

Another roundup of unclaimed papers' highlights
Kie Zuraw, 18 Feb. 2020 (or when we get to it)

1. Factoid from Schuit 2012 (not on CCLE) about Inuit Sign Language (IUR: *Inuit Uukturausingit* in Inuktitut)

- You've heard about claims that the physical environment can influence phonetics of spoken languages
 - warm weather → more sonority (Fought et al. 2004)
 - high altitude → more ejectives (Everett 2013)
 - dry air → no lexical tone (Everett, Blasí & Roberts 2016)
 - dense vegetation and other enemies of transmitting high frequency sounds → more sonority (Maddieson & Coupé 2015)
- If this were to come up in class, what about signed languages?
- For instance, how does signing work in the Arctic?
 - For much of year, too cold to sign outdoors for long periods without mittens
 - Keep mittens on but use limited inventory of handshapes?
 - Result: no
 - Decent-sized inventory of phonetic handshapes: 27 (cf. 29 in Adamorobe Sign Language, Ghana)
 - Instead, take off mittens, but keep conversation to bare minimum when outdoors
 - So not an influence on phonetics, rather on higher-level decisions about language use

Mathur & Rathmann 2006, Mathur & Rathmann 2010

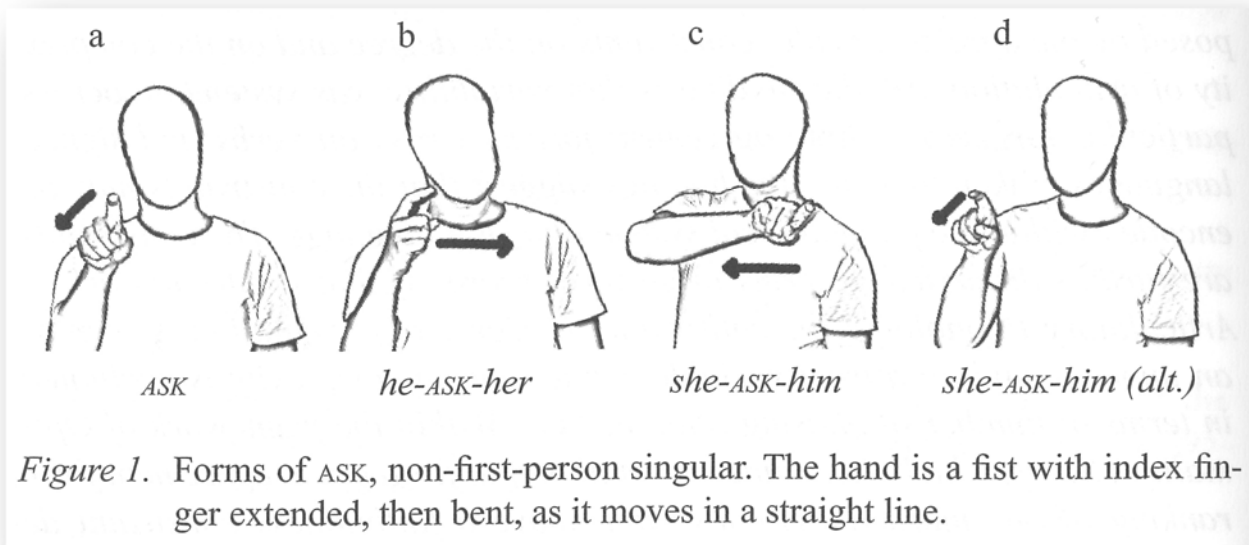
keywords: agreement, variation, Optimality Theory, OT, Articulatory Phonology, gestural scores, constraints, American Sign Language, ASL, Australian Sign Language, Auslan, German Sign Language, DGS, Russian Sign Language, RSL, Japanese Sign Language, Nihon Shuwa

2. Recall that *some verbs are "agreeing verbs"*

- Agree for subject and direct object
- Signer first designates locations in signing space (except for 1st person singular)
- Verb then moves from subject location to object location, and/or palm or fingertips face towards object location
- ASL and many others: plural subject or object normally marked by arc movement



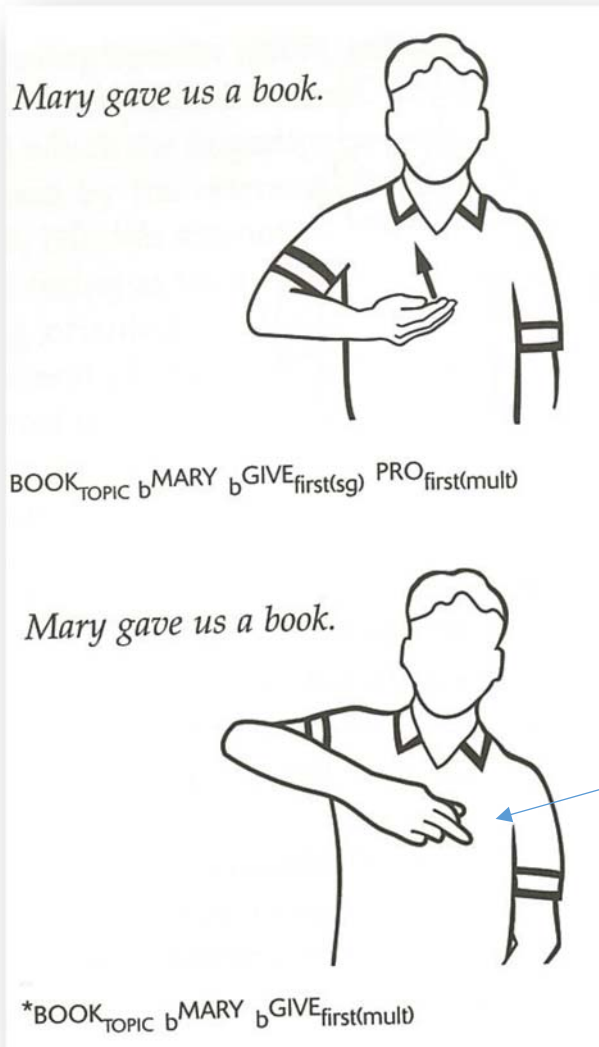
(M&R 2010, pp. 3-5: ASL examples)



(M&R 2006, p. 288: ASL example)

3. But agreement can sometimes be dropped or changed

- Example (c) above is awkward to articulate
 - Variant (d) drops the subject agreement (and uses separate pronoun instead)
- Some verbs can't show 1st-plural object agreement
 - ASL GIVE uses 1st sg. agreement, and then a pronoun



I'm a bit unclear on exactly what arc movement is/requires, so I'm not sure why it would produce this handshape

(M&R 2010, p. 6)

- Some verbs fail to get expected repeated movement when they have a non-1st plural object agreement

4. Gestural scores

a. Citation form of ASK

Shoulder	
Humerus	
Elbow	extending
Radio-Ulna	pronated
Wrist	
Meta.	
Inter.	flexing

b. Nonfirst person singular form of ASK

Shoulder	
Humerus	
Elbow	extending
Radio-Ulna	pronated > 90 degrees
Wrist	extended
Meta.	
Inter.	flexing

this is bad




c. Plural form of ASK w/out repeated mvt. d. Plural form of ASK with repeated mvt.

Shoulder	
Humerus	supinating
Elbow	extending
Radio-Ulna	pronated
Wrist	
Meta.	
Inter.	flexing

Shoulder	
Humerus	supinating
Elbow	extending
Radio-Ulna	pronated
Wrist	
Meta.	
Inter.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> flexing <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

(M&R 2006, p. 304)



5. Tableaux!

	Input: ANALYZE (crooked index & middle fingers) +target for first person object +target for plural number	*R-U-PRON	MAX
	a. ANALYZE (crooked index & middle fingers) +target for first person object (hands face body) +target for plural number (hands move in an arc)	*!	
	b. ANALYZE (crooked index & middle fingers) +target for first person object (hands face body)		*
	a. ANALYZE (crooked index & middle fingers) +target for plural number (hands move in an arc)		**

I couldn't figure out why deleting [plural] is worth *, but deleting [1st person] is worth **

(M&R 2006, p. 306)

- $\leq 2\text{MOV}$ says don't have "more than two specifications for the movement parameter" (p. 306)
- Ranked below MAX, so that handshape-changing verbs get repeated movement with plural object only when lexical entry of root requires it
 - I couldn't quite figure this out from the text, but I think the idea is that verbs with no handshape change, and no lexical specification for repeated movement, will get repeated movement (and arc) when object is plural

	Input: TEST (both index fingers crooked) +target for nonfirst person object +target for plural number Mov: handshape change, arc, repeated movement	MAX	$\leq 2\text{MOV}$
	a. TEST (both index fingers crooked) +target for nonfirst person object +target for plural number Mov: handshape change, arc	*!	
	b. TEST (both index fingers crooked) +target for nonfirst person object +target for plural number Mov: handshape change, arc, repeated movement		*

(M&R p. 307)

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