09.06.16: 14:15-15:45

Gregory Ward
Northwestern University
A Pragmatic Analysis of a Focus-Indicating Modal: That would be would

In this talk (representing collaborative work), I analyze two copular constructions of English, both with a demonstrative pronoun occurring in subject position: epistemic *would* equatives and *that*-equatives (Birner, Kaplan, and Ward 2007; Hedberg 2000; Heller & Wolter 2008; Mikkelsen 2007; *inter alia*), as illustrated in (1)a-b, respectively:

(1) a. If you want one simple word to symbolize all of Jewish history,
that would be Jerusalem. [Teddy Kollek, 1977]

b. G: Who's that up there at the podium?

C: *That's our guest speaker*. [G.W. and C.L. in conversation]

Drawing upon a large corpus of naturally-occurring data, I show that the modal in an epistemic *would* equative serves to mark the FOCUS of the utterance, thus requiring that an OPEN PROPOSITION (in the sense of Prince 1986) be contextually salient, with the post-copular constituent serving as the instantiation of the variable of that open proposition (OP). The information structure of the epistemic *would* construction accounts for the humorous and/or ironic tone often associated with its use. The *that*-equative construction, on the other hand, is more constrained. It may also be used to instantiate an OP; however, for *that*-equatives, unlike epistemic *would* equatives, such a possibility is determined contextually rather than morpho-syntactically.

As for the interpretation of the two constructions, I present the results of a series of empirical studies that show that use of an epistemic *would* equative conveys a high degree of speaker commitment to the truth of the proposition expressed. Indeed, far from being a marker of tentativeness as has been previously claimed (Palmer 1990, Perkins 1983), our results suggest that use of epistemic *would* conveys an even higher degree of speaker certainty than does use of a *that*-equative.

09.06.16: 16:15-17:45

Inbal Abarbanel
Tel Aviv University
From Bambara to Hebrew: Perception of Lexical Tone by Speakers of a Non-Tonal Language

Cross-linguistic context allows addressing the effect of a native language on the perception of a foreign one, considering the correlation between the properties of the two languages. Along with the influence of L1 on the perception of L2 on the segmental level, the native suprasegmental attributes have an impact on speakers' speech perception on the prosodic level (e.g., tone, pitch accent, lexical stress,

intonation). This study examines the perception of Bambara lexical tones by Hebrew naïve speakers, with Bambara being a tone language and Hebrew a stress language. Crucially, the major phonetic cue of tone is pitch, while for Hebrew stress is duration. The questions addressed are as follows:

a. Do Hebrew speakers perceive Bambara's contrastive tones?

b. How do Hebrew speakers interpret Bambara's lexical tones within their stress system?

Question (a) was addressed via a phonologic discrimination experiment (AXB), and question (b) – via a categorization experiment which required the Hebrew speakers to produce Bambara words within a Hebrew frame.

The results of the experiments show that Hebrew speakers are sensitive to some but not all tonal patterns, only those that can be somehow mapped onto the Hebrew stress patterns. Hence, these results serve as evidence to the effect of Hebrew phonology on speakers' perception of non-native suprasegmentals. The results also show that in the absence of duration as a phonetic cue to stress, Hebrew speakers use pitch as a cue, which is otherwise partly discriminative as a phonetic cue in their system.

02.06.16

Guglielmo Cinque
University of Venice
Sources of Parametric Variation across Languages

Subsequent to the macro-parametric approach to language variation in Chomsky's (1981) Government and Binding theory, an influential conjecture concerning parameters is that they can possibly be "restricted to formal features of the lexicon" [the "Borer-Chomsky conjecture"].

In the talk I will discuss two pervasive sources of variation among languages, **lexical underspecification and lexical idiosyncrasies in the derivation of canonical word orders**, and consider how they bear on the micro/macro-parametric issue.

19.05.16

Si Berebi
Tel Aviv University
Consonantal Roots from a Universal Perspective

Results of previous psycholinguistic experiments were interpreted as evidence for the existence of a consonantal "Root" morpheme in Hebrew (Frost et al. 1997, 2000, etc.). Following Bat El (1994, 2003), I argue that these results should be reconsidered in a larger context, as evidence of an inherent consonant processing advantage. Consonants facilitate lexical access and word learning in non-Semitic languages, such as English and French (Delle Luche et al., 2014; Creel, Aslin, and Tanenhaus, 2006), as well as in Semitic languages.

Priming results from two overt auditory lexical decision experiments suggest that the consonant bias in auditory processing in Hebrew is a phonological effect, lending support to the view that the famous "root" effect is in fact phonological

(Bat El, 2003) and weakening the claim that the consonants form a morphological unit.

05.05.16

Assif Am-David
Goethe University, Frankfurt
Conventional Implicatures as a Meaning Component in Definites

A line of linguists ascribe some meaning components of definites to conventional (Horn, Karttunen and Segal, Abbott and Horn) or conversational implicatures (Szabo, Ludlow and Segal). Another line of linguists decompose the meaning of definites according to the distinction between strong and weak definite articles (Ebert, Löbner, Schwarz, Am-David). In this talk I would like to unite both approaches. I shall argue that looking at the projection behaviour of strong/weak definite articles in Standard German, High Alemannic German and Northern Frisian provides evidence that some inferences related to definites behave like implicatures.
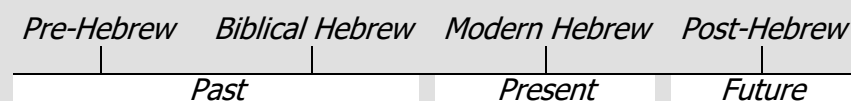
14.04.16

Outi Bat-El
Tel Aviv University
Hebrew Stress: Back to the Future

During the talk I will take you on a journey through four stages of the Hebrew stress system:

Pre-Hebrew   Biblical Hebrew   Modern Hebrew   Post-Hebrew

| *Past* | *Present* | *Future* |

This journey will allow us to

- observe causes of change in stress systems, resulting chaos, and recovery procedures, and

- restore the glory of grammatical principles and reduce the role of frequency.

I will describe and analyze the stress systems of Pre-Heb (reconstructed) and Bib-Heb (script-based) – two rather regular systems. Then I will turn to the chaotic stress of current Hebrew (in particular that of nouns), and present evidence suggesting the future system. I will argue that Hebrew stress system is becoming very similar to that of Biblical Hebrew, and will eventually be like that of Pre-Hebrew (i.e. a U-shape historical development).

There are two competing predictions regarding the future system:

- final stress according to the frequency-based prediction, and

- penultimate stress according to the grammar-based prediction.

The data I will provide, from language acquisition and adult forms, comply with the grammar-based prediction.

Omer Korat
Tel Aviv University
Semantic Shifts in the Nominal Domain

I discuss differences in entailment patterns observed across predicates, and propose a mechanism which derives the difference in entailments. For instance, one class of predicates is defined only for the mass domain. This class includes consumption verbs such as *eat x*, *drink x*, and *burn x to cinders*; transportation verbs such as *move at 60 km/h* and *teleport*; and some other verbs like *melt into*. These predicates pattern identically when applied to a mass term *m* and to an individual/group term composed of *m*. For example, assume the coven consists of 4 witches. The witches (a plurality) and the coven (a group) are materially composed of the witches' flesh (a mass entity), and therefore the truth conditions of (1) remain extensionally the same, regardless of the type of predicate used to refer to the direct object.

(1) Inquisitors burned the witches' flesh/witches/coven to cinders.

To demonstrate the contrast between mass and count predicates consider (2).

(2) a. 3 women gave birth to 5 children.

b. 3 boys ate 5 pizzas.

(2a) entails that each of the children was given birth to by one of the women, while (2b) doesn't entail that each of the pizzas was eaten by one of the boys: 2 or more boys can eat one pizza, while 2 or more women cannot give birth to one child.

Another example of an entailment pattern is with collection predicates. For instance, unlike individuals, groups can participate in collection predicates such as meet (as in (3a)). However, unlike pluralities (3b), groups usually don't have natural cover readings (3c). Thus, (3b) is acceptable, while (3c) is less natural, since the committee cannot be interpreted as a sum.

(3) a. The committee met.

b. 12 boys met in 3 rooms simultaneously.

c. ?The committee met in 3 rooms simultaneously.

d. The boys met.

e. The committees met.

To derive differences such as the one demonstrated above, I operate within the type-shifting event semantics. Each predicate class comes with a domain restriction and a set of operations for each of its arguments. The domain restriction is the subset of the nominal domain for which the predicate is defined, and the operations are the semantic shifts which can apply to the argument in order to shift it into the target domain. When the available operations are incapable of shifting the argument into the target domain, we get ungrammaticality. I show how the judgments described above can be formally accounted for under this framework.

Sharon Armon-Lotem and Reem Bshara
Bar-Ilan university and Bet Berl College
Production of Relative Clauses by Arabic Speaking Children with Language Impairment – Two Sources of Difficulty

Relative clauses (RCs) pause a great difficulty for children with language impairment (LI) [1]. This difficulty is expected to be aggravated in Palestinian Arabic (PA) due to the dual derivation of RCs [2]: RCs in PA always include resumptive clitics, but might be derived either via modification by coindexation, or via movement for checking the features of the complementizer. For typically developing preschool PA-speaking children, this duality yields a more gradual acquisition of the different types of RCs and a unique pattern of errors [3]. The competing derivation is expected to aggravate the difficulty for children with LI leading to a lower performance on RCs compared to MLU matched peers.

The present study investigates the production of RCs, by 50 PA-speaking children (10 5-years-old with LI, 20 age-matched controls with typical language development, and 20 MLU-matched 3-years-old controls with typical language development). General language abilities were assessed by a narrative (Frog Where are You) to measure MLU, lexis and morph-syntactic abilities. Five types of RCs were elicited using an elicited production task with pictures [4].

Homogeneity sub-tests following a one-way-ANOVA for the narrative data showed that the LI-Group formed a homogeneous group with the MLU-group in the narrative length (in words), as well as grammatical complexity (measured by the number of conjoined, adverbial and complex clauses produced). By contrast, for the production of RCs, the two control groups formed a homogenous group, while the LI-group showed a significantly lower performance for all RCs tested, including subject relative clauses. Error pattern in the production of RCs further distinguished between the MLU-group and the LI-group: While the MLU-group produced resumptive DPs and subject-fronting errors which can be interpreted in terms of feature checking, the LI-group tended to use subject relative clauses or omitted the complementizer altogether, using simple clauses.

As expected, our findings show an aggravated difficulty in the production of RCs by children with SLI. While the error pattern observed for the MLU matched group indicates a transition between only using modification by coindexation and the onset of feature checking for the complementizer, the errors found among children with LI indicate that they are only using modification by coindexation or avoid using the complementizer altogether rather than check its features. This is found even for subject relative clauses suggesting a general delay in language development among the children with LI as the major source of difficulty. The gap between RCs and other linguistic skills is attributed to a second source of difficulty due to the unique challenge paused by the dual PA derivation.

[1] Friedmann, N., Novogrodsky, R., 2004. The acquisition of relative clause comprehension in Hebrew: A study of SLI and normal development. *Journal of Child Language* 31,661-681.

[2] Aoun, J., Choueiri, L., 1996. Resumption and last resort. Ms., University of Southern California.
Available from: http://www.usc.edu/dept/LAS/linguistics/semitic.

[3] Botwinik, I., Beshara, R., Armon-Lotem, S. 2015. Children's production of relative clauses in Palestinian Arabic: Unique errors and their movement account. *Lingua*, 40-56.

[4] Lakshmanan, U., 2000. The acquisition of relative clauses by Tamil children. *Journal of Child Language* 21, 587-617.

17.03.16

Julie Fadlon
University of California, San Diego
There's a Pronoun Which I Don't Like to Hear But I Do Like to Produce It: What Modulates the Effect of Resumption on Processing?

Resumptives are pronominal elements which appear in a position where we would expect to find a gap (McCloskey, 2006). In English and Romance languages, resumption is generally considered **intrusive**, i.e. introduced to speakers' productions by an extra-grammatical mechanism and, according to some recent analyses, used to facilitate processing of challenging or poorly planned utterances. At the same time, speakers of these languages systematically judge resumptives as less acceptable than gaps (Alexopoulou and Keller, 2007; Asudeh, 2004; Beltrama, 2013; Dickey, 1996; Erteschik-Shir, 1992; Hawkins, 1999). Hebrew (and also Irish, varieties of Arabic and Swedish), on the other hand, is considered a language with **grammaticized** resumption, namely, a language in which resumption is a productive strategy of forming filler-gap dependencies. In particular, an observation often repeated is that in Hebrew relative clauses, resumptives may alternate freely with gaps in the direct object position (Beltrama, 2013; Borer, 1984; Sells, 1984; Shlonsky, 1992). In contrast with this dichotomy, Ariel (1990, 1999) maintains that resumption has a processing function cross-linguistically and proposes to capture the difference between grammaticized and intrusive resumptive languages by assuming that languages form a continuum.

I will begin my talk by discussing the findings of three studies which examined the status of direct object resumption in Hebrew (Farbi et al., 2010; Meltzer-Asscher, Fadlon, Goldstein, and Holan, 2015; Meltzer-Asscher and Glaserman, submitted). The results of these studies indicate that resumption has an adverse effect on acceptability across structures, presumably reflecting a processing cost. Further, they also indicate that the severity of its detrimental effect is modulated by the complexity of the filler-gap dependency. This suggests, in line with Ariel (1990, 1999), that direct object resumption in Hebrew has a processing function. The picture that emerges from these studies is that RPs are characterized by a hindering-facilitating duality.

Next I'll present preliminary results from an ongoing cross-modal lexical priming study designed to tap into the on-line integration of resumptives into the parse (Fadlon, Goldstein, and Meltzer-Asscher, in preparation). Results of this study indicate that the integration of a direct object resumptive: (a) **Hinders** speakers' processing, as reflected by their overall response times; (b) Induces a **reactivation** of the filler at a point of the derivation where a gap/trace no longer does. I will propose that this newly observed performance pattern can be viewed as the online manifestation of the duality described above.

I will end my talk with a suggestion as to why intuitions about the facilitating

effect of resumptives were not often reinforced in the literature. I propose that while these intuitions are warranted, many studies have attempted to probe the facilitating nature of resumption by focusing on a task in which the hindering aspect of resumption may overpower its facilitating aspect, namely, comprehension via an acceptability rating task.

In contrast, studies have consistently observed that speakers produce RPs in challenging environments (Ferreira and Swets, 2005; Kroch, 1981; Morgan and Wagers, in revision; Polinsky et al., 2014). Adopting Han et al.'s (2012) analysis of the processing difficulties associated with resumption, I will present a preliminary hypothesis which suggests that producers of filler-gap dependencies are less susceptible to it. Finally, if time allows, I will describe the first in a series of planned production studies (Fadlon, Morgan, Meltzer-Asscher and V. Ferreira, in progress) designed to probe the contextual and functional considerations which prompt Hebrew speakers to produce resumptives in direct object position.

10.03.16

Yael Greenberg
Bar-Ilan University
Metalinguistic Contrast and Scalar Implicatures:
***The case of* x, but (really) X**

This talk reports work in progress on the semantics and pragmatics of a commonly used construction in Hebrew, illustrated in (1) (parallel constructions are attested cross-linguistically):

(1) a. *kol, aval KOL ha-studentim higi'u | hu tamid, aval TAMID me'axer*

    all but ALL the-students arrived / He always, but ALWAYS late

  "All, but really ALL students arrived." / "He is always, but really ALWAYS late."

    b. *dani gavo'a, aval GAVO'A*

     Danny tall   but TALL

     "Danny is tall, but really TALL."

The intrpretational effect here seems quite clear: We end up with a strengthened interpretation of the reduplicated (and accented) element: E.g., that absolutely all students – with no exceptions – arrived, and that John is very tall. The challenge is (a) how to derive this effect from the semantics of the reduplicated elements and the semantics of *but* as expressing contrast, and (b) how to account for constraints on the distribution of such constructions, for example the fact that, unlike (1a) with universal quantifiers, sentences like (2), with existentials are much less often, or even never, attested:

(2) a. ??*kama aval KAMA studentim higi'u*

    some but Some students arrived

  ??"Some, but really SOME students arrived."

    b. ??*hu lif'amim,   aval LIF'AMIM me'axer*

     He sometimes   but SOMETIMES late

  ??"He is sometiems, but really SOMETIMES late"

Based on Shitrit's (2014) MA thesis, these effects are taken to be derived by adopting a standard semantics of *a but b*, under its 'counterexpectational' use, and by assuming that *b* rejects a scalar implicature of *a*, where crucially, *a* and *b* are domain-based alternatives (in 1a), or degree-based ones (in 1b), (cf. Orenstein & Greenberg 2012, Chierchia 2013, Greenberg 2014).

However, a serious challenge posed by this proposal is how to reconcile it with existing observations that in 'normal' *a but b* sentences, *b* **cannot** reject a scalar implicature of *a*. In fact, surprisingly, in such sentences *b* seems to **reinforce** a scalar implicature of *a*:

(3) a. *Some students arrived, but #(not) all did.*

    b. *Mary is ok at math, but she is #(not) superb.*

I review a suggestion (Winterstein 2013) to derive the constraint in (3) based on a probability-based analysis of *but*. In light of this I develop a revised analysis of the construction in (1), as expressing **metalinguistic contrast**, formally captured by using a quotation operator, a la con Fintel 2004, Guerts & Maier 2005, Maier 2015. I show that this way the rejection of scalar implicatures can be indeed derived for (1), but that we do not overgenerate (2) or (3). I end by examining some questions and potential implications for theories of scalar implicatures and of quotation, raised by the data and proposal.

03.03.16

Vered Silber-Varod
The Open University of Israel
***A Linguistic Perspective on Hesitation Disfluencies:
Evidence from Hebrew and Japanese***

In this talk, I examine hesitation disfluencies that occur intra-phrases or intra-morphemes. Such cases were found in two spontaneous corpora of two syntactically distinct languages – Israeli Hebrew and Japanese. It was found that intra-phrasal hesitations in the two languages call for different explanations, since, in Japanese, the noun (e.g., in a NP) precedes the case marking particle, while in Hebrew the preposition (e.g., in a PP) precedes the noun. I will present qualitative findings and suggest a unified view of the phenomenon of intra-phrasal hesitation disfluencies from the perspective of dependency grammar (Silber-Varod and Maruyama, 2013).

Hesitation disfluencies are defined as prosodic manipulations of the speaker, produced by excessive elongation of a word final syllable (a detailed definition of the phonological realization of hesitation disfluencies in Israeli Hebrew will be presented). For example:

(1) Hesitation disfluencies (marked with ꞉ symbol) in Hebrew and in Japanese
    a. Hebrew
      [ani ani yexola lehavin   et ha꞉ et ha꞉ tiskul].
       I   I   can to.understand Acc. the꞉ Acc. the꞉ frustration.
      'I can understand the frustration'
    b. Japanese
      [juuitigatu꞉ no   atama goro da   to   omou]

November: of beginning about COP QUOT think

'I think it was about the beginning of November:'

In the study of disfluencies such as 'filled pauses,' a major approach views them as indicators of increased cognitive processing, and that complex syntactic structures predict disfluency of function words (Shriberg, 2001; Clark and Wasow, 1998; Roll, Frid, and Horne, 2007).

According to the comparative evaluation of the two languages, what is common to all elongated words is the fact that they imply continuity, regardless of whether they are heads or dependents. What should be stressed is that they share a [+dependency] syntactic feature, since they constitute a phrase (mainly a NP). It can be said that what is actually elongated is not the word itself (or a syllable of the word), but this syntactic feature. The [+dependency] feature shows that "there is more to come", and it allows the speaker to reduce cognitive load while either the function word or the content word of a phrase is still expected. To conclude, what is common to elongated grammatical elements in both languages is a [+dependency] feature. Nevertheless, it must also be related to cognitive processes, as mentioned, or can be considered as a signal of difficulty of fluent production of the ongoing utterance. Syntactic complexity, if exists, can be explained as reflecting the "coding principle" (Givón, 2009) of the cognitive process.

H . H . Clark & T. Wasow, "Repeating words in spontaneous speech". *Cognitive Psychology 37*, pp. 201–242, 1998.

T. Givón, *The Genesis of Syntactic Complexity*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2009.

M. Roll, J. Frid and M. Horne, "Measuring syntactic complexity in spontaneous spoken Swedish". *Language and Speech 50* (2), pp. 227–245, 2007.

E . Shriberg, "To 'errrr' is human: Ecology and acoustics of speech disfluencies". *JIPA 31*(1), pp. 154–169, 2001.

V. Silber-Varod and T. Maruyama, "The linguistic role of hesitation disfluencies: evidence from Hebrew and Japanese". Proceedings of Disfluency in Spontaneous Speech, DiSS 2013 (pp. 67-70). August 21-23, 2013, Stockholm, Sweden. http://www.diss2013.org/Proceedings_DiSS_2013.pdf

25.02.16

Alex Grosu
Tel Aviv University
***Two Case Studies in (In)definiteness and (In)determinacy:
FRs/TFRs and (In)definite Amount Relatives***

The various aspects of (in)definiteness and (in)determinacy, as well as the competition between them (reflected, e.g., in the so called principle 'Maximize Presupposition') have been intensely researched, resulting in a large diversity of proposals (some of them by scholars in our own department, e.g., Mira, Nirit and Fred). This talk will take as point of departure the lucid proposals made in Coppock & Beaver (L&P 2015), and will address two areas of grammar which, to

the best of my knowledge, have not so far been carefully investigated from this perspective.

The first item concerns the contrasting (in)definiteness and (in)determinacy properties of *homophonous* free relatives (FRs) and 'transparent' free relatives (TFRs), with focus on [i] exactly how they differ in their formal semantic analysis, [ii] distinctions between the analysis of argumental and predicative TFRs, and [iii] whether TFRs are, like FRs, 'Jacobsonian' (i.e., *inherently* definite; Jacobson 1988, 1995).

The second item concerns the amount relative constructions of Romanian, which, unlike those of most other languages, appear not only in a definite, but also in an indefinite variety, with differences between the semantic-pragmatic properties of the two constructions.

It will be noted that both TFRs and Romanian indefinite amount relatives may have historically evolved out of FRs and definite amount relatives respectively by 'de-specification', i.e., the elimination of certain inherent specifications.

Coppock, Elizabeth & David Beaver. 2015. Definiteness and determinacy. *L&P* 38, 377-435.

Jacobson, Pauline. 1988. *The syntax and semantics of free relatives in English*. Paper presented at the LSA Winter Meeting, New Orleans.

Jacobson, Pauline. 1995. On the quantificational force of English free relatives. In Emmon Bach, Elinor Jelinek, Angelika Kratzer and Barbara Partee, (eds.) *Qantification in Natural Languages* Vol. 2: 451-486. Dordrecht: Kluwer.