Strong Pronominals in ASL and LSF*

Philippe Schlenker

(Institut Jean-Nicod, CNRS; New York University)

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Abstract: We argue that some lexical constructions in ASL and LSF behave as if they were intrinsically focused even in the absence of overt focus. This behavior is displayed in ASL by a person classifier signed at the same time as a pointing sign indexing it, a strategy that seems to be available in LSF as well. But LSF also has a strong pointing sign *PI* which displays this behavior in the absence of a person classifier.

Keywords: sign language, strong pronouns, pointing, focus

Bertone_and_Cardinaletti_2011 argue that strong pronouns in LIS (Italian Sign Language) can be distinguished by duration, with no claim that LIS has morphologically strong pronoun. We submit that ASL (American Sign Language) and LSF (French Sign Language) might have *morphologically* distinct strong pronominals, characterized here by the fact that they may associate with *ONLY* even in the absence of prosodically marked focus (but see Cardinaletti_and_Starke_1999).

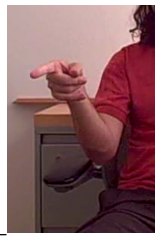
Data were elicited from one native Deaf ASL and one native LSF signer, each the child of Deaf, signing parents. We used the playback method and transcription conventions described in Schlenker 2017, Schlenker et al. 2016, with quantitative acceptability judgments (7 = best, average score at the beginning of each example) and detailed inferential questions; the reference of each video and the number of judgments obtained – e.g. *ASL, 24, 75a, 3 judgments* – are found after each example, and raw data can be found in the Supplementary Materials. These also include the consultant's description of means of focus marking, e.g. raised eyebrows, forward tilted torso, longer hold times, faster motion…

In (1)c, the pronominal *CL-IX-a* yields the same meaning *as if* it were focused, but overt focus as in (1)d is unnecessary to obtain this interpretation. *CL-IX-a* is realized by signing the person classifier *CL* with the non-dominant hand, while pointing towards it with the dominant hand (picture in (1)b). (Note that (1)-(1) are highly acceptable but that the consultant discerns an English influence due to *ONLY*; further paradigms should thus be investigated.)

(1) *Context:* The speaker is the director of the school. He tells a group of teachers what they are allowed to say or to put in writing after the students took an exam.

IX-1 RECENTLY CONVERSATION JOHN$_a$ MARY$_b$. IX-1 ONLY ALLOW ___ TELL IX-b BILL FAIL.
'I recently had a conversation with John and Mary. I only allowed __ to tell her that Bill failed.'

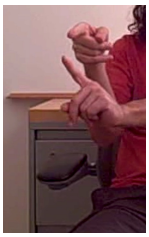
a. [7] __ = IX-a_



him (ASL, 24, 75a, 3 judgments; ASL, 24, 76a, 3 judgments)

b. [6.7] __ = IX-a$_F$

him$_F$ (ASL, 24, 75c, 3 judgments)

c. [7] __ = CL-IX-a_ 
him$_F$ (ASL, 24, 76b; 3 judgments)

d. [6.7] __ = CL-IX-a$_F$
him$_F$ (ASL, 24, 76c; 3 judgments)

b, c, d => the speaker disallows anyone other than John to tell Mary that Bill failed

In LSF, a *simplex* pronominal produced with the labialization *PI* (video in (2)b) displays this strong behavior too. It also has uses as a relativizer (Hauser_2016,Hauser_and_Geraci_2017). Focusing the normal pointing sign in (2)a (from three separate paradigms) primarily yields the expected reading (here and throughout our LSF data, focus seems to be primarily marked by eyebrow raising). The interesting observation lies in (2)b,c: *ONLY* associates with *PI* irrespective of whether *PI* is focused. (The position of *ONLY* slightly varied from one example to the next, hence the summary transcription *ONLY IX-1/IX-1 ONLY/ONLY*).

(2) YESTERDAY IX-1 1-MEET MARIE$_b$ PIERRE$_a$. ONLY IX-1/IX-1 ONLY/ONLY WANT __ b-HELP-a IX-a.
'Yesterday I met Marie and Pierre. I only want(ed) __ to help him.'

a. [7] __ = IX-b$_F$
her$_F$ (LSF, 57, 2482b; 2 judgments; LSF, 57, 2492b; 3 judgments; LSF, 57, 2498b, 3 judgments)

b. [7] __ = PI-b
her$_F$ (LSF, 57, 2482c; 2 judgments) (video of *PI-b*: https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B7Mz-VKVeYNKVGNZZzVIT2VNUWM/view?usp=sharing)

c [7] __ = PI-b$_F$
her$_F$ (LSF, 57, 2482d; 2 judgments)

c'. [6.3] __ = CL-IX-b
her$_F$ (LSF, 57, 2492c; 3 judgments) (video of *CL-IX-b*: https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B7Mz-VKVeYNKaEg5dHd3MjZzaUU/view?usp=sharing)

d'. [6.7] __ = CL-IX-b$_F$
her$_F$ (LSF, 57, 2492d; 3 judgments)

c". [7] __ = CL-PI-b
her$_F$ (LSF, 57, 2498c; 3 judgments) (video of *CL-PI-b*: https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B7Mz-VKVeYNKanBJRVI1LVhpZDQ/view?usp=sharing)

d". [6.7] __ = CL-PI-b$_F$ (LSF, 57, 2498d; 3 judgments)

(a), b, c, c', d', c", d" => the speaker doesn't want anyone other than Marie to help Pierre
(a yielded conflicting inferences in LSF, 57, 2482b but not in LSF, 57, 2492b and LSF, 57, 2498b)

(2)c'-d' shows that the same semantic result can be obtained by using the ASL strategy in (1)c, with a person classifier simultaneously signed with a pointing sign (video in (2)c'). And (2)c"-d" shows that using this strategy we can replace the pointing sign with *PI* (video in (2)c"), with similar semantic results.

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Supplementary Materials

Raw ASL and LSF data can be found at: https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B7Mz-VKVeYNKXzFQbXBoU0RteGs/view?usp=sharing

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