

The overall pattern of results informs the approach to IS according to which a particular IS status is imposed on structural positions—as opposed to the approach according to which a constituent moves to a given position to satisfy an IS criterion.

Asatiani, Rusudan & Stavros Skopeteas (2012). The information structure of Georgian. In Krifka, Mafred & Renate Musan (Eds.) *The expression of information structure*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 127-158.

Vicenik, Chad & Sun-Ah Jun (2014). An autosegmental-metrical analysis of Georgian intonation. In Jun, Sun-Ah (Ed.) *Prosodic Typology II. The phonology of intonation and phrasing*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 154–186.

Ariel Cohen - Focus on Conjunctions

Languages use various devices to express conjunctions. Two of the most common ones are coordinate constructions, as in (1), and relative clauses, as in (2).

(1) Linda is a bank teller and is active in the feminist movement

(2) Linda is a bank teller who is active in the feminist movement

While the truth conditions of (1) and (2) are arguably identical, their information structure and prosody may be quite different. Erteschik-Shir (1997) discusses the prosody of coordinate constructions and argues that “stress is distributed equally on each element” (p. 132). She discusses the information structure of relative clauses, and claims: “The head of a relative clause is most easily interpreted as the topic of the predication formed by the relative clause” (p. 216).

We set out experimentally to test these claims, and to investigate the relation between prosody and information structure in these constructions. In a series of experiments, we found that although indeed both conjuncts of a coordinate construction receive the same stress, this does not necessarily indicate that they have the same information status: it is possible for one conjunct to be focused while the other is not, and this effect can be manipulated by discourse.

Regarding relative clauses, we have found confirmation that the head noun is easily interpreted as a topic, and demonstrated that prosody cannot override this interpretation. While pitch accent on the relative clause is readily interpreted as focus, pitch accent on the head noun leads to confused and inconsistent responses.

These results confirm Erteschik-Shir’s claims regarding conjunctions, while demonstrating that the disassociation between prosody and information structure is larger than is often assumed.

These investigations form part of a larger project, studying the effect of information structure on reasoning.

Nomi Erteschik-Shir, Gunlög Josefsson & Björn Köhnlein

Object Shift in Mainland Scandinavian: variation/Object Shift in Mainland Scandinavian as prosodic repair

In this paper we argue for an analysis of Object Shift (OS) in Mainland Scandinavian (MSc) in which the shifted word order is the result of a prosodic repair to enable weak pronoun incorporation. Our analysis builds on the observation that varieties with optional OS also have a tone accent contrast. We argue that the in-situ word order is licensed in these dialects because tonal accent creates a prosodic domain that makes the incorporation of the weak pronoun possible. The proposal has

important implications for our understanding of the architecture of the grammar – it adds to the evidence that at least some cases of word order can better be attributed to phonological computation, rather than to narrow syntax. Pronominal OS in the Mainland Scandinavian languages refers to the placement of a weak object pronoun to the left of an adverb (1a), instead of in the canonical position for objects to the right of the sentence adverb (1b).

- (1) a. *Jeg mødte ham ikke/aldrig.* Standard Danish
 I met him not/possibly
- b. **Jeg mødte ikke/aldrig ham.*
 I met not/possibly him

'I didn't meet him/ I never met him.'

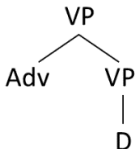
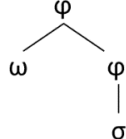
Whether or not OS is obligatory varies among the MSc languages and varieties. For instance, OS is obligatory in Standard Danish but optional in a number of southern Danish dialects, for example the dialect spoken on the island of Ærø. In Swedish OS is optional in most dialects.

OS is contingent on V-2, the raising of a finite main verb to 'second' position in main clauses ("Holmberg's Generalization"). OS does not occur when the auxiliary raises (2a) or in subordinate clauses (2b).

- (2) a. *... at Peter ikke så=ham*
 ...that Peter not saw=him
- b. *Peter har ikke set=ham*
 Peter has not seen=ham

Much attention has been devoted to OS but it has been notoriously difficult to give it a satisfactory syntactic account. The restriction of OS to structures that have undergone verb-movement is problematic since there is no obvious way of linking the occurrence of one rule to the occurrence of another in syntax. OS has no semantic or even information structural motivation nor is there any obvious syntactic motivation. Furthermore, there is no way to *syntactically* constrain optionality of OS by making reference to language/dialect specific *prosodic* properties.

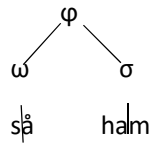
It is well known that weak pronouns must prosodically incorporate (e.g. Selkirk 1996). Verbs, Prepositions (and in MSc also Nouns) are legitimate hosts for incorporation, adverbs are not. This is how we derive this distinction: The prosodic structure in (3b), in which the weak pronoun follows the adverb, is derived by Match Theory (MT) (Selkirk 1986, 2011) from the syntactic structure of the VP in (3a).

- (3) a.  b. 

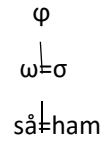
The prosodic structure of (3b), according to MT, should be flattened further eliminating the lower ϕ -phrase. We propose that MT relates differently to adjoined phrases, maintaining the adjoined structure in the prosody. We further adopt Elfner's 2012 distinction between maximal (non-minimal) phrases and minimal ones and argue that incorporation of a weak pronoun requires that the weak pronoun and its incorporating host be included in the same minimal prosodic phrase. This is the case when such a pronoun is incorporated in a verb in the unshifted version (4a) (resulting in the

incorporated (4b) = (2a)). Holmberg's Generalization now falls out easily because in these cases the pronoun is already adjacent to the verb and can incorporate without further ado.

(4) a.



b.

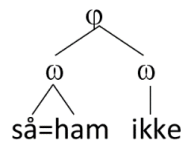


Since the weak pronoun cannot be incorporated into the adverb in (3b) it is left stranded.

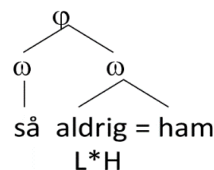
Following Bennet et al.'s proposal that elements may move in the phonology in cases of prosodic repair, we propose that prosodic repair applies to (3a), enabling the weak pronoun to incorporate. The pronoun preposes by right adjunction to the verb at the prosodic word level as shown in (5). This gives the result we want for Standard Danish in which OS is obligatory.

For Swedish and $\text{\AA}r\text{\o}$ Danish this is only one of two possible options. Here we claim that tonal accent, whose surface realization creates a span from one accent item to the next (or end of the phrase), creates a higher prosodic domain (along the lines of Kristoffersen, 2000, Myrberg & Riad 2015), which licenses the prosodic word formation of the adverb and the weak pronoun allowing the pronoun to remain in situ. Similar to Irish pronoun postposing (see Bennet et al., 2016) there can be more than one way to repair structures that are prosodically flawed. For $\text{\AA}r\text{\o}$ Danish and Swedish we derive the structure (6) for the unshifted version (3) in which the tonal accent of the adverb extends to include the pronoun.

(5)



(6)



Our proposal also explains seeming exceptions: Both the Lolland-Faster Danish dialect and Fenno-Swedish have been noted to allow the order in (1b) although they do not have tonal accent. As it turns out, the former allows this order only when the adverb itself is a clitic and forms a clitic cluster with the pronoun and in the latter, weak pronouns are fully pronounced and therefore do not require incorporation.

The proposed analysis proposes a slight modification of MT distinguishing between syntactically adjoined phrases and complements. Employing MT in this way, allows for an elegant phonological analysis of OS and its variations.

Yael Greenberg - Accentuation, givenness and operation over 'covert-based' alternatives with some focus sensitive particles

The standard picture of focus sensitive particles (like *only*, *also*, *even*) holds that such particles associate with a focused element in their prejacnet, p , which is usually marked by pitch accent, and

operate on alternatives to p , which are derived by substituting this focus constituent by an element of the same semantic type (Rooth 1985, 1992)

For example, *John even DANCED* and *John only DANCED*, are analyzed as a case where *even* and *only* combine with the prejacent *John [danced]_F*. The relevant focus alternatives, then, that *only* and *even* operate over, are propositions of the form *John sang, John drank beer, John danced, sang and drank beer*, etc.

This talk examines a correlation between two less common phenomena: (a) What is accented in the sentence is the focus sensitive particles itself (cf. Beck 2006 on accented *again* vs. *AGAIN*, Egg & Zimmermann 2011 on German *doch* vs. *DOCH*), and (b) the alternatives operated over are what I call ‘covert-based’ (Greenberg 2014, 2016). Such alternatives are derived by keeping all overt material in p fixed, and at the same time assigning a covert variable in p a distinct value than the corresponding variable in q . The covert variable can be a domain restriction variable, or a **standard** variable (with gradable expressions), and depending on the semantics of the operator the value for the variable in p can be higher than the one in q (as with *even*-like particles), or lower than it (as with *only*-like particles).

Similar operations over domain-based and degree-based alternatives were discussed in the literature on the covert *only* (O/exh) and *even* (E) operators with some NPIs (cf. Chierchia 2013). In contrast, I discuss this correlation with several overt operators in Hebrew, and, following ideas in Egg & Zimmermann 2011 examine whether it can be explained using an information-structural mechanism: The givenness of the associate of the operator leads to it de-accentuation, so the accent shifts to the operator. This givenness is what triggers an alternative which is identical to the prejacent in all overt material, allowing only for variation in the covert material, and hence to ‘covert-based’ alternatives.

I show that this information structural mechanism can be maintained with some cases, e.g. Hebrew *BIXLAL* (Greenberg & Khrizman 2012, Greenberg 2016, *STAM* (Orenstein & Greenberg 2012, Orenstein 2016), and perhaps also *DAVKA*. However there are also cases of accented particles which must operate over standard focus alternatives (e.g. Hebrew *rak*, and English *only*), as well as cases where we get operation over covert-based alternatives without accentuation or givenness of the associate (as with Hebrew *be-sax ha-kol* (Orenstein & Greenberg 2012, Orenstein 2016). Accentuation and givenness of the association, then, it is neither a sufficient, nor a necessary condition for operating over covert based alternatives. I discuss some potential parameters in the semantics of the relevant particles which can help us predict such patterns: Lexical specification, sensitivity to lexically triggered scales, level of contextual saliency of the alternatives to p , etc.

Julia Horvath - ‘Criterial positions’ and effects of prosody: A-bar movements and the case of Hungarian wh-exclamatives

The talk will explore the controversy over what types of notions are encoded in the Computational System by functional heads and formal features such that they can act as ‘triggers’ of syntactic displacement, and what (aspects of) syntactic phenomena are attributable directly to interface effects, and specifically to effects of PF properties. I will present a case study on sentential Force and overt movements that appear to implement them, exploring exclamatives, and their contrast with interrogatives in the syntax of Hungarian. Both of these have often been claimed (e.g. based on Romance) to involve an Int(Q) and an Excl functional head, respectively, in the C domain, and corresponding ‘criterial checking’ that triggers overt movements (wh-movements) to the left periphery (e.g. Rizzi 1997, 2004 for Italian).

Taking as a starting point the rich array of A-bar movements to the left periphery – exhibited by various quantified expressions, *wh*-phrases, and (apparent) Focus – known from the literature on Hungarian, I will explore the syntax of exclamation, and contrast them with *wh*-interrogatives and ‘focus’ in Hungarian, in light of my analysis of the latter (Horvath 2007, 2013) involving a syntactic exhaustivity operator *El-Op* and a corresponding clausal functional head (Horvath 2000)).

The movements attested in Hungarian exclamation turn out not to be unified by a particular trigger (a dedicated functional head, such as a Force head) as would be expected under a ‘criterial’ approach; nor do they seem attributable to some designated interpretive template, unlike for instance the topic/comment division (proposed by Neeleman and van de Koot (2008), Neeleman et al. (2009) to drive movement in order to facilitate the mapping of syntax to information structure). The moved exclamation phrase appears to involve movement landing in positions unrelated to it being an exclamation, unrelated to deriving a set of alternatives, and independent of it being a *wh*-phrase. Yet exclamation do undergo uniformly obligatorily (overt) movements to left-peripheral positions. This property is arguably due to an interface need for the phrase to receive prosodic prominence (‘emphasis’), and specifically, to its PF implementation by the unmarked assignment of nuclear stress in the language, which is at the left edge of the intonational phrase.

The evidence examined will lead to the following conclusions: (i) Though ‘Exclamation’ constitutes a sentential Force descriptively, it is not a syntactic head that drives the movement of exclamation phrases; overt movements to A-bar positions found to correlate with particular Force interpretations are thus not (all) triggered by a corresponding syntactic Force head, contrary to cartography; (ii) Prosodic properties, in conjunction with derivational economy, may trigger or induce the obligatoriness of an independently existing movement (in cases other than commonly cited instances of (alleged) ‘Focus movements’).

Valéria Molnar – Questions in Focus – Focus in Questions

Aim: This talk focuses on information-eliciting *Wh*-questions at the Syntax-Discourse Interface comparing two closely related Germanic languages, German and Swedish. These languages show considerable differences in the syntactic realization of *Wh*-questions and in their mapping to discourse strategies. Especially the discourse semantic properties of clefts in *Wh*-questions deserve attention; the restrictions on their use and other possible strategies for rendering equivalent contextual meanings (e.g. by the use of modal particles) are of great relevance for the contrastive and comparative analysis of *Wh*-questions.

However, the syntactic and discourse pragmatic properties of clefts in information-eliciting *Wh*-questions have been only discussed by a few researchers from the contrastive and /or comparative perspective (see Mathieu, Engdahl 2006, Myers 2007, Boucher 2010, Brandtler 2012). It was observed that the discourse-semantic effects of clefts in *Wh*-questions differ significantly from the effects of the non-clefted versions within the same language, and special attention was paid to the different question types in French (allowing non-clefted *Wh* questions with or without fronting of the *Wh*-element). Interestingly, the distribution of clefts and non-clefts is completely different in other languages (e.g. English, German).

In a contrastive analysis concentrating on *Wh*-questions in German and Swedish it is also relevant to take into account the differences between the syntactic, prosodic and pragmatic properties of clefts in declarative sentences in these two languages (Huber 2002). The discourse-semantic potential of declarative clefts in German is more restricted than in Swedish – a fact which can provide a partial explanation for dispreffering clefts in German *Wh*-questions.

ANALYSIS: The different effects of the clefted and non-clefted *Wh*-questions in German and Swedish will be investigated in a discourse-oriented syntactic framework with the aim to clarify and compare the language specific patterns in this field.

We argue that the main difference between German and Swedish w.r.t. the use of clefts in *Wh*-questions can be traced back to the rules that these languages must observe for the specific additional marking of certain expectations on the answer. The requirements on the marking of an expected empty set in the answer and /or the need for a referential specification of the *Wh*-element seem to be language-specific. Swedish requires special syntactic marking for the expectation of referential specification by clefts, whereas additional marking of an expected empty set is essential in German and can be achieved by the use of modal particles (e.g. *schon*). The use of other modal particles in German (e.g. *denn*, *nun*) is, however, also possible (but not obligatory) in *Wh*-questions. Modal particles in German questions can mark the expectation of a referential specification in the answer making possible close equivalents to the clefted *Wh*-questions in Swedish.

The theoretical analysis of the language-specific requirements and constraints is based on relevant morphological and syntactic properties of the interrogative clause discussed in detail in Brandtler's (2012) analysis of Swedish *Wh*-questions. The distinction of different types of *Wh*-questions (*argument questions*, *framing questions* and *propositional questions*) seems to be decisive for the appropriateness and discourse-semantic potential of clefted *Wh*-questions. However, the choice of certain morphological forms ((in)definiteness, tense forms) and the use of certain lexical elements can also have influence on the distribution of clefted and nonclefted *Wh*-questions.

Our analysis is not only based on theoretical considerations but is also supported by empirical evidence provided by the comparison of Swedish *Wh*-questions in Sjövall-Wahlöö's Martin Beck detective series and their translations into German by Eckehard Schulz. The quantitative and qualitative aspects of the empirical investigation demonstrate convincingly the cross-linguistic differences between German and Swedish w.r.t. the distribution and discourse-semantic effects of *Wh*-questions in these two languages.

Frederick J. Newmeyer – Third factor explanations of word order variation

Linguists of many theoretical persuasions have converged on the idea that the specifically-linguistic innate component to language is small, with many universal aspects of grammatical systems being shaped by the computational system's need to interface with the sensorimotor and conceptual-interface systems. Hence considerable research has been devoted to probing the extent to which the properties of grammars are derivable from the constructs inherent to phonetics, semantics, and (in some models) discourse or information-structure. Such 'third factor' explanations have become increasingly appealed to in minimalist work.

This talk explores three types of (putative) UG principles governing word order variation that have been claimed to be based ultimately in third factors: linearization principles such as those proposed by Kayne and Haider; processing-based constituent ordering principles such as the Final-Over-Final-Constraint (Hawkins, Holmberg); and the strongest version of the Cartography Program, which demands that information-structure constructs such as Topic and Focus be represented by projections in syntactic structure (Rizzi). In each case, I argue that no (relevant) UG principles are involved at all. That is, the desirable effects of Kayne's LCA, the FOFC, and the cartographic approach can be derived without adding to the inventory of innate UG. For example, the factors said to be responsible for the existence of the LCA are real and have left their mark on the grammars of individual languages. Dispensing with an innately-wired LCA, however, allows for the statistical generalizations underlying the LCA to be maintained, while at the same time eliminating the need for the positing of multiple movement operations whose only justification is compatibility with this principle. Dispensing with a pre-programmed FOFC allows the parsing-pressure explanation for FOFC effects to be maintained, while eliminating the need to explain away a number of obvious counterexamples to this principle. In other words, parsing pressure explains statistical tendencies, but is fully compatible with exceptional cases that appear to be 'immune' to this pressure. And dispensing with UG-provided Topic and Focus projections in the narrow syntax allows for a natural

interface between syntax and information structure, as has been argued by Erteschik-Shir and others.

The talk concludes with a general discussion of why we would not expect, in general, a direct UG-based grammaticalization of pressures shaping grammars. Aside from the evolutionary implausibility of such a scenario, the multitude of complex factors shaping grammars, some mutually compatible and some in competition with each other, would rarely lead to a particular grammatical principle directly reflecting an external force.

Bjarne Ørsnes - The interplay between word order, grammatical function and information structure:

The case of raising passives in Danish, German and English.

In some languages, verbs with propositional complements turn into raising verbs, when they are passivised:

- (1) Vi venter, at regeringen træder tilbage – regeringen ventes at træde tilbage
we expect that the.government steps down – the.government is.expected to step down
- (2) Oppositionen forsøger at vælge regeringen – regeringen forsøges væltet
the.opposition tries to overthrow the.government – the.government is.tried overthrown
- (3) Vi ser bilen køre væk – bilen ses køre væk
we observe the.car drive away – the.car is.seen drive away

This pattern is very productive in Danish with verbs taking finite complements (1), full (2) and bare infinitives (3). In German it is almost non-existent. English has the raising passive in (1) and (3), but not the one in (2). In the talk I want to address the source of the cross-linguistic variation seen in raising passives. On the basis of a unified analysis of raising passives in Danish and their information structural properties, I will try to deduce the cross-linguistic variation from different means of expressing information structure in the three languages under discussion.

Tanya Phillipova: The Russian phrasal comparative and the topic-hood of the correlate

This talk bears on two subtypes of the Russian phrasal comparative, illustrated in (1) and (2) which I call the *nominal* and the *adjectival genitive of comparison* respectively.

- (1) Ja udivlena ètomu ne men'she vas
I surprised this_{DAT} not less you_{GEN}
'I am surprised by that not less than you.'

- (2) Ja udivlën ne men'she vašego
I surprised not less your_{GEN}
'I am no less surprised than you.'

I focus on the issue of how the correlate to the standard of comparison is determined.

The choice of the correlate in the *nominal* genitive of comparison is subject to the following morphosyntactic constraint:

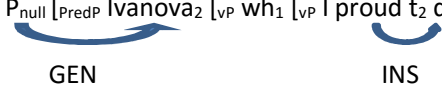
- (3) Oblique Correlate Constraint:
 - a. Genitive SOC may not have an oblique (GEN, DAT, INS) correlate unless its morphological form is syncretic with GEN/DAT/INS.
 - b. Genitive SOC may not have a PP-correlate, even if case syncretism is respected.

(3a-b) are illustrated in (4) and (5) respectively.

- (4) Ja goržus' Petrovym bol'she {Ivanova; Ivanovoj}
I.NOM proud Petrov.INS more Ivanov.GEN/ACC Ivanova.GEN/DAT/INS/LOC
'I am proud of Petrov more than Ivanov/Ivanova.'
 - a. *NOM.Reading*: 'I am proud of Petrov more than {**vIvanov**; **vIvanova**} is.
 - b. *INS.Reading*: 'I am proud of **Petrov** more than I am of {***Ivanov**; **vIvanova**}.'

- (5) Ja govorju o Petrove bol'she {Ivanova; Ivanovj}
 I.NOM talk about Petrov.LOC more Ivanov.GEN/ACC Ivanova.GEN/DAT/INS/LOC
 'I talk about Petrov more than Ivanov/Ivanova.'
 a. *NOM-Reading*: 'I talk about Petrov more than {**Ivanov**; **Ivanova**} does.'
 b. *PP-Reading*: 'I talk **about Petrov** more than about {***Ivanov**; ***Ivanova**}.'

The constraint is straightforwardly derived if one assumes a clausal structure that underlies the nominal genitive standard and is then elided at PF, e.g. the derivation like (6) based on Pancheva (2009), and furthermore allows for Multiple Case Checking. The central idea is that the morphological form of the standard DP must be faithful to the inherent, but not structural Case value it receives before it receives [GEN]. (3b) is derived from the ban on P-stranding in Russian.

- (6) I proud Petrov [_{DP} P_{null} [_{PredP} Ivanova₂ [_{VP} wh₁ [_{VP} I proud t₂ d₁]]]]
- 

This analysis, however, is not appropriate for the *adjectival* variety due to the peculiar, adjectival form of the standard of comparison (hence the unavailability of case syncretism and the impossibility to treat this type of construction as involving clause reduction via ellipsis). In fact, the set of possible correlates to the adjectival standard does not coincide with that of the nominal standards. Although both are most typically found with NOM correlates (see 1-2), only the nominal variety regularly admits accusative correlates: only one such example was found for the adjectival variety and, crucially, it involved a topicalized accusative DP as in (7).

- (7) Menja eto vozmuscaet ne men'she vašego
 I_{ACC} this_{NOM} infuriates not less your_{GEN}
 'This infuriates me no less than you.'

On the other hand, the adjectival genitive is more admissive in that it may correlate with possessive *u*-PPs (8) and place/time adverbials (9):

- (8) U menja grexov vtroe bol'she tvoego
 At me_{GEN} sins in-three more your_{GEN}
 'I've got three times more sins than you.'
 (9) Teper' ja bespokojus' men'she prežnego
 Now I worry less former_{GEN}
 'These days I worry less than before.'

Finally, dative DPs are occasionally found as correlates to the adjectival genitive standards. Interestingly, all of such examples involved no overt nominative DP:

- (10) Zivetsja mne namnogo tjazelee vašego
 Live me_{DAT} much harder your_{GEN}
 'I have a much harder life than you do.'

The variety of correlates admitted by this type of comparative are united by their topic nature (stage topics included). I therefore suggest that a proper analysis of these constructions should be done at the syntax-information structure interface.

Tova Rapoport - Eliminating the middle: the lexicon and information structure meet

I argue here that the apparent syntactic and semantic constraints on the English middle construction (e.g. *This bread won't cut*) can be explained by an appeal to a theory of the lexicon-syntax interface combined with a theory of Information Structure.

I employ the minimal lexical representations and structures of Atom Theory (e.g. Erteschik-Shir & Rapoport 1997, 2005, 2010) and the interpretive possibilities of the stage topic (e.g. Erteschik-Shir 1995, 2007) to account for both the aspectual facts of the English Middle and the different types of generic readings related to it.

Tomas Riad - Underpinnings of prosodic grouping in Swedish

I look at the source situation for the study of prosodic domain formation in Swedish (and some Scandinavian varieties). Swedish is a Germanic stress language with categorical tonal distinctions both in the lexicon (so-called accent 1 and accent 2) and in terms of prominence level (small and big accent). This feature is helpful in diagnosing prosodic domain formation, beside the more familiar notions of stress, syllabification and segmental indicators.

The tonal facts can be used to diagnose the formation of minimal and maximal prosodic words, as well as prosodic phrases. In the areas where prosody and morphosyntax exhibit mismatches, some misalignments appear to be morphosyntactically motivated (e.g. particle verbs, *slå till* 'hit'), whereas other misalignments seem to be driven by prosody (e.g. formal compounds, *äventyr* 'adventure' and formal phrases, *negativ* 'negative'). The latter situation renders morphological structure less transparent.

When prosodic domains are formed, questions arise regarding the prosodic status of individual lexical items and whether there is a principled correlation between morphological status and prosodic status. In Swedish, much prosodic information appears to be lexically specified (Riad 2014). For instance, roots and affixes may be lexically stressed (*bord* 'table', *gjut* 'mould', *-bar*) or unspecified (*posi-*, *nat-*, *-eri*), in which case stress is assigned by a phonological rule. Also, many affixes are posttonic (*-ning*, *-else*), and some are pretonic (*be-*, *för-*). Tonal information (accent 2), too, is lexical in many suffixes and a few roots (*-ar*, *-else*, *sommar* 'summer'), and postlexical in other formations (e.g. compounds).

The prosodic status of adverbs, pronouns and various function words becomes interesting in this regard as they take part (or not) in e.g. Object Shift (e.g. Erteschik-Shir, Josefsson & Köhnlein forthc.) and other prosodic grouping involving syntax. I take a look at these issues from the prosodic perspective, to see what light hypotheses regarding the prosodic status of forms like *för* 'too', *ju* 'truly', *det* 'it', *honom* 'him', and *sig* (reflexive) might shed on the interface with morphosyntax.

Riad, Tomas. 2014. *The phonology of Swedish*. Oxford
Erteschik-Shir, Nomi, Gunlög Josefsson & Björn Köhnlein. forthc. *Scandinavian Object Shift is Phonology*. In Laura R. Bailey & Sheehan, Michelle (eds.) 2016. *Forthcoming: Order and structure in syntax* (Open Generative Syntax). Berlin: Language Science Press.

Norvin Richards - Deriving Contiguity

In Richards (2016), I propose a theory of the distribution of certain kinds of overt movement and of adjacency requirements (which I call Contiguity Theory). In particular, I claim that there are universal prosodic conditions on the relation between participants in syntactic operations of Agree or selection; cross-linguistic variation, I try to show, can be made to follow from independently observable cross-linguistic differences in prosodic structure. The resulting theory is one in which languages may be more or less syntactically invariant, differing only in their morphology and phonology. I will begin the talk by reviewing some of the applications of Contiguity Theory. The theory revolves around a stipulation about how Agree and selection must affect prosody. I will try to demonstrate that the stipulation can in fact be dispensed with; we need only general conditions on the mapping of syntactic structure onto prosody, together with independently defended claims about how Agree relations affect syntactic structure.

Elizabeth Ritter & Lavi Wolf - The information structure of imperatives

It is an uncontroversial claim that English is not a null subject language, despite the fact that imperative clauses are most commonly realized without an overt subject. The question we explore in this paper is why imperatives allow null subjects when tensed clauses do not. Assuming Erteschik-Shir's (1997) information structure framework, we propose that the null subject of the imperative, which is always interpreted as a 2nd person pronoun, is a dropped topic. As Erteschik-Shir et al (2014) observe, dropped topics are possible if they are neither contrastive nor restrictive. We then consider cases where the subject of an imperative is obligatorily overt, and demonstrate that these are all either contrastive or restrictive topics. Finally, we suggest that subjects of imperatives differ from vocative DPs in their information structure roles. We argue that their different information structure roles can account for contrasts in the structural positions of the two types of DPs, and the semantic constraints imposed on them.

Michael Rochemont - Topic and Givenness

Many theories hold that a topic is familiar, old or given in some sense. But givenness has many forms, and distinct notions of givenness serve different functions (Prince 1981). In approaches to information structure in which are posited just two primitives, topic and focus, the notion of topic must presumably serve all the functions of givenness. In this paper, my main goal is to explore the notion of givenness that is needed to achieve an understanding of the phenomenon of deaccenting/destressing (in English). It will be seen that there is a very specific notion of givenness that is relevant for this purpose. I then ask if this notion is subsumable under a general notion of topic as an account of givenness in natural language.

For instance, consider the following slightly modified, but well worn example (Chafe 1976, Prince 1981).

- (1) John and Mary recently went to the beach.
- a. They brought some picnic supplies, but they didn't drink the beer because it was warm.
 - b. They brought some beer, but they didn't drink the beer because it was warm.

In the two dialogues in (1), all the definite noun phrases are said to be given. Their felicitous use requires that the entities they designate be familiar or at least uniquely identifiable. *the beer* in the second conjunct of (1b) uniquely identifies a referent through "bridging" (Clark 1977) to the picnic supplies introduced in the first conjunct. The use of definites is usually tied to the background of commonly held knowledge of individuals, events and meanings shared by the participants in a specific discourse (e.g. Prince 1981, Ariel 1990, Gundel et al 1993), often expressed through the notion of Common Ground (Stalnaker 1972, among others). (In general, topics are drawn from or relate to the Common Ground.) But there is another sense of givenness also exemplified in (1).

Consider the contrast in pronunciation between the second conjuncts of (1a, b). Though segmentally identical these sentences form a minimal pair: in (a) *beer* is intonationally prominent (pitch accented), while in (b) *beer* is deaccented (it shows a complete lack of pitch prominence). Patently, what makes deaccenting possible in (1b) is the prior mention of beer in the first conjunct. This requirement for a situationally salient antecedent for the deaccented expression also reflects a form of givenness. But since both instances of *the beer* in (1b, c) are definite, deaccenting must reflect a different notion of givenness than that which marks the use of a non-pronominal definite noun phrase. In particular, no deaccenting of *the beer* is possible in the second conjunct of (1b) despite the ready accessibility of a uniquely identified referent. In Prince's terms, the notion that comes closest to that needed for deaccenting is givenness_s. On the other hand, the distribution of definite noun phrases in (1) described earlier is best characterized in Prince's typology through givenness_k.

Thus, while many authors have argued that topics must always be given in one sense or another, it seems clear that the relevant sense is not always coextensive with the sense of givenness that is

reflected in deaccenting. A simple topic/focus dichotomy is effectively equivalent to treating focus and givenness as complementary. I do not think such a system is rich enough to characterize the full range of information structure distinctions that are needed, since I also think that focus and givenness are not complementary and there is empirical motivation for a distinction between given and new, on the one hand, and focus and background on the other. In other words, assuming that topic finds independent linguistic expression, it seems to me that information structure needs at least three distinct primitives; topic, focus and givenness (Kucerova and Neeleman 2012). Given the proliferation of types of topic in the literature, it may be that there is some notion of topic that allies with or subsumes the givenness that is needed for deaccenting. But to the best of my present state of knowledge, no analysis of topic has been shown to yield the full range of effects of deaccenting, despite claims that it may.

Jeannette Schaeffer - Dutch Direct Object Scrambling in children with SLI and with Autism

This study investigates Direct Object Scrambling (DOS) by testing this phenomenon experimentally in three Dutch-speaking groups of children between the ages of 6 and 14: SLI, HFA, and TD (Specific Language Impairment, High Functioning Autism, and Typically Developing). First, the results show that, despite the failure to scramble in both pathological groups, the children with HFA do not display any morpho-syntactic deficits, whereas the children with SLI do. This suggests that the children with SLI and the children with HFA fail to scramble for different reasons. It is argued that children with SLI do this because of a problem with syntactic object placement, whereas children with HFA leave referential direct objects unscrambled because they fail to consistently integrate the different components of DOS. These results from two different pathological groups uncover different components in the complex phenomenon of DOS, at the interface of grammar (including (morpho-)syntax and semantics) and pragmatics: speaker/hearer beliefs, definiteness/referentiality, information structure, and syntactic object placement. As such, the current study demonstrates the important contribution of acquisition research in TD as well as pathological populations to the unravelling and understanding of interface phenomena.

Marina Vigário - Prosodic weight effects on word order revisited: division of labor between production and perception

Building on earlier work by Guasti & Nespor (1999) and Frota & Vigário (1996, 2001), in this talk I will survey a number of syntactic constructions that display weight effects, with a particular focus on European Portuguese (EP). The phonological conditions that are responsible for weight effects in EP are analyzed, taking into consideration what has been established for the prosodic phonology of the language (Frota 2000, Vigário 2003), together with more recent findings (e.g. Elordieta et al. 2005, Vigário 2010, Frota 2014). Special attention will be given to the role of phonological structures that display unbalanced recursion. I will argue that, despite the effects described, syntax, including discourse related word order grammar, is indeed phonology-free, in the sense that all the cases reviewed that display weight effects are not avoided during speech production. I propose that the phonological constraints that explain word order preferences are ignored during word order generation and thus weight effects are not avoided in online production. Instead, these constraints play a role in speech perception only. This view explains why violations of weight effects readily emerge in online production, are perceptually detected, and are prone to late, post hoc correction in production, most noticeably in writing.