU. The aim of this work is to test Mitrovic and Sauerland's (2014, 2016) account by investing the comprehension of conjunctive expressions by Georgian-speaking children (28 children; 3;9-5;10, M = 4;9). Our results show that (i) J-MU expressions are more difficult to comprehend than J expressions, (ii) J-MU expressions are more difficult to comprehend than MU expressions. (i) and (ii) go against the account by Mitrovic and Sauerland (2014, 2016) which predicted the opposite pattern. In contrast, (i) is in line with accounts in which the underlying representation of J expressions only involves a J-particle, unlike the underlying representation of J-MU expressions which involve both J and MU-particles (Szabolcsi 2015, Brasoveanu and Szabolcsi 2013, a.o.). (ii) constitutes a challenge for all existing accounts of J-MU expressions (including Szabolcsi 2015, and Brasoveanu and Szabolcsi 2013) which posit a silent J- particle in MU expressions. We propose an alternative account of conjunctive expressions that captures our results.

Phrasal layering versus complex heads: Evidence from Greek stative passives
Lefteris Paparounas

Many syntactic approaches to stative passives (e.g. *the door is opened*) employ *phrasal layering*: under these analyses, stative passives effectively have the verbal substructure of eventive passives (e.g. *the door was opened at 3pm*), from which they are differentiated only by a stativizing layer. Greek has been widely taken to support such analyses, owing to the observation that agent-oriented modifiers, taken to diagnose a VoiceP layer, occur freely in stative passives formed with the stativizer *–men–*. We establish a range of novel generalizations pointing to wide-ranging mismatches between the structures of stative and eventive passives in Greek. We argue that these mismatches provide evidence against phrasal layering, supporting instead a complex head approach to stative passives whereby there is no phrasal structure below the stativizer.

Whether-exclamatives and the division of labour in answers to questions
Sara Amido & Sebastian Buchczyk

Exclamatives have been traditionally excluded as true answers to questions because of their inability to assert. European Portuguese *se*- and Standard German *und ob*-expressions in (1) and (2) seem to pose a challenge to that claim (examples from Hundertmark-Santos Martins 2014: 356). In these corresponding examples, B uses a

whether-expression as a follow-up move to A's polar question (*p?*). This expression conveys an uncancellable *p*, displaying declarative-like behaviour.

(1)   A: *Don't you like him?*
       B: SE   gosto!   = *whether*-expression
          whether like
          '(Yes, and) how much/… I do!'
(2)   A: *Don't you like him?*
       B: Und OB!   = *whether*-expression
          and whether
          '(Yes,) and how much/…I do!'

Within a QUD framework, B's move in (1) and (2) answers A's question in the sense that *p* is added to the Common Ground (CG), thereby resolving *p?*.

However, *whether*-expressions also display exclamative characteristics by having non-lexicalized high degree interpretations. Indeed, these expressions share constitutive properties of exclamatives (cf. Castroviejo 2021): factivity, high degree interpretation, and functioning neither as questions nor answers. That they are not true answers to questions is addressed in our analysis.

When *whether*-exclamatives follow a polar question, they occur in a coordinated structure as second conjuncts, where the first conjunct is an optionally elidable answer to the question. Consequently, it is not the *whether*-exclamative in the second conjunct that is the answer to the polar question but the declarative 'yes' preceding it. This (optionally elided) 'yes' corresponds to the uncancellable *p* that is added to the CG and resolves the question.

We submit, then, that there is a division of labour where two distinct properties – answering the QUD and the denotation of a high degree – are each respectively assigned to a coordinated declarative (first conjunct) and exclamative (second conjunct).

Negation in Ewe (Tongugbe) agent nominalization
Selikem Gotah & Soo-Hwan Lee

Baker and Vinokurova (2009) claim that agent nominalization lacks verbal or clausal elements such as adverbs, negation, *et cetera*. In this paper, we demonstrate that their generalization cannot be upheld as a universal, given nominalization patterns in the Tongugbe dialect of Ewe (Kwa, Niger-Congo). In particular, we show that NegP is realized in Ewe (Tongugbe) agent nominalization. We provide evidence from (i) the scope interaction between quantifiers and the negation marker *ma-* as well as (ii) the availability of NPI-licensing of *ma-* inside Ewe agentive nominal structures to illustrate that *ma-* involves syntactic negation.

Generally, nominalizations in Ewe involve reduplication, object shift with reduplication, reduplication with suffixation and object shift with suffixation. In agent nominalizations, the morpheme *-la* surfaces as the agentive suffix. Like external arguments, *-la* merges in Spec,vP. Nominalizations containing the suffix *-la* can take the negation marker *ma-*. Evidence from scope and NPI-licensing suggests that *ma-* projects NegP. Specifically, being syntactic negation instead of morphological negation, *ma-* takes scope over quantifier-bearing DPs inside agentive nominals and allows scope ambiguity. It also licenses NPI in agentive nominals. NPI-licensing in Ewe necessarily involves syntactic negation. Hence, we argue that Ewe (Tongugbe) allows NegP inside *la*-bearing agentive nominals. The aforesaid findings point to the fact that agentive nominals can be more verbal-like and extensive in syntactic size.

The Ewe facts pose a challenge to Baker and Vinokurova's (2009) generalization. The implication of this work is that agent nominalization can be more verbal-like than what has been previously reported in the literature.

Unmarked and distantly assigned case in ATB movement
Arthur Mateos

Across-the-board (ATB) movement is known to exhibit case-matching requirements. That is, the coordinated gaps targeted by movement must match in case — or, if they do not have the same syntactic case, then the movement targets must be syncretic. Two main strands of analysis have been pursued for ATB movement: sharing via multidominance, and unification via movement.

I examine two kinds of case in the context of ATB movement: Unmarked case, and case whose assignment relies on an element external to the conjunction site, which I call "distantly assigned case." I show that unmarked case and distantly assigned case conform to the same case-syncretism requirements as other kinds of case, which is unexpected under existing sharing analyses of ATB movement. Thus, we must either accept the unification analyses of ATB movement, or modify existing sharing analyses to be compatible with this data.

To pursue the latter option, I present an alternative derivation for the multidominant structures used in sharing analyses. Instead of appealing to Parallel Merge, this alternative derivation posits that an ATB movement

target begins as two distinct occurrences of a single syntactic element, with one occurrence in each conjunct. When conjunction occurs — bringing these two occurrences into the same workspace — they become identified as one: Features from both occurrences are combined into a single element that is shared between the conjuncts. This shared element can be targeted by subsequent movement operations, which yields ATB movement. The proposed derivational pathway allows the sharing analysis of ATB movement to be maintained in a way consistent with the case-matching behavior of unmarked case and distantly assigned case. The identification procedure described here in the context of ATB movement represents one way that a syntactic node may come to have multiple copies of the same feature.