MEETING HANDBOOK

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY
NORTH AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGE SCIENCES
SOCIETY FOR CARIBBEAN LINGUISTICS
SOCIETY FOR PIDGIN AND CREOLE LINGUISTICS
SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES OF THE AMERICAS

GRAND HYATT HOTEL
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
8 - 11 JANUARY 1998
Introductory Note

The LSA Secretariat has prepared this Meeting Handbook to serve as the official program for the 72nd Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America (LSA). In addition, this handbook is the official program for the Annual Meetings of the American Dialect Society (ADS), the North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences (NAAHoLS), the Society for Caribbean Linguistics (SCL), the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (SPCL), and the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas.

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance provided by the LSA Program Committee (Suzanne Flynn, Chair; Chris Barker; Peter Cole; Amy Dahlstrom; Patrick Farrell; Michael Hammond; John Kingston; and Donald Winford) and the help of the following members who served as consultants to the Program Committee: Carolyn Adger, Stephen Anderson, Justine Cassell, Kathryn Demuth, Fred Eckman, Karen Emmory, Susan Fischer, Jeanette Gundel, Maya Honda, Jeri Jaeger, Jay Jasanoff, D. Terence Langendoen, Ian Maddieson, John McCarthy, Lise Menn, Frederick Newmeyer, Loraine Obler, Peter Patrick, Martha Ratliff, and Gregory Ward. We are also grateful to Allen Metcalf (ADS); Robert Rankin (SSILA); John Rickford (SPCL/SCL); and Joseph Subbiondo (NAAHoLS) for their cooperation.

We especially appreciate the help which has been given by the New York Local Arrangements Committee (John Victor Singler, Chair).

We hope this Meeting Handbook is a useful guide for those attending, as well as a permanent record of the 1998 Annual Meeting in New York, New York.

January 1998
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General Meeting Information

Exhibit

There will be an exhibit of linguistic publications in Ballroom C. The exhibit is scheduled to be open during the following hours:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fri, 9 Jan</td>
<td>10:00 AM - 2:00 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3:00 PM - 6:00 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sat, 10 Jan</td>
<td>10:00 AM - 2:00 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3:30 PM - 6:00 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun, 11 Jan</td>
<td>8:30 AM - 11:30 AM</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The display copies in the LSA Joint Book Exhibit will be sold beginning at 8:30 AM on 11 January, the proceeds to be donated to fellowships for the Linguistic Institute. (These display copies have been generously donated by the publishers exhibiting in the LSA Joint Book Exhibit.) Advance orders for display copies, at a discount of 5% greater than that given by the publisher, will be taken prior to 5 January if accompanied by payment. All books must be picked up on 11 January between 8:30 and 10:00 AM. Unclaimed books will be resold and the advance payment donated to the Linguistic Institute fellowships.

Job Placement Center

A Job Placement Center will be set up in the Majestic Room during the Annual Meeting. On 9 and 10 January, the Center will be open 8:30 AM - 6:00 PM. It will also be open 9:00 - 11:30 AM on 11 January. Lists of openings will be available, and the staff will facilitate interviews between applicants and employers. Interviewers are asked to list openings and check in with the Center staff so that an interview schedule can be arranged. Applicants should bring an adequate supply of curricula vitae--enough to submit one copy to each interviewer. The Center will have no duplication facilities available.

S.N.A.P.

The Belasco Room has been set aside for the use of students attending the meeting. Designated as Students Need a Place--S.N.A.P.--the room will be open on 9 and 10 January, 9:00 AM - 6:00 PM, and on the morning of 11 January until 11:30 AM.

Language

Mark Aronoff, Editor of Language, will be in the Royale Room at the following times:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fri, 9 Jan</td>
<td>11:00 AM - 12:00 noon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sat, 10 Jan</td>
<td>11:00 AM - 12:00 noon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All members, including students, are welcome to drop by to ask any questions they may have about submitting articles or reviews to Language.

National Science Foundation

Paul Chapin, Program Director for Linguistics at the National Science Foundation, will meet with interested members in the Broadhurst Room at the following times:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fri, 9 Jan</td>
<td>10:00 AM - 11:00 AM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3:30 PM - 4:30 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sat, 10 Jan</td>
<td>10:00 AM - 11:00 AM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3:30 PM - 4:30 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun, 11 Jan</td>
<td>10:00 AM - 11:00 AM</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

National Institutes of Health
Howard Kurtzman, Chief, the Cognitive Science Program, National Institute of Mental Health, will meet with members interested in learning more about research and training grant support available from NIH. Members may talk to him in the Royale Room at the following times:

- Fri, 9 January  2:00 PM - 4:00 PM
- Sat, 10 January 12:00 noon - 2:00 PM

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Highlights

Thursday, 8 January

LSA Executive Committee Meeting

The Officers and Executive Committee (Janet Dean Fodor, President; D. Terence Langendoen, Vice President-President Elect; James McCawley, Past President; Elizabeth C. Traugott, Secretary-Treasurer; Mark Aronoff, Editor; Suzanne Flynn, Program Committee Chair; Judith Aissen; Adam Albright, Bloch Fellow; Jane Grimshaw; Ray Jackendoff; Edith Moravcsik; John Rickford; and Gregory Ward) will meet beginning at 8:00 AM in the Royale Room.

ADS

The opening session of the American Dialect Society Annual Meeting will be in the Edison/Winter Garden/Brooks Atkinson Room, 3:00 - 5:00 PM. The schedule of papers is on page 20.

Friday, 9 January

NAAHoLS

The North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences will host an opening reception in the Royale Room at 7:30 AM. Papers will be presented 9:00 - 11:45 AM and 1:00 - 5:15 PM in the Uris/Julliard Room. The business meeting will follow in the same room at 5:30 PM. The schedule of papers is on page 22.

Endangered Languages Fund

The Endangered Languages Fund will meet in the Broadhurst Room, 8:00 - 9:00 AM.

ADS

The ADS Executive Council will meet in the Palace Room, 8:00 - 10:00 AM. Nominations for Words of the Year will be taken in the same room, 10:30 - 11:30 AM.

The special session on 'Reconfiguring Regional Dialects' will be in the Edison/Winter Garden/Brooks Atkinson Room, 1:00 - 4:45 PM. The schedule of papers is on page 20.

ADS members may vote on the new words of the year in the Regency Room, 4:45 - 5:45 PM. The Bring Your Own Book (BYOB) exhibit and refreshments will follow immediately after the vote, 5:45 - 6:45 PM in the same room.

SPCL/SCL

The Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics/Society for Caribbean Linguistics will meet 9:00 AM - 12:10 PM and 2:00 - 5:15 PM in the Broadway Room; 9:20 AM - 12:10 PM and 2:00 - 5:35 PM in the Carnegie Hall/Alvin Room. The schedule of papers is on pages 23-24.
SSILA

The Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas will meet 9:00 AM - 12:00 PM and 2:00 - 5:00 PM in the Booth/Lyceum/Imperial Room and the Morosco/MusicBox/Plymouth Room. The schedule of papers is on pages 26-27.

Introductory Linguistics Materials Exhibit

Materials will be on display in the Publishers' Exhibit, Booth 408, Ballroom C, 10:00 AM - 5:00 PM (closed 2:00 - 3:30 PM).

Committee on Endangered Languages

The Committee on Endangered Languages will host an open meeting, 12:00 noon - 2:00 PM in the Broadhurst Room.

Language in the School Curriculum

The Language in the School Curriculum Committee will host an open meeting, 12:00 noon - 1:30 PM, in the Royale Room.

Linguistic Enterprises 1998

The workshop titled 'Linguistic Enterprises 1998: Employability' will be in the Regency Room, 12:15 - 1:45 PM.

LSA Business Meeting

The business meeting has been scheduled in Ballroom D, 5:00 PM. This meeting will be chaired by Janet Dean Fodor, LSA President. The members of the Resolutions Committee are: John Moyne, Chair; Edith Moravcsik and Gregory Ward. The rules for motions and resolutions appear on page 15. The Society will present the fourth biennial Leonard Bloomfield Book Award recognizing the LSA member(s) who has published (1995-97) the volume which makes the most outstanding contribution to the development of our understanding of language and linguistics.

Saturday, 10 January

Undergraduate Program Advisory Committee

The newly mandated Undergraduate Program Advisory Committee (Susan Steele, chair; Wayne Cowart; Janet Dean Fodor; Jorge Hankamer; Mark Liberman; and Rae Moses) will host an open meeting 7:30 - 9:00 AM in the Broadhurst Room.

Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics

The COSWL business meeting will be held in the Regency Room, 8:00 - 9:00 AM. Coffee will be provided. COSWL's organized session titled 'Liminal Linguists: Women in Nontraditional Professional Positions' will take place in Ballroom D, 12:00 noon - 2:00 PM.

ADS

The American Dialect Society business meeting will be in the Edison/Winter Garden/Brooks Atkinson Room, 8:00 - 8:30 AM. Papers will be presented 9:00 AM - 12:15 PM and 2:15 - 5:30 PM in the same room. The schedule of papers is on page 21.

The ADS annual luncheon will begin at 1:00 PM. William Labov (Penn) will speak on the topic, 'The relationship between dialect geography and sociolinguistics.' The location of the luncheon was not available at press time. Check at the LSA registration desk in the Ballroom Foyer.
SPCL/SCL

The Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics/Society for Creole Linguistics will meet **9:00 AM - 12:10 PM** and **3:30 - 4:30 PM** in the Broadway Room and in the Carnegie Hall/Alvin Room. The schedule of papers is on pages 24-25. The SPCL business meeting will be at **4:30 PM** in the Broadway Room.

SSILA

The Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas will meet **9:00 AM - 12:00 noon** and **3:40 - 5:00 PM** in the Booth/Lyceum/Imperial Room and the Morosco/Music Box/Plymouth Room. The schedule of papers is on page 27-28. The SSILA business meeting will be at **5:00 PM** in the Booth/Lyceum/Imperial Room.

**1997 Presidential Address**

Janet Dean Fodor, the 1997 LSA President, will deliver her presidential address at **2:00 PM** in Ballroom D. The address is entitled 'What is a parameter?'

**Linguistic Institute Directors**

Former and future Linguistic Institute Directors will meet in the Palace Room, **3:30 - 5:00 PM**.

**Poetry Reading**

The open poetry reading will be in the Royale Room, **7:00 - 9:00 PM**. Poets are invited to bring their work.

**Sunday, 11 January**

SSILA

The Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas will meet **9:00 AM - 11:40 AM** in the Broadway Room and **9:00 AM - 12:00 noon** in the Carnegie Hall/Alvin Room. The schedule of papers is on pages 28-29.
Linguistic Society of America

Thursday, 8 January

Evening

* = 30-minute paper

Symposium: Bridging the Gap: Introductory Linguistics and the Nonmajor

Room: Ballroom B
7:00 - 10:00 PM

Organizer: Cari Spring (U AZ)

Cari Spring (U AZ): A starting point
Mark Liberman (Penn): The market share
Brian Joseph (OH SU): The Ohio State University experience
Michael Flynn (Carleton C): The Carleton College experience
Charlotte Webb (San Diego SU): The San Diego State University experience
Jorge Hankamer (U CA-Santa Cruz): Introductions to subdomains
Rae Moses (NW U): Introductions through applications
Susan Steele (U AZ): An administrative view

Introductory Linguistics Materials Exhibit: A special display of texts and syllabi for introductory linguistics courses will be in the Book Exhibit on Friday, 10:00 AM - 5:00 PM.

Morphophonology

Chair: Mark Aronoff (SUNY-Stony Brook)
Room: Ballroom A

8:00 David M. Perlmutter (U CA-San Diego): Possible vs impossible types of C/V allomorphy
8:20 Regina Morin (Georgetown U): The nonproductivity of apparent morphophonological alternations in Spanish
8:40 Ann Delilkan (NYU): When fusion alone just isn't enough: Prefix-nesting in Malay
9:00 Yiya Chen (SUNY-Stony Brook): Causative affix in Kammu
9:20 Donca Steriade (UCLA): Lexical conservatism & the notion of base of affixation
10:05 Renate Raffelsiefen (Freie U-Berlin): Stability effects in historical phonology
10:25 Sean Hendricks (U AZ): Reduplication without prosodic templates: A case from Semai
10:45 Jill N. Beckman (U IA): Partial copying & emergent unmarkedness in Igbo reduplication

Friday, 9 January

Morning

Optimality Theory: Pro and Con

Chair: William Idsardi (U DE)
Room: Ballroom A

9:00 Larry M. Hyman (U CA-Berkeley): Cyclicity & noncorrespondence in the Bantu verb system

9:40 Mark Hale (Concordia U) & Charles Reiss (Concordia U): An account of analogy based on the nature of parsing & acquisition
10:00 Motoko Katayama (U CA-Santa Cruz): Sympathetic correspondence in loanword phonology
10:20  *Orhan Orgun (U CA-Davis): OT vs two-level phonology: Handling opacity in nonderivational theories
10:40  Laura Wilbur (IN U): Convergent sympathy
11:00  *Ronald Sprouse (U CA-Berkeley): Enriched input sets: A new approach to opacity in OT
### Friday Morning

#### Syntax 1

**Chair:** Mark Baltin (NYU)
**Room:** Ballroom B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker &amp; Affiliation</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td><em>Colin Phillips (U DE)</em></td>
<td>Linear order &amp; constituency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:45</td>
<td>Jeffrey Lidz (Penn)</td>
<td>Projection vs construction in verb syntax: Experimental evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:05</td>
<td>Paul Hagstrom (MIT)</td>
<td>Attraction of general features &amp; intervention effects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:25</td>
<td>István Kenesei (U Szeged)</td>
<td>VP-focus: Arguments &amp; adjuncts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>Nigel Fabb (U Strathclyde)</td>
<td>The economy of tense interpretation in Madi (Central Sudanic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:05</td>
<td>Nancy Mae Antrim (U TX-El Paso)</td>
<td>Italian prenominal possessives: Dialectal variation &amp; cliticness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:25</td>
<td>Maggie Tallerman (U Durham)</td>
<td>Case-licensing in Brythonic infinitival clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:45</td>
<td>Takae Tsujioka (Georgetown U)</td>
<td>Compounding, phrasal syntax, &amp; the base rule theory</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### Language Acquisition 1

**Chair:** Lise Menn (U CO)
**Room:** Ballroom D

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker &amp; Affiliation</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Shamitha Somashekar (Cornell U), Claire Foley (Morehead SU), &amp; James W. Gair (Cornell U)</td>
<td>Tulu relative clause acquisition in a cross-linguistic perspective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Taylor Roberts (MIT)</td>
<td>Evidence for the optional tense hypothesis: Tense in subordinate clauses in the acquisition of English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Laurel LaPorte-Grimes (U CT)</td>
<td>Causativity &amp; finiteness in early child English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Jill Hohenstein (Yale U), Letitia Naigles (Yale U), &amp; Katherine White Marsland (Yale U)</td>
<td>Differences in mothers’ &amp; preschool teachers’ use of mental verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Kelly Stack (UCLA)</td>
<td>Child-induced 'repair' in the acquisition of artificial language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>Suzanne Flynn (MIT), Claire Foley (Morehead SU), Barbara Lust (Cornell U), &amp; Gita Martohardjono (Queens C-CUNY)</td>
<td>Mapping from the initial to the final state: UG at the interface in L1 &amp; L2 acquisition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:40</td>
<td>Donna Lardiere (Georgetown U)</td>
<td>Agreement &amp; optionality in a fossilized L2 grammar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Phonetics: Consonants

**Chair:** Veneet Acson (George Washington U)
**Room:** Ballroom E

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker &amp; Affiliation</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Robert Kirchner (UCLA)</td>
<td>Some new generalizations concerning germinate inalterability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>William Ham (Cornell U)</td>
<td>Suprasegmental differentiation of singletons &amp; geminates in Swiss German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Nancy Niedzielski (Panasonic Spch Tech Lab)</td>
<td>The rearticulation of consonants in Polish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Rachel Walker (U CA-Santa Cruz)</td>
<td>A comparison of Guaraní voiceless stops in oral vs nasal contexts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>Alice Faber (Haskins Labs)</td>
<td>‘Replacement’ of postvocalic /t/ by glottal stop in New England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Bushra Adnan Zawaydeh (IN U)</td>
<td>The nature of uvularization in Ammani Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Diamandis Gafos (Haskins Labs/Yale U)</td>
<td>Consonant harmony: An articulatory &amp; perceptual account</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>Natasha Warner (U CA-Berkeley)</td>
<td>Spectral transition in the perception of English segments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:40</td>
<td>Elizabeth Zsiga (Georgetown U)</td>
<td>Phonetic alignment constraints</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Historical Linguistics

**Chair:** Jay Jasanoft (Cornell U)
**Room:** Edison/Winter Garden/Brooks Atkinson
9:00  *J. Marshall Unger (OH SU):  Reconciling comparative & internal reconstruction: The case of Old Japanese /tr ri ni/
9:45 Philip Baldi (PA SU):  Latin tugurium 'farmer's hut'
10:05 *Paula Radetzky (U CA-Berkeley):  The history of wa in Japanese narrative
10:50 Norma Mendoza-Denton (OH SU):  English grammaticalization from verb to preposition: The case of concerning NP
11:10 David A. Peterson (U CA-Berkeley):  The Lai instrumental applicative & applicative grammaticalization
11:30 Shobhana L. Chelliah (U N TX):  Grammaticalization through areal & typological pressure: The case of Meithei
11:50 J. Clancy Clements (IN U):  The final stages of the head-initial to head-final shift

12:00  

Friday, 9 January  
Afternoon

Linguistic Enterprises Workshop 1998: Employability

Room:  Regency  
12:15 - 1:45 PM

Organizers:  Dovie R. Wylie (On-Site English)  
Janet Dean Fodor (CUNY Grad Ctr)

Karen Jensen (Microsoft Res):  Linguistic employability: The view from Microsoft
Dovie R. Wylie (On-Site English):  Balancing the books
John D. Choi (AT&T Labs-Res):  Linguists & the speech technology industry
Suzette Haden Elgin:  The freelance linguist

Syntax 2

Chair:  Richard Kayne (NYU)
Room:  Ballroom A

2:00  Ewa Dornisch (Cornell U):  A'-non-operator of wh- phrases in Polish
2:20 Christine Sungeun Cho (SUNY-Stony Brook) & Xuan Zhou (SUNY-Stony Brook):  The interpretation of wh- elements in coordinated wh- questions
2:40 Hidetaka Tanaka (McGill U):  Adjunction, specifier, & wh- licensing
3:00 Gosse Bouma (U Groningen), Robert Malouf (Stanford U), & Ivan Sag (Stanford U):  Satisfying constraints on extraction & adjunction
3:20 Lisa Green (U MA-Amherst/U TX-Austin):  Embedded inversion & double COMP varieties of nonstandard English
3:40 Susi Wurmbrand (MIT):  Deconstructing restructuring
4:00 Ellen Thompson (U PR):  The syntax & semantics of reduced relatives
4:20 Erhard W. Hinrichs (U Tubingen) & Tsuneko Nakazawa ((U Tokyo):  VP relatives in German: An HPSG analysis

Phonology:  Syllables

Chair:  Ellen Broselow (SUNY-Stony Brook)
Room:  Ballroom B

2:00  Cheryl Zoll (MIT):  Faithfulness & the onset/coda asymmetry: The case of Hamer
2:20 Frida Morelli (U MD-College Park): A factorial typology of onset obstruent clusters
2:40 Naomi Cull (U Toronto): Onset augmentation in Kisi
3:00 Antony Dubach Green (Zent Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft): The prosodic licensing of onsets in Munster Irish
3:20 Chris Golston (CA SU-Fresno): Feature geometry is syllable geometry
3:40 Terry Malone (SIL): Canonically long & geminate vowels in Chimila (Chibchan)
4:00 David Eric Holt (Georgetown U): The sonarity hierarchy & NO LONG VOWEL: Theoretical implications
4:20 Alissa Melinger (SUNY-Buffalo): Resolving conflicting syllabifications in Seneca
4:40 Mary Baltazani (UCLA): Hiatus resolution in Modern Greek

**Phonetics: Vowels**

Chair: Ignatius Mattingly (U CT)
Room: Ballroom D

2:00 Colin Phillips (U DE), Alec Marantz (MIT), David Poeppel (U CA-San Francisco/U MD-College Park), Tim Roberts (U CA-San Francisco), & Krishna Govindarajan (MIT): A brain potential that indexes vowel height
2:20 Beverley Goodman (E MI U), Maria Jones (E MI U), & Laura Sabadini (E MI U): English vowel duration & the tense/lax distinction
2:40 Kathleen Hubbard (U CA-San Diego): Quantity or quality? Characteristics & typology of vowel length
3:00 Caroline L. Smith (Eloquent Tech, Inc): High vowel laxing in Québec French
3:20 Sharon Ash (Penn): A case study of rounding as a factor in sound change
3:40 Alicia J. Beckford (U MI): Characterizing phonetic variation between Jamaican English & creole vowels
4:00 Elizabeth A. Strand (OH SU): Gender stereotypes affect speech perception
4:40 Richard Wright (IN U): Lexically motivated hypo- & hyper-articulation in vowels

**Friday Afternoon**

**Field Reports/Endangered Languages**

Chair: Keren Rice (U Toronto)
Room: Ballroom E

2:00 Megan Crowhurst (U NC-Chapel Hill): Chain shifting & hyperfronted vowels in Sirionó
2:20 Laura Walsh Dickey (Max Planck Inst) & Stephen Levinson (Max Planck Inst): Phonetics of Rossel multiple articulations
2:40 Alice Taff (U WA) & Jacob Wegelin (U WA): Intonation contours in Unangan (Eastern Aleut): Phonetic description
3:00 David Beck (U Toronto) & David Bennett (U Toronto): Arguments for the phonological paragraph: Evidence from Lushootseed narrative
3:20 Ronald P. Schaefer (S IL U-Edw): On tone & mood in Emai
3:40 Ida Toivonen (Concordia U/Stanford U): Morphological variation in Inari Sami
4:00 William F. Weigel (U CA-Berkeley): Harbingers of language death: Yowlumne from 1930 to 1996
4:20 Jeanette King (U Canterbury): Maori language for the future: The vital role of adults

**Computational Linguistics/Discourse Analysis**

Chair: Virginia Teller (Hunter C-CUNY)
Room: Regency
Friday, 9 January

Evening

**Symposium: Practical Fieldwork: Conflicting Constraints on the Ethical Researcher**

Room: Ballroom A
8:00 - 11:00 PM

Organizers: Colleen Cotter (Georgetown U) Sara Trechter (CA SU-Chico)

Jonathan Bobaljik (Harvard U): The political consequences of "How do you say "salmon"?"
Sara Trechter (CA SU-Chico): Balancing gender & academic roles in the field
Rudolf Gaudio (U AZ): Talk about shameful subjects: Sexuality & fieldwork
Monica Macaulay (U WI-Mad): Training linguistics students for the realities of fieldwork
Will Leben (Stanford U): Creating community-based research in West Africa
Colleen Cotter (Georgetown U): Degrees of distance: Roles & relations in the fieldwork interview

Discussants: Colette Grinevald (Dynam Language-MRASH) Anthony Woodbury (U TX-Austin)

**Phonology: Intonation and Tone**

Chair: Mark Liberman (Penn)
Room: Ballroom B

8:00 Li-chiung Yang (U CA-Santa Barbara): Intonational structures & topic coherence
8:20 Svetlana Godjevac (OH SU): Realization of Serbo-Croatian lexical tones in sentential contexts
8:40 Laura Walsh Dickey (Max Planck Inst): The processing of tone & pitch accent in Igbo & Japanese
9:00 Lee S. Bickmore (U at Albany): Bounded tone spreading as feature extension
9:20 Simon Donnelly (U IL-Urbana/U Witwatersrand): Locality vs specification: Tone & voice in Phuthi
9:40 Michael Cahill (SIL/OH SU): Tonal associative morphemes in optimality theory
10:00 Marcela Depiante (U CT) & David Michaels (U CT): On the representation of downstep
10:20 Matthew Gordon (UCLA): Syllable weight as a function of processes: The case of contour tones

**Business Meeting**

Chair: Janet Dean Fodor
Room: Ballroom D
5:00 PM

Resolutions Committee: Chair: John Moyne Edith Moravczik
The following rules for motions and resolutions were prepared by William J. Gedney and Ilse Lehiste and approved by the Executive Committee at its June 1973 meeting. LSA members are urged to follow these ground rules in order to have their motions and resolutions considered at the Business Meeting.

**Rules for Motions and Resolutions**

1. **Definitions.**
   A motion is any proposition calling for action whether by an officer of the Society, the Executive Committee or the membership. A resolution expresses the opinion or feeling of a group. Resolutions are of two kinds: a) resolutions expressing 'the sense of the majority of the meeting,' and b) resolutions expressing 'the sense of the majority of the membership.'

2. **Procedure Regarding Motions.**

   2a. Motions are in order only at the duly constituted annual business meeting. Voting is restricted to members of the Society. Motions may be initiated by the Executive Committee or from the floor.

   2b. Motions initiated by the Executive Committee require for their passage a majority vote of the members voting at the meeting.

   2c. Motions initiated from the floor, if they receive affirmative vote of a majority of members voting at the meeting, are then to be submitted by the Executive Committee to a mail ballot of the membership of the Society in the next issue of the *LSA Bulletin*. Passage requires: a) a majority of those voting, and b) that the total of those voting in favor must be at least 2.5% of the personal membership.

   2d. If a member wishes to introduce a motion, but prefers to avoid the delay involved in 2c above, the motion may be submitted in advance to the Executive Committee (before their regular meeting preceding the business meeting at which the motion is to be introduced) with a request that the Executive Committee by majority vote of the Committee approve the introduction of the motion at the business meeting as a motion initiated by the Executive Committee (see 2b above).

3. **Procedure Regarding Resolutions.**

   3a. Resolutions may be introduced at the annual business meeting or at any special meeting of the Society, such as the summer meeting.

   3b. A Resolutions Committee consisting of three members will be appointed by the president prior to the beginning of each regular or special meeting. Any member wishing to introduce a resolution must submit it in advance to the Resolutions Committee which, in addition to its traditional duty of formulating resolutions of thanks and the like, will have the duty to make sure that the language is clear, and that duplication is avoided. The Resolutions Committee may meet in advance for this purpose or may, if necessary, retire to caucus during the course of the meeting.

   3c. A resolution expressing the sense of the majority of the meeting requires for its passage the affirmative vote of a majority of the members voting at the meeting.

   3d. If at least ten members present at the meeting so desire, a resolution may be broadened to express 'the sense of the majority of the membership,' regardless of whether or not it has passed the procedure in 3c above, by the following steps: the resolution is forwarded to the Executive Committee for submission to the membership by mail ballot (in the next issue of the *LSA Bulletin*). Passage of such a 'sense of the majority of the membership' resolution requires the affirmative vote (more than 50%) of the membership responding.
Saturday, 10 January
Morning

Workshop: Paradigms and Problems in Phonetic Research

Room: Uris/Julliard
9:00 AM - 12:15 PM

Organizers:
John Kingston (U MA-Amherst)
Terrance M. Nearey (U AB-Edmonton)

Carol Fowler (Haskins Labs): Parsing the objects of speech perception
Keith Johnson (OH SU) & Elizabeth Strand (OH SU): Speech perception without normalization or higher order invariants
Peter Jusczyk (Johns Hopkins U): From general to language-specific perception in the ontogeny of phonology
John Kingston (U MA-Amherst), Randy Diehl (U TX-Austin), & Neil Macmillan (Brooklyn C): Sensitivity & bias in speech perception tasks
Terrance M. Nearey (U AB-Edmonton): Empirical generalization in a relaxed theoretical framework
Janet Pierrehumbert (NW U): Experiments & instrumental surveys

Syntax 3
Chair: Kenneth Safir (Rutgers U)
Room: Ballroom A

9:00 William D. Davies (U IA) & Stanley Dubinsky (U SC): Subject positions & the role of EPP features
9:20 David Basilico (U AL-Bir): Perception verb passives as superraising violations
9:40 Akemi Matsuya (U MD-College Park): Passivization & scrambling
10:00 Haihua Pan (City U Hong Kong): Generalized passivization on complex predicates
10:20 Robert Malouf (Stanford U): Coherent nominalizations
10:40 Murat Kural (U CA-Irvine): Obligatory dative shift & preposition incorporation
10:00 Christopher Culy (U IA): Takelma noun incorporation reconsidered
10:20 Yukiko Morimoto (Stanford U): A lexical account of phrasal nominalization in Japanese
10:40 Martha McGinnis (MIT): Case & equidistance in locality

Sociolinguistics: Pragmatics/Discourse Analysis
Chair: Barbara Abbott (MI SU)
Room: Ballroom B

9:00 Kiri Lee (Lehigh U): The information status of NP in nominative-case marker deletion in Japanese
9:20 Rika Ito (MI SU): Topic coding without marking: Topic & information status in Japanese
10:00 Scott Schwenter (Stanford U): The scalar link between exclusivity & additivity
10:20 Jocelyn Cohan (U TX-Austin): Effects on reference assignment of focus structure in the dative alternation
10:40 Stephen Fix (NW U): Pragmatic constraints on the use of exclamative sentences
11:00 Ilana Mushin (SUNY-Buffalo): Choice of n(o) da variant in Japanese oral narrative: An epistemological status analysis
11:20 Shigeko Okamoto (CA SU-Fresno): The construction of communicative contexts: Strategic coordination of honorific & nonhonorific expressions in Japanese conversations
11:40 Ellen L. Barton (Wayne SU): Social & interactional functions of slogans & sayings: The discourse of support groups
Language Processing
Chair: Robert Vago (Queens C/CUNY Grad Ctr)
Room: Ballroom D

9:00 Lynne M. Stallings (USC): Relative weight in the production of heavy-NP shift
9:20 Patricia L. Deevy (U MA-Amherst): A processing account of partial agreement effects
9:40 Michael Walsh Dickey (U MA-Amherst) & Wietske Vonk (Max Planck Inst): Center-embedded sentences in Dutch: An online study
10:00 Jeffrey Loewenstein (NW U), Pablo Gomez (NW U), & Gregory Ward (NW U): Word order as a pragmatic cue for sentence processing
10:20 Keiko Uehara (CUNY Grad Ctr) & Dianne C. Bradley (CUNY Grad Ctr): Processing scrambled argument structures in Japanese
10:40 Uli Sauerland (MIT) & Edward Gibson (MIT): Case matching in relative clause attachment
11:00 Wayne Cowart (U S ME), Sadie Fowler (U S ME), & G. Andrew Smith-Petersen (U S ME): A biological parameter affecting sentence judgments
11:20 Amy J. Schafer (U KS) & Shari R. Speer (U KS): Prosodic influences on the resolution of lexical ambiguity
11:40 Kathleen Ahrens (Natl Taiwan U): Cross-linguistic evidence in lexical ambiguity resolution

Saturday, 10 January
Afternoon

Tutorial: 'Monolingual' Field Research
Room: Ballroom E
12:00 - 2:00 PM
Organizer: Daniel Everett (U Pittsburgh)

Organized Session: Liminal Linguists: Women in Nontraditional Professional Positions
Room: Ballroom D
12:00 - 2:00 PM
Organizers: Mary Bucholtz (TX A&M U)
Yukako Sunaoshi

Part 1: Women in industry:
Alice Greenwood (AT&T Labs)
Christine Kamprath (Caterpillar, Inc.)

Part 2: Women in non-tenure-track academic positions:
Dina Daibany-Miraglia (Queensborough Community C)
Miriam Isaacs (U MD-College Park)
Patricia Kilroe (U WI-Mil/U SW LA)

LSA Presidential Address
Room: Ballroom D
2:00 PM

What is a parameter?
Phonology: Prosody
Chair: Michael Kenstowicz (MIT)
Room: Ballroom A

3:30 Wendy Sandler (U Haifa) & Marina Nesper (U Amsterdam): Prosodic phonology in sign language
3:50 Martha Baird Senturia (U CA-San Diego): Stress & vocalic sequences in Hawaiian: A paradox resolved
4:10 Chris Golston (CA SU-Fresno) & Tomas Riad (Stockholm U): Iambic pentameter is neither
4:30 Kristin Hanson (U CA-Berkeley): The linguistic structure of rhyme in Robert Pinsky's The Inferno
of Dante
4:50 John Alderete (U MA-Amherst): Theoretical implications of Tahlton stress
5:10 Shelley L. Velleman (Elms C) & Lawrence D. Shriberg (U WI-Mad): Metrical phonology constraints in disordered children
5:30 Diane Brentari (Purdue U): An optimality theoretic account of ‘weak-drop’ in two-handed signs in ASL

Semantics 1
Chair: Richard Oehrle (U AZ)
Room: Ballroom B

3:30 Richard K. Larson (SUNY-Stony Brook): Event descriptions in Haitian & Fon
3:50 Grace Song (U SC) & Beth Levin (NW U): A compositional approach to the expression of motion events
4:10 Mine Nakipoglu (U MN-Mpls): An event structural analysis of Turkish split intransitives
4:30 Anthony Davis (CY Corp) & Jean-Pierre Koenig (SUNY-Buffalo): Modal transparency at the syntax-semantics interface
4:50 Laura Wagner (Penn): Aspectual shifting in the perfect & progressive
5:10 Robert Knippen (U Chicago): Singular referring terms, scope, & modality
5:30 Jennifer Hay (NW U): The nonuniformity of degree achievements
5:50 Hana Filip (U Rochester): The quantization puzzle

Saturday Afternoon

Language Acquisition 2
Chair: Virginia Valian (Hunter C-CUNY)
Room: Ballroom D

3:30 David Parkinson (Cornell U): Knowledge of verbal projections in the acquisition of causatives in Inuktitut
3:50 Mari Broman Olsen (U MD-College Park), Amy Weinberg (U MD-College Park), Jeffrey P. Lilly (U MD-College Park) & John E. Drury (U MD-College Park): Acquiring grammatical aspect in lexical aspect: The continuity hypothesis
4:10 M. Lynne Murphy (Baylor U): Acquisition of antonymy: Evidence from child input & output
4:30 Joe Grady (U CA-Berkeley) & Chris Johnson (U CA-Berkeley): Semantic constraints on the acquisition of instrumental marking
4:50 Julien Musolino (U MD-College Park): The use of some in the acquisition of English
5:10 Julien Musolino (U MD-College Park) & Stephen Crain (U MD-College Park): All sentences are not interpreted the same by children & adults
5:30 Agnes Bolonyai (U SC): Codeswitching, functional elements, & 'double morphology'
5:50 Pau-San Hoh (Marist C): Symbiotic phonological development in a Cantonese-English-speaking child

Syntax 4
Chair: David Pesetsky (MIT)
Room: Ballroom E

3:30 *Rakesh M. Bhatt (UTN): AgrP in UG: Elimination or special dispensation?
3:50 *Luis López (U MO-Columbia): Merge, move/attract, & VP structure

**Poster Session**

Room: Uris/Julliard
Time: 3:30 - 5:30 PM

Shanley E. M. Allen (Max Planck Inst): Discourse effects in early null argument asymmetries

Sergey Avrutin (Yale U) & Jennifer Green (Boston U): Comprehension of contrastive stress by Broca's & Wernicke's aphasics

Eleanor Olds Batchelder (CUNY Grad Ctr): Infant segmentation of speech using frequency information: A cross-linguistic corpus study

Jose R. Benki (U MI): Perceptual interaction of voicing & place of articulation

Carole E. Chaski (Natl Ins Justice): Electronic parsing for idiolectal markers in suspect documents

James D. Harnsberger (U MI): Quantifying phonetic similarity among nasal consonants

**Sunday, 11 January**
**Morning**

**Phonology: Features**

Chair: Larry Hyman (U CA-Berkeley)
Room: Ballroom A

9:00 Diana Archangeli (U AZ) & Kazutoshi Ohno (U AZ): **NC
9:20 Stefan Frisch (IN U) & Richard Wright (IN U): Implications of featural & subfeatural errors in speech production
9:40 Catherine Ringen (U IA) & Orvokki Heinämäki (U Helsinki): Variation in Finnish vowel harmony: An OT account
10:00 Frederick Parkinson (Cornell U): Harmony in Efik & the vowel place constituent
10:20 Richard D. Janda (U Chicago): More than two points on umlaut in Modern Standard High German
10:40 Dirk Elzinga (U AZ): Fronting & palatalization in Shoshoni
11:00 Linda Lombardi (U MD-College Park): Evidence for MaxFeature constraints in Japanese
11:20 Takako Kawasaki (McGill U): Spreading & final exceptionality
11:40 Stefan Frisch (IN U) & Bushra Adnan Zawaydeh (IN U): The psychological reality of phonotactic constraints

LSA

**Syntax 5**

Chair: Lisa Green (U MA-Amherst)
Room: Ballroom B

9:00 Ivan A. Sag (Stanford U): Explaining the conjunct constraint
9:20  Tohru Noguchi (Tokyo Inst Tech): An economy-based approach to local anaphora
9:40  Kazuko Yatsushiro (U CT): Nominative case: Not just in the specifier of TP
10:00 Kiyoshi Noguchi (Sophia U): On the structures of the Japanese verb suru: Applying the linguistic concept of SPECIFICITY
10:20 Eric Potdam (U IA): The structural distribution of s- and VP-adverbs in English
10:40 Mika Kizu (McGill U): Licensing conditions on 'VP ellipsis' in Japanese
11:00 Thomas Ernst (Rutgers U): The scopal basis of adverb licensing
11:20 Ed Zoerner (CA SU-Dominguez Hills): Coordinate structure & coordinator distribution
11:40 Mary Dalrymple (Xerox PARC/Stanford U) & Ronald M. Kaplan (Xerox PARC/Stanford U): Resolution of person & gender in coordination

**Semantics 2**

**Chair:** Laurence Horn (Yale U)

**Room:** Ballroom D

9:00 Michael Israel (U CA-San Diego): Ever: Polarity sensitivity & polysemy
9:20 Rita Bhambani (SUNY-Stony Brook): On the role of tense for negative polarity item licensing
9:40 Shrvan Vasishth (OH SU): Boolean properties of focus particles & NPIs in Japanese
10:00 Juliet Wai Hong Du (U TX-Austin) & Wing Cheong Lau (U TX-Austin): An integrated syntactic-semantic account of negative clitic mh in Cantonese Chinese
10:20 Haihua Pan (City U Hong Kong) & Po Lun Peppina Lee (City U Hong Kong): Chinese negation marker bu & its association with focus
10:40 Jun Du (U TX-Austin): The additivity of the focus particle ye in Mandarin Chinese
11:00 Roumyana Izvorski (Penn/MIT): Are there infinitival or subjunctive free relatives?
11:20 Maribel Romero (U MA-Amherst): Sluicing with sprouting
11:40 Richard T. Oehrle (U AZ): Noun after noun

**Sociolinguistics/Sign Language Studies**

**Chair:** William Stewart (CUNY Grad Ctr)

**Room:** Ballroom E

9:00 Roberta Chase-Borgatti (U SC): Social networks & language behavior: A theoretical framework
9:20 Patricia Cukor-Avila (U N TX): Apparent time, real time, & over time: Approaches to the temporal dimension of language
9:40 *Natalie Schilling-Estes (Stanford U/Old Dominion U) & Walt Wolfram (NC SU-Raleigh): Directionality in language death: Dissipation vs concentration
10:25 Carmen Fought (U CA-Santa Barbara): The role of the sex/social class interaction in Chicano Spanish
11:05 Thomas Purnell (U DE), William Idsardi (U DE), & John Baugh (Stanford U): Perceptual & phonetic experiments on American English dialect identification
11:25 Norine Berenz (U Witwatersrand): Politeness, privacy, & person in Brazilian Sign Language pronominal systems
11:45 Amy Leuchtmann Sexton (Rice U): ASL & English: Comparing spatial descriptions

**Psycholinguistics**

**Chair:** Dianne Bradley (CUNY Grad Ctr)

**Room:** Uris/Julliard

9:00 Iris Berent (FL Atlantic U): Constraints on identity in Hebrew roots: An experimental approach
9:20 Kim Ainsworth-Darnell (OH SU) & Tadahisa Kondo (NTT Basic Res Labs): Beyond orthographic death: Similarities in the online construction of referential domains
9:40 Craig Chambers (U Rochester), Michael Tanenhaus (U Rochester), Greg Carlson (U Rochester), & Hana Filip (U Rochester): Definites, indefinites, & the online processing of words in Kanji & Hiragana
10:00 David Kemmerer (U IA), Mirella Dapretto (UCLA), & S. Y. Bookheimer (UCLA): Individual differences in regular & irregular inflectional processing as revealed by fMRI
American Dialect Society

Thursday, 8 January
Afternoon

General Session 1
Chair: Betty S. Phillips (IN SU)
Room: Edison/Winter Garden/Brooks Atkinson

3:00 Christine Ammer (Lexington, MA): Idiom's delight
3:30 Janet M. Fuller (S IL U-Car): 'Er hat uns gesaved vun unser sins': Past participial marking in Pennsylvania German
4:00 Judith W. Fuller (Gustavus Adolphus C): Searching for Standard American English
4:30 Sonja L. Lanehart (U GA) & Paul A. Schutz (U GA): Facilitating self-regulated learning in English language studies classrooms
5:00 Bernhard Diensberg (U Bayreuth): Teaching American dialects to German students: Problems & issues

Friday, 9 January
Morning

Executive Council
Chair: Walt Wolfram (NC SU-Raleigh)
Room: Palace
Time: 8:00 - 10:00 AM

New Words Committee: Nominations
Chair: Wayne Glowka (Georgia C & SU)
Room: Palace
Time: 10:30 - 11:30 AM

Friday, 9 January
Afternoon

Special Session: Reconfiguring Regional Dialects 1
Chair: Ellen Johnson (W KY U)
Room: Edison/Winter Garden/Brooks Atkinson

1:00 Walt Wolfram (NC SU-Raleigh), Erik Thomas (NC SU-Raleigh), & Elaine Green (NC SU-Raleigh): Dynamic boundaries in African American Vernacular English: The role of local dialect in the history of AAVE
1:30 Natalie Schilling-Estes (Stanford U/Old Dominion U): Redrawing ethnic dialect lines: A synchronic & diachronic analysis of /ay/ in Lumbee Native American Vernacular English
2:00 Lisa Ann Lane (U MI): Takin' Bauman to the burbs: Verbal art in the discourse of suburban teens
2:30 Anne Marie Hamilton (U GA) & Frank Bramlett (U GA): Standard English hardball: The pressure of transplant dialects on young Atlanta professionals
3:00  Break

**Special Session: Reconfiguring Regional Dialects 2**
Chair: David Barnhart (Lexik House)
Room: Edison/Winter Garden/Brooks Atkinson

3:15  *Ceil Lucas (Gallaudet U) & Mary Rose (Gallaudet U):* 1-handshape variation in American Sign Language
3:45  *Amanda Doran (U TX-Austin):* Rising glides in Mexican American English
4:15  *Kati Pletsch de Garcia (TX A&M Intl U):* Linguistic behavior of three south Texas border communities: Same or different?

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**Vote on New Words of 1997**
Room: Regency
Time: 4:45 - 5:45 PM

**Bring Your Own Book (BYOB) Exhibit and Reception**
Room: Regency
Time: 5:45 - 6:45 PM

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**Saturday, 10 January**

**Morning**

**Business Meeting**
Chair: Walt Wolfram (NC SU-Raleigh)
Room: Edison/Winter Garden/Brooks Atkinson
Time: 8:00 AM

**General Session 2**
Chair: Luanne von Schneidemesser (*DARE*)
Room: Edison/Winter Garden/Brooks Atkinson

8:30  *Kirk Hazen (NC SU-Raleigh):* Negation, nasalization, & regularization: Creating similar diachronic paths
9:00  *Sali Tagliamonte (U York-Heslington) & Jennifer Smith (U York-Heslington):* Was/were variation in English: Primitive, remnant, syntactic restructuring, or act of identity?
9:30  *Patricia Cukor-Avila (U N TX) & Guy Bailey (U TX-San Antonio):* The morphology of past tense in AAVE
10:00  *Richard W. Bailey (U MI):* African American stereotypes in early 20th century English

10:30  Break

**General Session 3**
Chair: Margaret G. Lee (Hampton U)
Room: Edison/Winter Garden/Brooks Atkinson

10:45  *Maggie Ronkin (Georgetown U) & Helen Karn (Georgetown U):* Mock Ebonics: Linguistic racism in parodies of Ebonics on the Internet
11:15  *Georgette Ioup (U New Orleans):* The language of the free people of color in 19th century New Orleans: Evidence from the journal of Sister Mary Bernard Diggs
11:45  *Anne Marie Hamilton (U GA)*: Who speaks Scots in the United States? An analysis of social labels in *DARE*

12:15  *Beverly Olson Flanigan (OH U)*: Complementizer variation in American English: Overt, covert, & pleonastic

### Saturday, 10 January

#### Afternoon

**Annual Luncheon**

Room:  TBA  
Time:  1:00 PM

William Labov (Penn): The relationship between dialect geography & sociolinguistics

### General Session 4

Chair:  Bethany Dumas (U TN-Knoxville)  
Room:  Edison/Winter Garden/Brooks Atkinson

3:45  *Ronald R. Butters (Duke U)*, *Lyla Kaplan (Duke U)*, & *Jeremy Sugarman (Duke U)*: Semantic variability in terms for 'medical research': Implications for obtaining meaningful informed consent

4:15  *Michael Montgomery (U SC)*: 'I'll kill ye or cure ye, one': The history & function of alternative one

4:45  *Margaret Mishoe (U NC-Charlotte)* & *Boyd Davis (U NC-Charlotte)*: 'So I says, says I': Quotatives in Southern White discourse

5:15  *Michael Adams (Albright C)*: Leave 'let': American Doppelgänger

5:45  *Valerie Boulanger (U GA)*: What makes a coinage successful? The factors influencing the adoption of English new words

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### North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences

#### Friday, 9 January

#### Morning

**Coffee and Bagels**

Room:  Royale  
Time:  7:30 - 8:30 AM

**Medieval and Renaissance Linguistics**

Chair:  Keith Percival (U KS/U WA)  
Room:  Uris/Julliard

9:00  *Don Chapman (Brigham Young U)*: Early English terminology for compounds: A study of medieval Latin grammars & Aelfric's English grammar

9:30  *Dominique A. H. Linchet (Birmingham-Southern C)*: *Histoire de la Floride*: A study on language & translation at the age of Louis XIV

10:00  *Cristina Altman (U Sao Paulo)*: South American missionaries & the components of a descriptive grammar

10:30  Break
10:45  Maria Tsiapera (U NC-Chapel Hill): The Augustinus & Port Royal
11:15  Danilo Marcondes de Souza Filho (Pontificia U Católica Rio de Janeiro): Skepticism & the philosophy of language in early modern thought

**Afternoon**

**19th Century Linguistics**
Chair: Julia Falk (MI SU)
Room: Uris/Julliard

1:00  Charles W. Kreidler (Georgetown U): Noah Webster's linguistic influences
1:30  E. F. Konrad Koerner (U Ottawa): Pioneers, forerunners, innovators, transitional figures in the history of linguistics: Convenient labels or historical realities?
2:00  Michael Mackert (W VA U): Franz Boas' early Northwest Coast alphabet

2:30  Break

**20th Century Linguistics**
Chair: Douglas Kibbee (U IL-Urbana)
Room: Uris/Julliard

2:45  Julia S. Falk (MI SU): The American shift from historical to nonhistorical linguistics: E. H. Sturtevant & the first Linguistic Institute
3:15  Karl V. Teeter (Harvard U): The linguistic research of Frank T. Siebert, Jr.
3:45  Christopher Hutton (U Hong Kong): From colonialism to nationalism: Ethnic minorities in the linguistics of Vietnam
4:15  Steve Seegmiller (Montclair SU): Signed languages in linguistics before the advent of sign language linguistics
4:45  Regna Darnell (U W ON): Text, discourse, & life history in the Americanist tradition

5:15  Break

**Business Meeting**
Chair: Mark Amsler (U DE)
Room: Uris/Julliard
Time: 5:30 PM

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**Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics/ Society for Caribbean Linguistics**

**Friday, 9 January**
**Morning**

**Symposium: Pidgin and Creole Linguistics in the 21st Century**
Chair: John Rickford (Stanford U)
Room: Broadway

9:00  Glenn Gilbert (S IL U-Car): Overview: What's ahead in pidgin & creole linguistics

**Symposium Session 1**
Chair: John Victor Singler (NYU)
Room: Broadway

9:20  Jacques Arends (U Amsterdam): The historical study of creoles & the future of creole studies
9:40  Michael Aceto (U PR-San Juan): Going back to the beginning: Describing the (nearly) undocumented creole languages of the Caribbean
10:00  Mikael Parkvall (Stockholm U): Demographic disproportion & language restructuring
10:20  Further discussion of papers by Arends, Aceto, & Parkvall

10:35  Break

10:50  Peter Bakker (Aarhus U): Some future challenges for pidgin & creole studies
11:10  Hildo do Couto (U Brasília): The place of place in creole genesis
11:30  Anand Syea (U Westminster): Future grammatical developments in creoles: Some predictions
11:55  Further discussion of papers by Bakker, do Couto, & Syea

Symposium Session 2
Chair: Hazel Simmons-McDonald (U W Indies-Cave Hill)
Room: Carnegie Hall/Alvin

9:20  Donald Winford (OH SU): Creoles in the context of contact linguistics
9:40  John Holm (CUNY Grad Ctr): The study of semicreoles in the 21st century
10:00  Claire Lefebvre (U Québec-Montreal): The field of pidgin & creole linguistics in the 21st century
10:20  Further discussion of papers by Winford, Holm, & Lefebvre
10:35  Break

10:50  Ingo Plag (Philipps U-Marburg): On the role of grammaticalization in creolization
11:10  Armin Schwegler (U CA-Irvine): Creolistics in Latin America: Past, present, & future
11:30  Jeff Siegel (U New England-Australia): Applied creolistics in the 21st century
11:55  Further discussion of papers by Plag, Schwegler, & Siegel

Friday, 9 January
Afternoon

Early Sources
Chair: Kathryn Shields-Brodber (U W Indies-Mona)
Room: Broadway

2:00  Jany Tomba (CUNY Grad Ctr): The early Haitian Creole in Ducoeurjoly (1802)
2:20  Sarah Julianne Roberts (Stanford U): Olla podrida: Language mixing, pidgins, & creolization
2:40  William A. Stewart (CUNY Grad Ctr): What a letter of 1883 in Pidgin Hawaiian has to say
3:00  Peter Stein (Alteglofsheim, Germany): The Dresden Edition project of the complete manuscript of C. G. A. Oldendorp's Mission History

Friday Afternoon

3:20  Break

Language Contact and Mixture
Chair: Donald Winford (OH SU)
Room: Broadway

3:35  Angela Karstadt (U MN-Mpls): Relativization strategies in a postimmigrant setting: A longitudinal study of Swedish & English in contact
3:55  Evgeniy Golovko (Inst Ling Res-St. Petersburg, Russia): Language contact in the Bering Strait area
4:15  Elizabeth Winkler (IN U): Limon Creole: A case of contact-induced language change
4:35  Stéphane Goyette (U Ottawa): Genetic linguistics, creolization, & pidginization
Fred Field (USC): Revealing contrasts: Function words & inflectional categories in modern Mexicano & Palenquero

Portuguese Varieties
Chair: Armin Schwegler (U CA-Irvine)
Room: Carnegie Hall/Alvin

2:00 Claudia Roncarati (Rio de Janeiro) & Maria Cecilia Mollica (Rio de Janeiro): Features of pidginization on a contact Portuguese sample
2:20 Mario P. Nunes: Malay lexical items in Kristang, as contributory factors in the formation of Papiaam of Macao
2:40 Marlyse Baptista (MIT): The Capeverdean determiner system: The role of null morphemes in marking specificity & nonspecificity of NPs
3:00 Gerardo Lorenzino (Yale U): The diachronic relevance of affixation in two Afro-Portuguese creoles

Break

Life Cycle Processes: Pidginization, Creolization, Decreolization
Chair: Edward Bendix (CUNY Grad Ctr)
Room: Carnegie Hall/Alvin

3:35 Janice L. Jake (U SC) & Carol Myers-Scotton (U SC): How to build a creole: Splitting & recombining lexical structure
3:55 Heliana Mello (Alexandria, VA): On the genesis of Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese
4:15 Michel deGraff (MIT): On children &/vs adults in pidginization & creolization: Time machines & other experiments
4:35 Magnus Huber (U Essen): The origin & development of Krio: New linguistic & sociohistorical evidence
4:55 Valerie Youssef (U W Indies-St. Augustine): Decreolization revisited: The case of Tobago
5:15 John H. McWhorter (U CA-Berkeley): Motivations for the Afrogenesis hypothesis: The striking anomaly of mainland Spanish America

Saturday, 10 January
Morning

Creole Syntax
Chair: Salikoko Mufwene (U Chicago)
Room: Broadway

9:00 Marvin Kramer (U CA-Berkeley): Transitivity in Saramaccan adjectives, passives, & shared object serial verb constructions
9:20 Beatrice Denis (Brooklyn, NY): A comparative study of Jamaican Creole, Sierra Leone Krio, & Nigerian Pidgin
9:40 Malcolm Finney (Carleton U): The status of /se/ in Krio: Verb or complement?
10:00 Genevieve Escure (U MN-Mpls): Presentative structures & paratax in Belizean Creole

10:20 Break

AAVE and Its Congeners
Chair: Tometro Hopkins (FL Intl U)
Room: Broadway

10:35 Genevieve Escure (U MN-Mpls) & Portia McClain (U MN-Mpls): Habitual aspect in migrant African American preadolescents in Minneapolis
10:55 Elizabeth Dayton (U PR-Mayaguez): The done element in African American Vernacular English be done
11:25  David Sutcliffe (Barcelona, Spain): Gone with the wind? What 19th century AAVE can tell us about a prior creole
11:50  Gerard Van Herk (U Ottawa): Inversion in early AAVE question formation

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SPCL/SCL  Saturday

**Creole Phonology**
Chair: Ian Robertson (U W Indies-St. Augustine)
Room: Carnegie Hall/Alvin

9:00  Maurice Holder (U NB): The prosodic hierarchy in Guyanese Creole
9:20  Thomas Klein (Georgetown U): Nasal velarization & dissimilatory blocking in Gullah
9:40  Jeff Allen (Carnegie Mellon U): Evaluating Haitian Creole orthographies from a non-literacy-based perspective
10:00  Jean-Robert Cadely (FL Intl U): Evidence for a constituent clitic group in Haitian Creole

10:20  Break

**Acquisition, First and Second**
Chair: Anand Syea (U Westminster)
Room: Carnegie Hall/Alvin

10:35  Darlene LaCharité (Laval U): Onset cluster production by Jamaican children
10:55  Paul Garrett (NYU): An 'English Creole' that isn't: On the origins of St. Lucian English lexicon vernacular
11:05  Dany Adone (N Terr U-Australia): The Krio pronominal system, creolization, & acquisition
11:25  Ingrid Neumann-Holzschuh (U Regensburg-Germany): Today's Cadien: An important step on the interlingual continuum
11:50  Natalie Operstein (U BC): Italian-based pidgins, interlanguages, & foreigner talk

**Saturday, 10 January**
**Afternoon**

**Social Factors**
Chair: Genevieve Escure (U MN-Mpls)
Room: Broadway

3:30  Kathryn Shields-Brodber (U W Indies-Mona): Gender, culture, & conversation: A Caribbean perspective
3:50  Jeffrey P. Williams (Cleveland SU): Miscegenation & the genesis of contact languages
4:10  Chris Corcoran (U Chicago): What's in a name? The place of Guinea Coast Creole English (GCCE) & Sierra Leone Krio (SLK) in the Afro-genesis debate

**Varia**
Chair: Michel De Graff (MIT)
Room: Carnegie Hall/Alvin

3:30  Hirokuni Masuda (U HI-Hilo): Narrative representation theory & creolistics
3:50  Priska Degras (U Aix-Marseille III): Créolité caraïbe anglophone et francophone: Traduction, transcription, adaptation de l'oeuvre littéraire
4:10  Jocelyn Ahlers (U CA-Berkeley): Cognitive metaphors & the creation of tense/mood/aspect markers

**Business Meeting**
Chair: John Rickford (Stanford U)
Room: Broadway
Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas

Friday, 9 January
Morning

Phonetics & Phonology
Chair: Robert L. Rankin (U KS)
Room: Booth/Lyceum/Imperial

9:00  David Holsinger (U WI-Mad): Tone & ballistic stress in Ojitlán Chinantec
9:20  Matthew Gordon (UCLA): The Navajo d-effect as a nonneutralizing process
9:40  Jeffrey Rasch (Rice U): Vowel reduction, vowel loss, & syllable structure alternation in Yaitepec Chatino
10:00  Petronila da Silva Tavares (Rice U/Museu Goeldi): Assimilation & dissimilation in Wayana (Cariban)
10:20  Christiane Cunha de Oliveira (U OR): Vowel harmony in Baré
10:40  Timothy Montler (U N TX): Klallam vowels

Prosody & Accentology

11:00  Nora Aion (CUNY Grad Ctr): Moraic inconsistency in Nootka
11:20  Anthony C. Woodbury (U TX-Austin): Against multiword intonational units in Central Alaskan Yup’ik
11:40  Wallace Chafe (U CA-Santa Barbara): Morphological & discourse determinants of pitch in Seneca

Syntax
Chair: Victor Golla (Humboldt SU/U CA-Davis)
Room: Morosco/Music Box/Plymouth

9:00  Catherine Rudin (Wayne SC): Clauses & other DPs in Omaha-Ponca
9:20  John A. Dunn (U OK): Some Coast Tsimshian DPs?
9:40  Paul D. Kroeber (IN U): Some types of adverbial expression in Thompson River Salish
10:00  Judith Aissen (U CA-Santa Cruz): Agent focus & inverse in Tzotzil
10:20  Frank R. Trechsel (Ball SU): A CCG account of Tzotzil pied-piping
10:40  Clifton Pye (U KS): Constraining Zoque verb compounds
11:00  Eleanor M. Blain (U BC): The structure of nominal clauses in Nêhiyawêwin (Plains Cree)
11:20  Willem J. de Reuse (U N TX): Clause conjoining in Western Apache
11:40  Toshihide Nakayama (Montclair SU): Argument choice in Nuu-chah-nulth possessive expressions

Friday, 9 January
Afternoon

Morphology
Chair: Terrence Kaufman (U Pittsburgh)
Room: Booth/Lyceum/Imperial

2:00  Odile Renault-Lescure (ORSTOM-Paris): Tense & aspect in Carib (Oriental dialect spoken in French Guiana): A textual approach
2:20  Marlene Socorro (U Zulia) & José Alvarez (U Zulia): Denominal verbs in Kari’ña (Cariban)
2:40  Elke Ynciarte (U Zulia): Denominal verbs in Panare (Cariban)
3:00  Raquel Guirardello (Rice U): The causative construction in Trumai
3:20  Lucy Seki (Unicamp-Brazil): Particles in Kamaiurá, a Tupí-Guaraní language

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SSILA

Syntax
Chair: Terrence Kaufman (U Pittsburgh)
Room: Booth/Lyceum/Imperial

3:40  Elaine Camargo (CNRS-Paris): Actancy: Double structure in Cashinahua (Panoan)
4:00  Sérgio Meira (Rice U): Constituency, quasi-constituency, & no constituency in Tiriyo (Cariban)
4:20  Raimundo Medina (U Zulia): The inflectional complex in Yukpa (Cariban)
4:40  Luciana Dourado (Unicamp-Brazil): Postposition incorporation in Panará

Discourse Texts
Chair: Mary Jill Brody (LA SU)
Room: Morosco/Music Box/Plymouth

2:00  Mary Jill Brody (LA SU) & N. Louanna Furbee (U MO-Columbia): Mechanics of intertextuality: Comparison of Tojolabal narratives
2:20  Christel U. Stolz (U Bielefeld): Couplet parallelism in informal text genre: Evidence from Yucatec Maya
2:40  Anna Berge (U CA-Berkeley): Discourse, topic, & switch-reference in West Greenlandic
3:00  Shanley E. M. Allen (Max Planck Inst): Linguistic change in Inuktitut narratives across ages

Lexicon, Varia

3:20  Lawrence D. Kaplan (U AK): Compiling an Inuit dictionary
3:40  Carrie J. Dyck (Memorial U Newfoundland): Accessing dictionary entries in polysynthetic languages
4:00  M. Dale Kinkade (U BC): Coping with a new world: The use of lexical suffixes to create new vocabulary in Columbian Salish
4:20  Jane H. Hill (U AZ) & Kenneth C. Hill (U AZ): Culture influencing language: Plurals of Hopi kin terms in comparative Uto-Aztecan perspective
4:40  Thomas H. Stolz (U Bremen): Grammatical borrowing in Amerindian & sundry languages: Recurrent patterns of socially induced grammatical borrowing

Historical and Comparative Linguistics
Chair: Karl V. Teeter (Harvard U)
Room: Booth/Lyceum/Imperial

9:00  Scott DeLancey (U OR): Stem alternations & conjugation classes in Klamath
9:40  Marie-Lucie Tarpent (Mt St Vincent U) & Daythal Kendall (Unisys Corp):  On the relationship between Takelma & Kalapuyan: Another look at ’Takelman’
10:00  David Beck (U Toronto):  Grammatical convergence & the genesis of diversity in the Northwest Coast Sprachbund
10:20  William H. Jacobsen, Jr. (U NV-Reno):  The earliest Makah vocabulary
10:40  Jie Zhang (UCLA):  On stem shape diachrony from Proto-Athabaskan to Navajo
11:00  Ives Goddard (Smithsonian Inst):  The sources of plural markers in Arapaho & Cheyenne
11:20  Laurel J. Watkins (CO C/U CO):  The grammaticalization of ’come’ and ’carry away’ in Kiowa
11:40  Marianne Mithun (U CA-Santa Barbara):  The reordering of morphemes

Endangered Languages of the Bolivian Amazon
Chair:  Colette Grinevald (DDL-MRASH) & Megan Crowhurst (U NC-Chapel Hill)
Room:  Morosco/Music Box/Plymouth

9:00  Colette Grinevald (DDL-MRASH), Pilar Valenzuela (U OR), Alejandra Vidal (U OR), & Megan Crowhurst (U NC-Chapel Hill):  Endangered languages of the Bolivian Amazon: A view from the field
9:20  Colette Grinevald (DDL-MRASH):  Movima classifiers: A mixed system of semantic & phonological classification
9:40  Hebe Gonzalez (DDL-MRASH):  Phonetic aspects of Araona
10:00  Antoine Guillaume (U OR):  Phonetic aspects of Cavineño
10:20  Megan Crowhurst (U NC-Chapel Hill):  Phonological differences between Guaraní-Ava & Guarayu (Tupí Guaraní)

Saturday Morning

Prosody and Accentology
Chair:  Colette Grinevald (DDL-MRASH) & Megan Crowhurst (U NC-Chapel Hill)
Room:  Morosco/Music Box/Plymouth

10:40  Eugene Buckley (Penn):  Prosodic word structure in Kashaya reduplication
11:00  Elsa Gomez-Imbert (CNRS-Paris):  Prosodic structure & segmental processes in Barasana (Eastern Tukanoan)
11:40  José Alvarez (U Zulia):  Present tense allomorphy & metrical stress in Kari’ña (Cariban)

Saturday, 10 January
Afternoon

Historical and Comparative Linguistics
Chair:  Sally McLendon (CUNY Grad Ctr)
Room:  Booth/Lyceum/Imperial

4:00  John Fought (Penn):  Cholan pronouns, Mayan subgrouping, & methods of reconstruction
4:20  Victor Golla (Humboldt SU/U CA-Davis):  An old borrowing for ’copper, knife’ in North America
4:40  Robert L. Rankin (U KS):  Siouan, Yuchi, & the question of grammatical evidence for genetic relationship

Varia (Prosody/Accent, Language Maintenance)
Chair:  TBA
Room: Morosco/Music Box/Plymouth

3:40 Terry Malone (SIL): Pitch-accent in Chimila (Chibchan)
4:00 Rosemary Beam de Azcona (U CA-Berkeley): Concomitants of tone in Coatlán/Loxicha Zapotec
4:20 Melissa Axelrod (U NM) & Jule Gómez de García (U CO): Consequences of rhetorical strategies for learnability in Apachean languages
4:40 Diane C. Clark (AZ SU): The role of education in language survival: Navajo students speak from experience

Business Meeting
Chair: Robert L. Rankin (U KS)

Room: Booth/Lyceum/Imperial
Time: 5:00 PM

Sunday, 11 January
Morning

Morphology and Varia
Chair: TBA
Room: Broadway

9:00 Matthew S. Dryer (SUNY-Buffalo): Preverbs in Kutenai
9:20 Lucy Thomason (U TX-Austin) & Sarah Thomason (U Pittsburgh): Stem class & pluralization in Montana Salish
9:40 Ivy Doak (U N TX): Nontopic ergative constructions in Coeur d'Alene discourse
10:00 Christopher Culy (U IA): Death of a Takelma applicative
10:20 Randolph Graczyk (Pryor, MT): What we can learn from the 19th century Jesuit Crow language materials
10:40 John O'Meara (Lakehead U): Agentive nominalization in Severn Ojibwe
11:00 Timothy J. Thornes (U OR): Transitivity operators in Northern Paiute: Their function & development
11:20 David L. Shaul (U AZ): Perspectives in Hopi linguistic prehistory

Grammatical Change
Chair: TBA
Room: Carnegie Hall/Alvin

9:00 James Copeland (Rice U): Lexical & grammatical reflexes of *ma 'hand' in Tarahumara
9:20 Spike Gildea (Rice U): Innovative progressive & imperfective aspects in some Cariban languages
9:40 Rusty Barrett (U TX-Austin): Directional clitics & spatial relationships in Sipakapense Maya
10:00 Richard A. Rhodes (U CA-Berkeley): The loss of passive in Sayula Popoluca

Morphology and Varia

10:20 William J. Poser (U N BC): Constraints on source/goal co-occurrence in Carrier
10:40 Veronica M. Grondona (U Pittsburgh): Active-inactive system in Mocoví person markers
11:00 Jürgen Bohnemeyer (Max Planck Inst): Aspect-mood marking in Yucatec Maya: A non-time-relational analysis
11:20  Mark Sicoli (U Pittsburgh): Glottalization & categories of possession in Lachixio Zapotec
11:40  Luis Oquendo (U Zulia): Is Japreria a Yukpa dialect?
Abstracts of Regular Papers

Michael Aceto (University of Puerto Rico-San Juan)
*Going back to the beginning: Describing the (nearly) undocumented creole languages of the Caribbean*

This paper discusses the need for recording and describing the many undocumented English-derived creole varieties of the Caribbean. Much of the work in creole studies on the Anglophone Caribbean focuses exclusively on data drawn from two varieties, Jamaican and Guyanese (and, to some lesser degree, the varieties spoken in Belize and Trinidad), which have often been identified respectively as representative of the Western and Eastern branches of (proto-) Caribbean English Greole (e.g. see Winford 1993). There are also some good sociohistorical and linguistic reasons to support this type of dichotomy (e.g. also see Holm 1988-89, McWhorter 1995). However, the central point of this paper demonstrates that work examining, for example, the creoles of Central America and the Lesser Antilles is so restricted in number that diachronic conclusions of the kind described above are premature. This paper concludes that after a more representative sampling of Anglophone creoles has been documented via fieldwork, then creolists may truly begin to discuss--with an extensive set of data in hand--how these varieties fit into a larger linguistic and sociohistorical view of creole genesis in the Caribbean and the Atlantic region in general.

Michael Adams (Albright College)
*Leave 'let': American Doppelgänger*

Many authorities, including the *OED*, *DARE*, and Mencken, believe that *leave* 'let' (as in *Leave* it be, or *Leave* go of me,' or *Leave* me carry the milk pail') is an Americanism. According to the standard account, *leave* 'let' derives from German *lassen*, which translates in either direction. Yet *leave* 'let' occurs in Scots from the 14th century and in other, widely distributed, English dialects throughout the 19th century; it appears in popular fiction at the turn of the century. So many American speakers took the idiom, not from German but from English dialect transplanted. *Leave* 'let' from German *lassen* is an Americanism created in bilingual confusion; *leave* 'let' from English is not an Americanism, or is only recently an 'Americanism by survival'. American *leave* 'let', then, is a curious case, both an Americanism and not, with two parallel but distinct etymologies.

Dany Adone (Northern Territory University, Australia)
*The Krio pronominal system, creolization, and acquisition*

This paper is concerned with the development of the pronominal system in Ngukurr Kriol (NK). NK is particularly interesting because of the Aboriginal languages involved in its formation. A striking feature in the pronominal system of NK is the lack of gender distinction in the 3rd person singular (which is a common feature of creole languages), and the dual pronoun system (inclusion/exclusion of the person being spoken to) which is similar to the one typically found in Aboriginal languages in the surrounding regions. In the first part of the paper I present the data on the adult pronominal system. In the second part, I analyze the acquisition data of NK-speaking children in the age range 1;9-6;0. The most significant result of the acquisition data shows that children do not have the dual pronominal system up to 4;0. This result, together with other findings, strongly supports the view that the pronominal dual system cannot be regarded as a typical feature of creolization. I further explore the theoretical consequences of these findings with respect to the ongoing discussion on the model of creole genesis.

Jocelyn Ahlers (University of California-Berkeley)
*Cognitive metaphors and the creation of tense/mood/aspect markers*

In his 1912 article 'The evolution of grammatical forms', Meillet first introduced the concept of grammaticalization, defining it as the passage of an autonomous word to the role of a grammatical element. In recent years, researchers such as Traugott (1982, 1989) and Sweetser (1990) have begun to study this process in great detail. In doing so, they have both noted that cognitive metaphors play a major role in defining the direction and nature of the meaning change which occurs in the process of grammaticalization. I have studied the process of grammaticalization in the tense/mood/aspect (TMA) systems of a number of creole languages. In doing so, I determined that the Event Structure metaphor, as
described by Lakoff in his 1992 article, plays a large role in the creation of new markers, in particular future and progressive markers. These observations place the cognitive process of metaphor squarely in the origins of grammatical markers. The markers that I have examined can be studied from their creation in a new creole, and in each case, metaphor has played an important role in that creation. This would also indicate that human cognition, based on human bodily experience, plays a key role in the creation of language. Tense/mood/aspect markers, at least, are thus shown to be grounded in such cognition and experience.

Kathleen Ahrens (National Taiwan University)
Cross-linguistic evidence in lexical ambiguity resolution

This paper examines the literature on lexical ambiguity resolution in sentential contexts and proposes that cross-linguistic differences are at the crux of the current stalemate between researchers who argue for either the context-dependent or context-independent model of language processing. The hypothesis presented is as follows: If a language is context-prominent, then context will be able to influence lexical access immediately and automatically. This hypothesis would explain why some researchers (Tabossi et al. 1987, Tabossi 1988, Tabossi & Zardon 1993) have found for (what they argue is) a context-dependent account of lexical ambiguity resolution in Italian, while others (Swinney 1979, Tanenhaus et al. 1979, Onifer & Swinney 1981, Seidenberg et al. 1982, Swinney & Love 1996) have found for a context-independent account. We test the above hypothesis by looking at ambiguity resolution in Mandarin Chinese, which we argue is even more context-prominent than Italian. Using a cross-modal lexical decision experiment, we demonstrate that both meanings of an ambiguity are semantically primed, which shows that even in a language that relies heavily on context, context alone cannot influence lexical access. Thus, our original hypothesis does not receive support, but there is additional evidence for a context-independent account of lexical ambiguity resolution.

Nora Aion (City University of New York Graduate Center)
Moraic inconsistency in Nootka

In most languages, a given segment that is moraic for one phonological process is moraic for all other processes in the language. Nasals in Cteshaht, a Nootkan dialect, appear moraic for stress assignment but not for reduplication. Stress in Cteshaht restricts itself to the first foot. The initial syllable is stressed unless it is light and the second syllable is heavy, in which case the second syllable receives stress (Wilson 1986).

(1) a. cimsm'it 'Son of Bear'
b. hacimsq'st 'her brothers'

Stonham (1990) argues that the results in (1) cannot be default placement of the nasal, since the placement is different in both cases, and one can also see that the short V followed by a nasal in (la) takes precedence over the following long V for stress, whereas in (lb) the short V in the first syllable loses to the V-nasal sequence. In reduplication, vowel length is transferred from the base to the reduplicant. What is reduplicated is the onset and the vowel, i.e. the syllabic mora, but not the nasal. Nasals seem to be moraic for stress, but not for reduplication. A solution to this moraic inconsistency problem in Cteshaht is obtained by first revising underlying moraic representation, and, secondly, by reinterpreting Hayes' (1989) derivational Weight-By-Position rule within an optimality theoretic framework.

Kim Ainsworth-Darnell (Ohio State University) & Tadahisa Kondo (NTT Basic Research Laboratories)
Beyond orthographic death: Similarities in the processing of words in Kanji & Hiragana

Utilizing a lexical decision task, we presented native readers of Japanese with the Kanji and Hiragana forms of nouns that were either familiar in both orthographies or only familiar in Kanji. In Experiment 1, targets were auditorily preceded by one of three phonological primes: the spoken form of the target (Identity), a spoken nonword (Nonword), or a 100 ms tone (Tone). Participants recognized targets presented in a familiar orthography significantly more quickly than those presented in an unfamiliar orthography across all three priming conditions. In the Identity prime condition, orthographically familiar targets were recognized 100 ms faster than in either the Nonword or Tone prime conditions, regardless of whether the target was in Kanji or Hiragana. In Experiment 2, targets were visually preceded by semantic
provides orthographic suggestions that will improve data processing for this translation system. The pattern of results for familiar and unfamiliar orthographic forms was identical to Experiment 1, but the advantage of having a Related prime compared to an Unrelated or Asterisk prime was only about 25 ms. In Experiment 3, targets were visually preceded by the Kanji or Hiragana form of the target (Full- or Part-Identity, depending on orthography of target), the Kanji or Hiragana form of a nonword (Full- or Part-Nonword), or a string of asterisks. Again, familiar orthographic forms were recognized more quickly than unfamiliar forms in all five priming conditions. Both the Full- and Part-Identity primes facilitated recognition of the target by at least 200 ms over the Asterisk prime condition. There was a nonsignificant advantage for same-orthography primes, such that targets presented in the same orthography as the prime were recognized more quickly than those where the prime was in a different orthography. These findings are used to discount dual-route models of visual word recognition in which access is guided by orthographic depth, and to support a network model in which the strength of the associations between phonological, semantic, and orthographic information reflects the reader's experience.

Judith Aissen (University of California-Santa Cruz) (Session 48)

Agent focus & inverse in Tzotzil

While there is a substantial literature on the so-called 'agent focus' (AF) verb in Mayan, there is no sustained discussion of this verb or the construction in which it figures in the Tzeltalan family (Tzeltal, Tzotzil). This paper presents the basic facts for Zinacanteco Tzotzil. As in most other Mayan languages, the AF verb is morphologically intransitive but assigns two semantic roles and occurs only when the subject of a transitive clause ('ergative') is extracted. In Tzotzil, the AF verb is syntactically transitive in that it governs two direct arguments (subject, object). Unlike many other Mayan languages (e.g. K'iche', Jakaltek, Tz'utujil), use of the AF verb under ergative extraction is optional in Tzotzil. Thus, extraction of a transitive subject can proceed either from a plain transitive clause or from one headed by an AF verb. This optionality permits other properties of the AF verb to become visible. The main thesis is that in Tzotzil, the AF verb is an inverse verb (in the sense of Algonquian linguistics), with the additional restriction that it is limited to clauses with ergative extraction. Roughly, it occurs only when the object (patient) is more prominent than the subject (agent). Prominence is defined in Tzotzil through an intersection of animacy and definiteness; greater prominence for the object can also be a consequence of coreference with a prominent argument in a higher clause. Conversely, the plain transitive verb functions as a direct verb, occurring only when the subject is more prominent than the object. The more general relevance of the direct/inverse distinction to Tzotzil will be addressed.

John Alderete (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

Theoretical implications of Tahlton stress

There are two basic approaches to morphologically governed stress systems using constraints which make reference to the category root. One approach employs a Faithfulness constraint which is defined for lexical stress in roots, accounting for a preference for realizing inherent stress in roots over stress in affixes. Another approach accounts for the limitation of stress to roots with an alignment constraint requiring the stress peak to fall within the domain of the root. Evidence from stress in Tahlton shows that both types of constraints are indeed necessary because they function independently in the same system.

Jeff Allen (Carnegie Mellon University)

Evaluating Haitian Creole orthographies from a non-literacy-based perspective

Several graphemic/phonemic distinctions are inadequately described by available Haitian Creole (HC) orthographies in view of the development of an English/HC speech machine translation system. Accurate, coherent, and consistent written HC texts are necessary for successful computational processing of language data. This paper discusses the analysis of semivowels, oral vowels, and nasal vowels in HC and provides orthographic suggestions that will improve data processing for this translation system.
Shanley E. M. Allen (Max Planck Institute)

*Discourse effects in early null argument asymmetries*

In early speech across several languages, children tend to omit more subjects than objects in their early utterances, regardless of whether their target language permits null arguments (L. Bloom 1970, Hyams 1986; Wang et al, 1992). Several explanations have been proposed for this phenomenon, including various grammatical accounts (Hyams, 1986, Radford 1990) and performance accounts (P. Bloom 1990, Valian 1991, Gerken 1991). By contrast, relatively little attention has been paid to discourse-pragmatic influences regarding the asymmetry. The present paper investigates discourse factors building on Greenfield Smith’s (1976) Principle of Informativeness by identifying several concrete indicators of informativeness and testing them against child data from three typologically distinct languages: English, Inuktitut, and Korean (Bloom 1970, Allen & Schröder in press, Clancy in press). Results show that the distribution of indicators of informativeness patterns consistently with argument omission in that noninformative referents tend more often to be represented by both null arguments and arguments in subject position. Thus, certain discourse-pragmatic factors do seem to be good predictors of the subject-object asymmetry. In addition, these discourse factors illuminate a second asymmetry in the data: Subjects of transitive verbs (St) tend to be omitted more frequently than subjects of intransitive (Si) verbs. Since this asymmetry is not necessarily predicted by a grammatical account of early null arguments, it provides an interesting test case for explanations of early null argument asymmetries. Results show that noninformative referents are more often represented by arguments in St than Si position. Thus, in addition to providing a convincing explanation in itself for both the subject-object and St-Si asymmetries, this discourse-pragmatic explanation may indeed prove preferable to a grammatical explanation.

Shanley E. M. Allen (Max Planck Institute)

*Linguistic change in Inuktitut narratives across ages*

The grammatical style and complexity of narratives is known to change across ages, such that young children produce strikingly different stories than do adults (Berman & Slobin 1995). However, the exact manifestations of this development are different across languages of different narrative styles and linguistic structures. The present paper investigates narratives from three groups of Inuit, mean ages 9, 16, and 45, to assess the indicators of development in this polysynthetic ergative language. These narratives tell the story of the wordless picture book *Frog, where are you?* (Meyer 1968). The most revealing grammatical factors include breadth of vocabulary (including both lexical elements and grammatical morphology) and length of words in morphemes. The picture in Inuktitut is additionally complicated by the current state of both language change and potential language loss in the communities in question. Differences in pronunciation between older and younger speakers and lack of use of the dual verbal cross-reference marker by some younger speakers are probable reflections of this current state.

Cristina Altman (University of São Paulo)  
*(Session 31)*

*South American missionaries & the components of a descriptive grammar*

The statement that the descriptions of the Native American languages, done by Catholic missionaries in the 16th and 17th centuries, followed slavishly Latin grammar pattern, has almost become a common place within linguistic historiography literature. However, at the same time we recognize the characteristic Latin oriented pattern in many grammars of the time: rules for the pronunciation of the language; rules of declension for nouns, adjectives, and pronouns; rules for the formation and conjugation of verbs; and a variable list of the other *partes de la Oracion* ‘parts of speech’ (prepositions, adverbs, interjections, and conjunctions), we have to consider the fact that the missionaries had lived for many years among the natives before publishing their grammars and glossaries. As a consequence, many of them had developed a good intuition in the use of these languages and were perfectly aware of some structural differences between Latin and the languages under description. This paper interrogates itself up to which point the modes of description adopted by the missionaries-grammarians of the period were an obstacle for the development of ‘original’ descriptive strategies and tentatively investigates the impact these grammars exerted, not upon the languages they described, but on the descriptive techniques themselves. Special attention will be given to grammars written by South American Catholic missionaries of the 16th and 17th centuries.

José Alvarez (University of Zulia, Venezuela)
**Present tense allomorphy & metrical stress in Kari’ña (Cariban)**

This paper describes the distribution of the various allomorphs of the present tense morpheme in Venezuelan Kari’ña in terms of the interplay of segmental rules and metrical stress. While most themes consistently exhibit one of the allomorphs with the shape -Ca, with a transparent phonological distribution, a-final themes exhibit a more complex alternation for which an unsatisfactory functional explanation has been offered (Mosonyi 1982). An alternative treatment is presented based on an analysis of the Kari’ña stress pattern using metrical stress theory (Hayes 1995). A segmental rule eliding d creates sequences which are metrically ill-formed, and these are repaired by shortening aaaa to aa, and by rescuing word-final aa from peripherality (extrametricality) through the addition of certain elements.

**Christine Ammer** (Lexington, MA)  
_Idiom's delight_

As the idiosyncrasies of a language, peculiar to it and, usually, to it alone, idioms are both intriguing and frustrating. This paper will concentrate on some of the oddities of idioms: their arbitrary use of prepositions (we talk at length but will go to any length); their preservation of otherwise obsolete words (hue and cry, beck and call); their multiple meanings (16 for the phrasal verb pick up, 10 for put down); their lost origins and the theories they provoke (get down to brass tacks, the whole nine yards); and idioms whose meaning changes completely (a close shave, birthday suit, think tank, thumbs up).

**Nancy Mae Antrim** (University of Texas-El Paso)  
_(Session 3) Italian prenominal possessives: Dialectal variation & cliteness_

Arguments for the status of the prenominal possessive as a clitic have been advanced by Rivero (1986) for Spanish and by Aoun (1985), Tremblay (1991), and Authier (1992), among others, for French; whereas, the Italian prenominal possessive has been analyzed as an adjective (Giorgi & Longobardi 1991). Evidence from dialectal variation suggests that the prenominal possessive in Italian is in the process of becoming a clitic. For Standard Italian the prenominal possessive takes the form article + possessive with the possessive inflected for gender and number. In both Old French and Old Spanish a fully inflected possessive also occurred with the article. In these languages the possessive became a reduced form losing the article. Since Italian is also a Romance language, this suggests that Italian may also develop a clitic-like prenominal possessive. And, in fact, there is evidence from prosodic conditioning, word order variation, and use of demonstratives which suggests such a development in Italian. Given the relationship between the determiner and the possessive, if, as I argue, it is in the process of becoming a clitic, then we would expect that intervening material between the determiner and the possessive would not be possible in dialects where the possessive is a reduced form or, at least, there would be a degradation in grammaticality. In the Italian dialect Tuscan, the possessive has a reduced form, and neither a quantifier nor an adjective can intervene between an article and the reduced possessive. Further, if these dialectal variations are indicative of a movement toward becoming a clitic, we would expect that determiners other than the definite article would not be permitted with the reduced form of the possessive or, at least, there would be a degradation in grammaticality. Again this is the case; the use of the demonstrative with the reduced possessive is judged to be very marginal. By considering the diachronic development of French and Spanish and the dialectal variation in Italian we are able to provide a possible analysis of the prenominal possessive.

**Diana Archangeli & Kazutoshi Ohno** (University of Arizona)  
_(Session 26)_

**NC**

Ito, Mester, and Padgett (1995) brought our attention to the phonological significance of input nasal-voiceless obstruent sequences. Pater (in press) surveys NC effects in several languages and extends the IMP analysis to explain the types of sequences that surface in lieu of an input NC, illustrated in (1). (We use coronals for illustration.) Central to this analysis is *NC.

(1) /NT/ is realized as [n], [l], [nt], [tt]  
(2) /NR/ is realized as [n]  
/N/ is realized as [nd]

Pater's analysis leads one to expect that nasal-voiced consonant (sonorant or obstruent) are left intact (2) above. Mori (Barsel 1994), an Austronesian language, is a challenge: Nasal-consonant sequences do not pattern as predicted. As shown
in (3), input NC results in a surface NC (3a), while an input NC (voiced obstruent) surfaces as a singleton C (3b). Furthermore, input nasal-sonorant is realized as the sonorant at the surface (3c). The morpheme /N/ ‘LK’ is a linking morpheme in compounds.

(3) a. [asa keu] [anansikola] b. [anabeine] c. [puurahaku]
asa-N-keu ana-N-sikola ana-N-beine puu-N-raha-ku
one-LK-tree child -LK-school child-LK-woman area at base-LK-house-my
‘one tree’ ‘pupil’ ‘young woman’ ‘my yard’

Our analysis evolves from Pater's by generalizing certain of his key constraints. In particular, rather than the specific *NC, we make use of the more general *CC, or *COMPLEX, a constraint preventing any CC sequence. As a result of both this generalization and reranking of Pater's other constraints, nasal-voiced consonant sequences reduce to single consonants, while /NC/ remains intact. More generally, our analysis raises the issue of whether the very specific constraints which sometimes occur in OT analyses are justified: As we show, broader coverage is possible with independently necessary general constraints.

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Jacques Arends (University of Amsterdam) (Session 34)
The historical study of creoles & the future of creole studies

The last two decades of the 20th century have witnessed an increased interest both in the internal and the external history of creole languages. As to the former, the analysis of early documents for creoles such as Sranan and Negerhollands has led to the development of a new branch of creole studies: 'historical creolistics' (Arends 1995). Similarly, progress in the historiography of slavery and plantation societies has enabled creolists to reconstruct the sociohistorical context of creolization in much more detail than was possible until recently (Arends 1995, in press). It is my conviction that, together, these two developments will have a fundamental influence on the course that our field will take in the near future. Most importantly, they will change the nature of creolization theory from a rather speculative to a more empirical enterprise. For the first time in history it is possible to meet the conditions for a historically realistic theory of creole genesis. For this goal to be reached, however, it is necessary for historical creolistics to be embedded within the framework of language contact phenomena.

Sharon Ash (University of Pennsylvania)
A case study of rounding as a factor in sound change

In the production of back vowels, comparatively small variations in the formants of one vowel can cause it to impinge on the acoustical space of another. In the vast majority of American English dialects, the allophones of back vowels preceding /l/ are the backmost vowels in the system and are thus susceptible to the effects of crowding in acoustical space. Canonically, differentiation of the back vowels derives support from differences in rounding, which depends on both the characteristics of the vowel nucleus and on the presence or absence of a rounded glide. The relevant vowel classes are represented by pool, pull, pole, hull, hall, and, peripherally, doll(ar), respectively with /uwl/, /u/, /owl/, /o/, /oh/, and /o/. For the present study, speakers of North American English have been interviewed and tape-recorded over the telephone. The interviews include conversation, elicitation of specific tokens by means of direct and indirect questions, discussion of minimal pairs, and, in a second interview, a word list. For the sample of white speakers, about 635 interviews have been conducted. Impressionistic coding and instrumental acoustical analysis are employed to analyze the recordings. The variation observed in the survey area includes both the unrounding of vowels expected to be rounded and the rounding of vowels expected to be unrounded. These changes produce the well documented pool-pull merger and the less frequently noted pull-pole merger. In parts of the Midwest, approximations of hull-hole and hull-bull are found. The unconditioned merger of /o/ and /oh/ in large parts of the survey area produces the merger of collar-caller. In other places, the loss of rounding of /oh/ may produce approximation to /o/, merging hull and hall. This report presents the geographical distribution of the variants and the relationship of the movements of the affected vowel nuclei to other ongoing sound changes in North American English.

Sergey Avrutin (Yale University) & Jennifer Green (Boston University)
Comprehension of contrastive stress by Broca's & Wernicke's aphasics

(Se: Session 20)
This study reports the results of two experiments that investigated the comprehension of stress by Broca's and Wernicke's aphasics. Eight Broca's and three Wernicke's patients as well as a control group were presented with pictures and asked to choose which one best matched the sentence. The correct answer required comprehension of stress since the sentence contained a pronoun whose reference depended on the presence or absence of stress. While the control group showed almost perfect performance, both Broca's and Wernicke's aphasics demonstrated a clear deficit in their ability to change reference of the pronoun as function of the stress. In the second experiment, the same subjects were asked to identify the picture while given either a compound noun or an adjective-noun pair. The correct choice again depended on the comprehension of stress. Overall, both patient groups were more accurate in the second experiment than in the first one. We analyze and discuss the obtained results in terms of the 'lack of processing capacity' approach to aphasia and present a model that demonstrates how these results are related to other experimental findings reported in the literature.

**Melissa Axelrod** (University of New Mexico) & **Jule Gómez de García** (University of Colorado)

*Consequences of rhetorical strategies for learnability in Apachean languages*

Examination of conversation and narrative discourse from Northern Athabaskan (Koyukon) has shown that repetition of morpheme clusters and of verbal paradigms is frequent in Athabaskan discourse. Samples taken from Hoijer's Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache texts and from Gatschet's work on Plains Apache confirm the frequency of repetition in Athabaskan and, as Tannen (1987) has shown for English, demonstrate its use in allowing very efficient and fluent production of a semantically and lexically less dense, and thus more easily comprehended, discourse. It serves as a cohesive device, linking utterances and showing relationships between concepts and/or referents. Further, repetition serves as a means of emphasizing links between speaker and hearer understanding. It is hypothesized that a language with as complex a morphological structure as Athabaskan will more frequently use this strategy of repetition as a way of ensuring comprehension and supporting the learning process of younger members of the speech community. From the language samples presented here, we demonstrate how lesson plans might be developed based on the strategies used in storytelling, strategies that have proven successful for generations of language transmission.

**Richard W. Bailey** (University of Michigan)

*African American stereotypes in early 20th century English*

Among the earliest recordings made by Edison Studios were brief extracts from minstrel shows and vaudeville involving African Americans. Though usually performed by 'black-face' Caucasian comedians, these records give us a glimpse of the image of AAVE a century ago.

**Peter Bakker** (Aarhus University) *(Session 34)*

*Some future challenges for pidgin & creole studies*

In my paper I criticize a number of current issues in creolist publications which seem either underdeveloped (supplementary historical research), unjustified (generalizations over both pidgins and creoles), or superfluous. I further propose a number of subjects that, in my view, require more attention in research, such as the structure of pidgins, current pidginization, creoles in a broader context of language contact, research on creole acquisition in a bioprogram framework, the use of functionalist theoretical models in explanation, the noncreole languages spoken by populations called 'creoles' (e.g. Mednyj Aleut, Missouri French), and, finally, the use of the concept of 'convergence' in the explanation of the structure of creoles.

**Philip Baldi** (Pennsylvania State University) *(Session 6)*

*Latin tugurium 'farmer's hut'*

In this paper a new etymology is proposed for the Latin word *tugurium* 'farmer's hut, shepherd's cottage', with its variant forms *tegurium* and *tigurium*. Arguments are provided against the two most popular proposals for the etymology of this word: first that it is derived folk-etymologically from Lat. *tego* 'cover' (< PIE *(s)teg- 'cover'; cf. Skt. *sthageti*, Gk. *stégo*, OIr. *tech*, Ols. *pekja*, OHG *deccchen*); and second that it is a loanword of unknown background, probably Afro-Asiatic. In this paper I will show that the variant *tigurium* (and not *tegurium*) is the historically basic one, and I will propose a derivation from Lat. *tignum* 'building material of any type, timber, log, beam'. Thus the form *tig-urium* is a direct morphological
transfer from *tig-num*, with a metonymic shift of 'building material, wood' to 'building made of wood, hut'. The paper also provides plausible explanations, one phonetic and the other analogical, for the alternative forms *tugurium* and *tegurium.*

**Mary Baltazani** (University of California-Los Angeles)  
*Hiatus resolution in Modern Greek*

This paper gives an optimality theoretic (OT) analysis of cross-word hiatus resolution in Modern Greek. Hiatus across words is in general resolved in Greek by deletion of one of the vowels in a VV sequence. Past work on this area, mainly by Kaisse (1977, 1978), accounts for the data with a system of several rules: A different rule applies to each syntactic environment (e.g. adjective-noun pairs, verb-adverb pairs, etc). Each of the rules allows the deletion of certain vowels but not others. Such an approach, in addition to being encumbered by syntactic specifications, sometimes fails to capture relevant data as well. According to the alternative OT analysis proposed here, the ranking and interaction of constraints such as MAX, *Clash*, and *VV* (which have proved useful in the analysis of a large number of languages) successfully characterizes the way hiatus is resolved in Modern Greek. This analysis is simpler, dispenses with the need for syntactic information because it applies uniformly across syntactic categories, and captures a wider range of data correctly.

**Marlyse Baptista** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)  
*The Capeverdean determiner system: The role of null morphemes in marking specificity & nonspecificity of NPs*

This paper introduces the main features of the Capeverdean determiner system which displays more complexity than has been assumed so far in the literature on this topic (Meintel 1975, Veiga 1995, Lucchesi 1993). Its complexity resides in the way overt determiners interact with null morphemes in marking specificity and nonspecificity of NPs. This presentation is organized as follows: The first part will introduce the set of overt determiners in the Capeverdean referential system and will focus on a particular feature, namely the economical principle of plural marking that Capeverdean uses. The second part will contrast Bickerton's description of creole's classical article system to the Capeverdean article system which departs quite drastically from the Bickertonian model, as Lucchesi (1993) first noted. The third part of this presentation will bring further insights to Luchesi's observations and contradict some of his generalizations by revealing the full extent of the system complexity.

**Rusty Barrett** (University of Texas-Austin) (Session 59)  
*Directional clitics & spatial relationships in Sipakapense Maya*

All K'ichean languages contain a series of directional clitics derived from verbs of motion. These clitics are used to indicate motion associated with the verb and to produce various idiomatic meanings. This paper examines this set of clitics for Sipakapense, focusing on a historical change in which these verbal clitics have become markers of spatial relationships.

**Ellen L. Barton** (Wayne State University) (Session 14)  
*Social & interactional functions of slogans & sayings: The discourse of support groups*

This paper examines data from 3 transcribed meetings of a support group for families who have a child with a disability. The analysis focuses on the occurrence and role of slogans and sayings. I argue that these sayings and slogans serve multiple functions in the discourse of support groups--they serve social functions in the transmission of the personal and public culture of the support group, and they serve interactional functions in the actual accomplishment of the purposes of the meeting. After giving some background about the project, the data, and the methods of analysis, I first describe how these slogans and sayings appear in several discourse contexts: in official representations of the support group program, in self-introductions of support group facilitators, and in evaluations of facilitator and participant narratives. I argue that slogans and sayings in these discourse contexts serve the social function of disseminating a particular perspective on the
experience of disability. I then describe how these slogans and sayings appear in several interactional contexts (in topic changes and in recapturing the floor). I argue that slogans and sayings in these interactional contexts solve the interactional problem of maintaining the discourse of a support group devoted to general information dissemination rather than individual attention to difficulties. In the conclusion, I turn to Gubrium's (1986) notion of the establishment of personal and public cultures of disability through the discourse of support groups.

David Basilico (University of Alabama-Birmingham)

Perception verb passives as superraising violations

The failure of perception verb (PVs) to passivize is quite mysterious (*The prisoner was seen leave), especially since passivization of verbs with small clause (SC) complements is possible (The prisoner is considered dangerous)(Kayne 1984, Higginbotham 1985, Kroch et al. 1989, and others). I argue that the difference lies in what is structurally represented as the 'topic' of the SC. With PVs, there is a 'pro' expletive clitic in topic position that is indexed with the VP, indicating that the entire VP and the event it describes is the 'topic' (la), while with the adjectival SCs, the NP is in topic position (lb).

(1) a. [ VP saw [TopicPhrase pro] [ TpP [ VP [the prisoner] leave ] ] ]
   b. [ VP considers [TopicPhrase the prisoner] [ TpP [ Tp ] [ vp dangerous ] ] ]

Here, 'pro' is licensed by LF incorporation into the verb, nullifying its need for case (Baker 1988). The NP 'the prisoner' can move to the matrix AGRo position for case at LF, the trace of the incorporated 'pro' not blocking covert movement here (Chomsky 1995). With the passive of (la), the closest element attracted to Spec, IP by the strong nominal feature of Infl would be 'pro', generating an ungrammatical null subject sentence (*[t pro was seen [t [the prisoner to leave]]] ). 'The prisoner' cannot move without an economy violation, as this NP is not the closest element (pro does not incorporate until LF, blocking overt movement). Thus, the lack of a passive with perception verbs is an instance of a superraising violation.

Eleanor Olds Batchelder (City University of New York Graduate Center)

Infant segmentation of speech using frequency information: A cross-linguistic corpus study

This is the first corpus study to directly address the close relationship between the infant's cognitive processes and the nature of the ambient language. Our methodology uses a computer algorithm which efficiently extracts the statistical structure from a language text, and a wide variety of language corpora, including spoken and written texts in English, Spanish, and Japanese, to gather evidence and generate hypotheses about the cognitive processes of early language learning, a critical period for which too few methods of investigation are available. Our segmentation algorithm, based on Olivier (1968), uses an incremental clustering approach which is more cognitively plausible than other simulations, and the algorithm's efficiency makes it easy to compare many different texts, both large and small. By comparing the segmentation results from a wide variety of language corpora, we form hypotheses about which aspects of the ambient language might contribute to the effectiveness of distributional cues:

(1) A larger quantity of language is better.
(2) Short utterances and high lexical repetition make learning faster but are not absolutely necessary in the long run. In our corpora, these characteristics are more typical of spoken texts than written ones, and of speech to young children than speech to adults.
(3) Various coded representations of sound units perform about the same: We contrast results using standard alphabetic spelling, phonemes, and Japanese hiragana (mora). This suggests that children can use a range of idiosyncratic categorial representations in this early period to accomplish bootstrapping equally well.

Rosemary Beam de Azcona (University of California-Berkeley)

Concomitants of tone in Coatlán/Loxicha Zapotec

Previous descriptions of Zapotec languages have treated tone as merely a phenomenon of pitch and have not identified concomitant features of tone, such as glottalization and changes in the manner of articulation of sonorant consonants. In the previously undescribed Zapotec language spoken in San Baltazar Loxicha and at least 8 other towns in southern Oaxaca, there are several concomitants of tone other than pitch. Tone in CLZ affects word-final long vowels and sonorants. Word-final sonorants are long in words with mid or low-to-high rising tone, short in words with other tones. When /l/ is word-final in words with high, low, or high-to-low falling tones, it is articulated as a flap with a schwa off-glide. This articulation of /l/ does not
occur in any other environment. The mid tone and the low-to-high rising tone also produce a phonetic glottal stop word-finally following either a long vowel or a sonorant. The mid-to-high rising tone causes an intense glottalization in words ending in long vowels or sonorants. Following a long vowel with this tone, there is a glottal stop with a delayed release, and when a sonorant is word-final, the preceding vowel ends abruptly and the sonorant itself is glottalized. These findings indicate that a new, more comprehensive way of describing tone in Zapotec languages is necessary.

David Beck (University of Toronto)
Grammatical convergence & the genesis of diversity in the Northwest Coast Sprachbund

The Pacific Coast of North America boasts one of the world's most extensive Sprachbunds, and the many languages of the area have engendered proposals for a number of controversial genetic phyla, including the Mosan phylum uniting the Salish, Wakashan, and Chimakuan families (Frachtenberg 1920; Swadesh 1953a, 1953b). This paper argues that 'Mosan' is not a genetic but rather an areal grouping of languages that have come, through millennia of contact, to resemble each other—and in some respects the surrounding languages—to a remarkable degree. Contra arguments in Swadesh (1953a), the Mosan convergences do not represent 'unborrowable' linguistic features nor are they confined to the Mosan languages alone. In addition, the case of the Salishan outrider Bella Coola is examined. The approximation of this language to its Wakashan neighbors, particularly Heiltsuk (Bella Bella), illustrates both grammatical convergence—the approximation of Bella Coola to a number of grammatical patterns typical of the Rath's (1981) 'Central Group' of languages—and diversification—the development in Bella Coola of a unique system of object-subject verbal agreement paradigms. This type of innovation, the development of a new and unique grammatical pattern as a result of contact, is an element often overlooked in models of language interaction.

David Beck & David Bennett (University of Toronto)
Arguments for the phonological paragraph: Evidence from Lushootseed narrative

This paper presents evidence for the prosodic constituent 'phonological paragraph' proposed by Lehiste (1975, 1979), omitted from the prosodic hierarchy (PH-Selkirk 1984, Nespore & Vogel 1986, Hayes 1989) where the topmost level is the phonological utterance (U); accepted constituents in the PH are defined by segmental alternations relevant to their boundaries. In this paper, we offer evidence from narrative in Lushootseed—a Salishan language of Washington State—for a higher-level prosodic constituent which, while not triggering segmental alternations, coincides with morphosyntactic and narrative structure. This constituent is marked by a pattern of F0 declination and reset whose boundaries coincide both with grammatical features such as topic-shifting sentences and subject-continuity and with narrative units such as the episode, the prologue, and the dénouement. Given the inherent predictability of declination boundaries, it seems improbable that these are purely phonetic or in some way extraneous to the grammar; instead, they appear to be rule-governed and to constitute a regular portion of the prosodic hierarchy, one higher than the traditional limiting category of the Utterance. We believe that our evidence points to an extension of the prosodic hierarchy to a level above that generally dealt with in generative syntax and phonology, the phonological paragraph, which serves as a prosodic marker of the discourse and narrative structure of language.

Alicia J. Beckford (University of Michigan)
Characterizing phonetic variation between Jamaican English & Creole vowels

Accounts of the vowel inventory(ies) of Jamaican Creole are widely discrepant, and certain empirical questions, such as the role of vowel duration and use of tone, remain unaddressed. Using both conversational and wordlist data, this research provides a detailed acoustic characterization of the monophthongs, diphthongs, and r-colored vowels utilized by 24 speakers in two regions of the theoretical Jamaican continuum, investigating phonetic variation across speakers of Creole and Jamaican English. The sample was controlled for age and social class, and speaker selection was informed by an understanding of the operation of differing social network types. Data analyzed suggest that the two groups of speakers do make different use of acoustic (F1/F2) space. I will argue in this paper that the data suggest that vowel
duration functions to enhance slight spectral distinctions among upper-mid-back vowels /u, o/ for basilect-dominant speakers, while playing a less crucial role in distinguishing low-central /a, /.

Jill N. Beckman (University of Iowa)
Partial copying & emergent unmarkedness in Igbo reduplication

Nominal reduplication in Igbo presents a complex combination of reduplicative copying, default segmentism, and consonant-vowel coarticulation (Green & Igwe 1963, Schindwein 1987, Clements 1989, Clark 1990). The outcome of reduplication is determined by the quality of the base vowel and consonant; total copying is possible (and required) only when the base vowel is [+high]. When the base vowel is [-high], reduplicative copying does not occur; rather, the features of the reduplicative vowel are determined by surrounding consonants and by universal markedness considerations. In the Optimality Theoretic analysis presented here, I argue that the diverse phonological effects follow from the interaction of independently-motivated markedness constraints with faithfulness constraints which require full reduplicative copying. No language-specific default rules, rule ordering, or featural prespecification is required.

Jose R. Benki (University of Michigan)
Perceptual interaction of voicing & place of articulation

The categorization of voicing by listeners in syllable-initial stops is dependent primarily on voice onset time (VOT), while the categorization of place of articulation (POA) in stops is dependent primarily on higher formant transitions. These independent cues are covaried by speakers, such that bilabials and alveolars have shorter VOTs than velars. This covariation suggests a potential for the perceptual interaction of orthogonal acoustic dimensions and the phonological contrasts involved. This study tested for perceptual interactions among these two orthogonal acoustic dimensions (VOT and higher formant transitions) and the corresponding phonological contrasts of voice and POA. Specifically, could changes in the perceptual VOT boundary be better predicted from stimulus characteristics, or the perceived POA of a particular token? A 10x10 stimulus array was constructed with acoustic dimensions of VOT (0 to 45 ms) and second formant F2 onset frequency (1100 to 1700 Hz). The corners of the array were unambiguous /ba/, /pa/, /ga/, and /ka/, while the voicing and POA of the initial stop of stimuli drawn from the middle of the array were ambiguous with respect to the voice and POA of the initial stop. Fifteen subjects categorized the stimuli as /ba/, /pa/, /ga/, or /ka/. A model of POA and voicing categorization derived from a logistic regression of subject responses suggests that the VOT category boundary can change depending on the perceived POA. Tokens categorized as bilabial were more likely than those perceived as velars to be also categorized as voiced, regardless of the F2 onset. The acoustic cue for POA, the F2 onset, did not predict changes in the VOT category boundary. The direction of the shift is consistent with potential listener expectations based on the covariation in production that bilabials have shorter VOTs. That perceived POA is correlated with the VOT shift instead of the acoustic cue for POA suggests that perceptual interactions of acoustic cues can be mediated by a phonological structure.

Iris Berent (Florida Atlantic University)
Constraints on identity in Hebrew roots: An experimental approach

This paper argues that the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP) is a mental constraint on Modern Hebrew lexical structures. However, our results lead us to reinterpret the OCP as a family of ranked, violable constraints against identical consonants in different positions within Hebrew roots, as in optimality theory (OT). Our evidence comes from two experiments involving 23 Hebrew speakers who rated words derived from three types of roots. Experiment 1 obtained a rating of roots relative to each other. In Experiment 2 subjects were asked to determine the acceptability of words separately. Words with root-initial gemination, e.g. SaSaM, were rated significantly lower compared to final gemination, e.g. MaSaS. Root-initial gemination was rated significantly lower than no gemination controls, PSM, which were identical in their second and third radicals. Two aspects of the findings challenge the OCP. First the disadvantage of SSM type roots was strongest when identical consonants were not separated by a full vowel (e.g. maS-Si-Mim). hus, surface adjacency of root-initial geminates increases their ill-formedness. Second, Experiment 1
revealed a general bias against gemination. Although subjects were sensitive to the location of gemination, preferring root-final over root-initial gemination, root-final gemination was rated significantly lower than no gemination controls. Relative preferences based on location of 'gemination' and surface proximity of identical consonants seem to support an OT approach to the issues. We show, however, that the OT analysis, while elegant in some respects, is inelegant in others and that a non-OT analysis might also work.

Norine Beren (University of the Witwatersrand)  
*Politeness, privacy, & person in Brazilian Sign Language pronominal systems*

Recent work on personal pronouns in sign languages--e.g. Danish (Engberg-Pedersen 1993), Swedish (Ahlgren 1990), American (Liddell 1994, 1996, 1996; Lillo-Martin & Klima 1990; Meier 1990)--proposes analyses which make these systems appear to be radically different from comparable systems in spoken languages, explicitly or implicitly challenging the claim of universality for personal pronouns (Benveniste 1966, Lyons 1977, Wierzbicka 1996). Using the methods of conversation analysis to elucidate Brazilian Sign Language (LSB) data collected over three years of ethnographically-oriented fieldwork, I isolate specific semantic notions and pragmatic conditions, relevant to several different linguistic subsystems and communicative practices, that are distinct from the grammatical category PERSON. These factors--which have confounded previous analysis of personal pronouns--aside, I claim that the LSB personal pronoun system encodes the conversational roles of sender and addressee (Buhler 1982), with third person being the nonfirst/nonsecond (Benveniste 1966). No previous analysis of a sign language has postulated an empirically supported form-meaning relationship for both first and second person pronouns consistent with widely-held theoretical views on person deixis.

Anna Berge (University of California-Berkeley)  
*Discourse, topic, & switch-reference in West Greenlandic*

Switch-reference in West Greenlandic is normally explained as a relationship between the subject or object of a subordinate clause and the subject of the superordinate clause. There are three ways of showing this relationship: by pronominal inflection on subordinate verbal moods, by morphological marking on nouns, and by the choice of the contemporative and participial verbal moods. In fact, however, a wide range of exceptions has been noted, and these exceptions have been linked to pragmatics and specifically to the notion 'psychological subject' or 'topic' in the sense of foregrounded information or main idea. In texts of oral recollections I collected from West Greenlandic speakers, no less than one-fourth of the items marked for switch-reference are exceptional. I find that inflectionally-marked switch-reference in West Greenlandic is more systematically explainable with reference to discourse-level structure than to syntax alone (switch-reference indicated by mood will not be examined in this paper, as it is categorically of a different type). I suggest a discourse-level role, topic, defined as the noun phrase with prominence across a stretch of continuous text, which provides a means of keeping track of noun phrases in a stretch of continuous text, just as syntactic roles provide a means of keeping track of noun phrases in clauses and sentences. Switch-reference in West Greenlandic is best understood as marking same or different topic. I further suggest that the importance of subject in switch-reference marking is a result of the structure of a West Greenlandic sentence: It is an artifact of clause-chaining, where a series of clauses commonly consists of same-subject clauses because of the preponderance of intransitive structures and the continuity of the topic. I show that such an explanation accounts for both exceptional and nonexceptional switch-reference in my texts.

Rita Bhandari (State University of New York-Stony Brook) (Session 23)  
*On the role of tense for negative polarity item licensing*

The behavior of negative polarity items (NPIs) in Hindi vs English contrasts along two dimensions. First, an NPI may be licensed in subject position in Hindi but not, in general, in English. Second, negatives in subordinate infinitives can take matrix scope in Hindi and license matrix NPIs, unlike in English. I propose that these distinctions between English and Hindi follow from two differences

in the respective grammars. First, they differ in the hierarchical ranking of functional categories (Pollock 1993). Specifically, AgrSP is outside TP in English, while in Hindi, all Agr projections are inside TP. This assumption with Zanuttini's (1995) proposal that NegP is parasitic on TP predicts that subject NPIs...
are licit in Hindi, but unlicensed in English. Second, the Hindi negative has head properties and checks T features. It undergoes covert movement and may move to matrix T, yielding wide-scope negation. English negation, however, is generated in Spec position (Haegeman 1995) and does not raise. Hence, there is no scope ambiguity. This analysis supports the minimalist position that NPI licensing, earlier considered to be a condition on S-structure, is in fact an LF phenomenon. I also suggest that NPI licensing can be united with long-distance reflexive binding in Hindi by appealing to similar treatment: covert movement that is sensitive to finite tense, as suggested for anaphora independently by Pica (1989) and Hestvik (1990, 1991) among others.

Rakesh M. Bhatt (University of Tennessee) (Session 19)

* AgrP in UG: Elimination or special dispensation

Chomsky (1995:349-55) eliminated the Agr projection from the clause structure of natural language grammars. On his view, Spec-TP is where case/D-feature (EPP) is checked by subject DP in the overt syntax, and the object checks its features at LF in the Spec of (the quasi-functional category) vP. In this paper, I claim that AgrP does indeed exist in the inventory of those languages that make use of it (Iatridou 1990, King 1994, Shlonsky 1996). I present evidence from the distribution of subjects and objects in Kashmiri to argue for the existence of AgrP, required for nominative case checking. I further argue that the existence of AgrP is also warranted to account for quirky constructions in Icelandic and Hindi, which is accomplished by dissociating case and D-feature checking.

Lee S. Bickmore (University at Albany)

* Bounded tone spreading as feature extension

In this paper I consider the issue of how to best account for the fairly common tonal phenomenon of bounded tone spreading within an OT framework. I suggest that the best way to account for bounded spreading is though an EXTEND (L/R) constraint which requires an edge of an input feature span to extend in a given direction (leftward or rightward). The phonetic motivation behind extend is to enhance perception of the feature in question by lengthening its duration. The constraint which prevents the spreading from becoming unbounded in nature is simply the markedness constraint penalizing the occurrence of the spreading tone in question. I will defend this analysis against two alternative analyses of bounded spreading, the first involving a DOMAIN BINARITY constraint on high tone spans (HTS), and the second involving the establishment of metrical feet. While either of these alternatives can straightforwardly handle simple cases of binary spreading, they fail to account for more complex cases. Consider, e.g., the word *tóó-gótimoka* ‘we rest’ (< /tō-ó-go-timok-ə/) in Ekegusii, a Kenyan Bantu language, where H's regularly undergo bounded spreading. In this case the underlyingly H on the prefix /ó-/ must spread leftward in order to avoid the creation of a rising tone (forbidden in Ekegusii), yet it still undergoes bounded rightward spread. A constraint such as DOM BIN as applied to output HTS's predicts *tóó-gótimoka* as the optimal form since it satisfies both *rise and dom bin, and violates *H less egregiously than does tóó-gótimoka*. I also consider data from Namwanga, a Zambian Bantu language, where non-phrase-final H's regularly undergo bounded spreading. I argue that the processes of fusion and phrase-penultimate vowel lengthening clearly resist an account in which bounded spreading is motivated by metrical feet. Finally, I will suggest nontonal cases of local assimilation which can also best be treated using extend.

Eleanor M. Blain (University of British Columbia) (Session 48)

* The structure of nominal clauses in Nêhiyawêwin (Plains Cree)

In this paper, I propose that Nêhiyawêwin nominal clauses are IP structures containing two nominal expressions, a subject NP and a predicate NP. There is no copula in Nêhiyawêwin; therefore, there is no VP projection (Dechaine 1993). The more referential deictic subject NP always occurs in second position in the clause as in (1) (Rapoport 1987, Heggie 1988):

(1) [NP hi-simis]pred [NP ana pro]subj  
     my-sibling  that one  
     'that is my younger sibling'

In my analysis, I propose that the predicate obligatorily raises to Spec CP. Predicate raising is motivated by the need for proximate/obviative agreement between the subject and the predicate (in addition to the usual predicational agreement for number and gender), and this predicate raising accounts for the
obligatory predicate-initial ordering of nominal clauses. Support for this analysis is provided by evidence in Nêhiyawêwin wh-questions (Blain 1997).

Jürgen Bohnemeyer (Max Planck Institute-Nijmegen)  
*Aspect-mood marking in Yucatec Maya: A non-time-relational analysis*

The present paper aims at a structural and semantic analysis of the system of aspect-mood (AM) marking in Yucatec Maya. AM marking in Yucatec is achieved through combinations of a set of 14 auxiliary-like preverbal particles with four verbal suffixes. Selection of the suffix depends on selection of the preverbal marker. The preverbal AM markers indicate aspectual and modal distinctions and degrees of temporal distance or 'remoteness', while the suffixes mark more general aspectual and modal categories. It will be demonstrated that a semantic analysis of any of the preverbal or suffixal markers in terms of relations of temporal order can be defeated. Yucatec thus emerges as a 'senseless' language in terms of both absolute (deictic) and relative (anaphoric) tense. Of particular interest for the study of temporality in Amerindian languages in general are the truth-conditional criteria that allow for a distinction of aspectual or modal categories from tenses with similar pragmatic functions.

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Agnes Bolonyai (University of South Carolina)  
*Codeswitching, functional elements, & 'double morphology'*

This paper provides a psycholinguistically based account for 'double morphology' in codeswitching. The analysis is based on the assumption that functional elements are elected by levels of abstract lexical structure in two ways. Some functional elements are indirectly elected as projections of directly activated content elements at the conceptual level, while others are structurally-assigned at the functional/positional level (Jake & Myers-Scotton 1997). I argue that in codeswitching, indirectly-elected functional elements within maximal projections are more likely to be doubled than structurally-assigned elements outside their maximal projections. Data to support the analysis are from naturally occurring Hungarian/English codeswitching. The analysis is examined for its compatibility with predictions based on the theory of lexical morphology. It is concluded that a psycho-linguistically based analysis better predicts and accounts for double morphology in codeswitching than does lexical morphology.

Valerie Boulanger (University of Georgia)  
*) (Session 30)*

*What makes a coinage successful? The factors influencing the adoption of English new words*

This paper is a study of the linguistic and social factors influencing the adoption of new words in English. The corpus is made up of the new words created in the 1980s from the *Third Barnhart Dictionary of New English* (1990). Each word is associated with word variables and occurrences in 16 magazines, grouped according to the education, sex, and age of the readers, one year before the date of creation, on the year of creation, and one, two, five, and when applicable ten years after creation. An additional corpus of the new words created in 1993 recorded in the *Barnhart Dictionary Companion*, Volume 8 (1993) was gathered to verify the results. It was found that the factors influencing inclusion in general use dictionaries were related to the referent (e.g. notional field, taboo association, popularity of the referent, register) rather than to the linguistic form (e.g. polysemy and word-formation process used), as well as to use in common magazines with a mixed, middle-aged readership. The relationship between the adoption of new words and the users of the new words thus places the lexicon at the center of sociolinguistic research.

Gosse Bouma (University of Groningen), Robert Malouf & Ivan Sag (Stanford University)  
*Satisfying constraints on extraction & adjunction*

In the tradition of G/HPKG, extraction has been treated via inheritance of values for the feature SLASH from gap, up along the 'extraction path' to the filler. This analysis is attractive because it makes information about extractions accessible for local selection. One could view it as a prediction of such an analysis that there are languages registering extraction through verb morphology (Chamorro, Palauan), the possibility of verb-inversion (French, Icelandic), tone downstep suppression (Kikuyu), etc. However, under past proposals, not all verbs in an extraction domain are 'slashed'. Gazdar (1981) and Pollard and Sag (1994) agree that verbs whose subject has been extracted are unslashed, and in P&S-94 adv-initial clauses are unslashed as well. This distribution of slash specifications is inconsistent with the results of
Hukari and Levine (1995), who show that languages registering extraction effects also show them in subject and adverb extraction. This paper develops a new HPSG extraction analysis that avoids this inadequacy. Lexemes specify a verb's dependency structure but not its valence or slash value. Every dependent is realized as a subj, comps, and/or slash member. A word's slash value must also be the union of the slash values of its dependents. Thus a verb's object can either be a nongap element on its comps list or else a gap in the verb's slash value. In either case, the verb passes its slash value (empty in the former case) to its mother. Gaps may be both in slash and the subj value, allowing us to correctly predict the behavior of the languages discussed by Hukari and Levine. Likewise, since extractable adjuncts are also included in the DEPENDENTS list, it follows that a verb will be [slash {ADV}] just in case an adverbial modifying it is extracted. Hence we predict Hukari and Levine's observation that adverb extraction is lexically registered. Our account not only provides better cross-linguistic coverage than earlier G/HPSG treatments, it also accounts for subject, complement, and adverbial extraction via a single constraint on the relation between lexemes and words. This compares favorably with accounts available in other frameworks.

Diane Brentari (Purdue University)

An optimality theoretic account of 'weak-drop' in two-handed signs in ASL

'Weak drop' (WD) (Padden & Perlmutter 1987) or 'phonological deletion' (Battison 1974) is a well-known, optional operation, whereby a 2-handed ASL input sign allows a 1-handed output. Here, WD is treated as a specific instance of a more general constraint called ELIMINATE REDUNDANCY (ELIMRED), which allows for the deletion of the nondominant or 'weak' hand (h2) under certain conditions. By focusing on the family of MAX特征 constraints within optimality theory, we can understand the distribution of WD within the three types of 2-handed ASL signs, because of the interactions that these constraints have with each other and because of their interaction with the constraint ELIMRED. This account explains why a form, such as 'with' (i.e. a form predicted to allow WD in previous accounts), disallows WD, and why a form such as 'read' (i.e. a form predicted to disallow WD in previous accounts), will allow WD. The analysis is accomplished by the use of a particular set of features developed in recent work in the field, the principle of Local Conjunction specific to optimality theory, and a set of violable, ranked constraints. This account can predict which forms will not allow WD, and it is more predictive and covers a wider range of forms than previous accounts have done.

Mary Jill Brody (Louisiana State University) & N. Louanna Furbee (University of Missouri-Columbia)

Mechanics of intertextuality: Comparison of Tojolabal narratives

As part of an ongoing project examining texts in Tojolabal from several different speakers recounting the same historical event, we examine the use of a number of linguistic features, including quoted speech, evidentials, deictics, aspect, and vocabulary borrowed from Spanish. The frequency of occurrence and strategic use of these and other elements reveal a speaker's relationship to the text. Through the use of these elements, speakers articulate their relationship to the event they talk about; comparative analysis moves toward understanding intertextuality as variously represented. Comparison of the occurrence and use of these elements between several speaker's versions of the same historical event allows us to (1) learn about that speaker's relation to the event; (2) discern different generic functions for a text (history, moral lesson, personal account); and (3) to approach an authoritative version of the text.

Anthony F. Buccini & Amy Dahlstrom (University of Chicago)

The sources of Pidgin Delaware syntax: Imposition, selection, & accommodation in the development of an early North American contact language

This paper investigates the syntax of Pidgin Delaware (PD), a contact language lexically based on Delaware widely used in the 17th century between Algonquians and Europeans in the Middle Atlantic colonies of New Netherland and New Sweden. We first review the properties of PD which identify it as a pidgin, contrasting it with 'real' Delaware, and recapitulate Buccini's (in press) arguments against
Thomason's (1980) view that PD predated European contact. The bulk of the paper examines the syntax of PD with respect to the contributions made by Delaware and Dutch. An important theoretical point here is that the dynamics of contact situations involving only two primary languages are quite different from those in classic cases of pidgin development (e.g. among slaves on Caribbean plantations). Much of the PD system can in fact be viewed as imperfect acquisition by Dutchmen who thought they were speaking the actual 'Indian' language. In terms of syntax, the most successfully acquired constructions were highly salient features of Delaware such as clause-initial negation and the typically Algonquian order of theme > topic in equational sentences. Other features of PD syntax may be explained in terms of language contact theory. We find, for instance, evidence of IMPOSITION (Van Coetsem 1988) from Dutch onto the target language, e.g. a syntactic category of adjectives in PD, corresponding to Dutch and not to Delaware. The process of SELECTION (Buccini 1992) can be seen in PD word order, which is either SVO or SOV. Algonquian languages allow all six permutations of subject, verb, and object, conditioned by pragmatic factors. Dutch exhibits SVO in most main clauses and SOV in subordinate clauses. PD word order thus results from the selection by Dutch speakers of the two already familiar orders out of the six possibilities presented by Delaware. We conclude with some speculations regarding a stability gradient of syntactic features.

Eugene Buckley (University of Pennsylvania)  
Prosodic word structure in Kashaya reduplication

I show in this paper that in Kashaya reduplication, the base and the reduplicant are separate prosodic words, leading to a bracketing mismatch between the phonology and morphology. In particular, while reduplication is rightward (cf. hú?kulu-?ku-lu-), suffixes join in the prosodic word headed by the reduplicant, excluding the base: [base][reduplicant+suffixes]. The main consequence of the two phonological words is that foot structure is created separately for each one. For example, iambic lengthening occurs in the second prosodic word relative to the left edge of the reduplicant, not the entire morphological word: kò(os) + kò(pos)(s)u(du), not *kò(os)kòpos(s)u(du). (Feet are subject to first-syllable extrametricality and are marked with parentheses here.) Other evidence comes from three ways in which the first foot of the word licenses marked structures: These structures are (where testable) licensed in both of the words in a reduplication structure. They are: a long vowel resulting from elision, cf. simple chlit[de:j](bi?) with sis[li:]+sis[li:](dem); the choice of durative allomorph, cf. bu[wi:]du and si(me)+si(meci:)(du); and a 'laryngeal increment', cf. sòh[komá:] and cuh(yu)+lu(yu:)(du). Both the iambic lengthening and licensing facts can be explained if there are independent footing domains, which follows from positing two prosodic words. More specific support for two words comes from the decrement, a process triggered by particular suffixes which deletes a laryngeal increment. This occurs in the reduplicant (in the same word as the suffix) but not in the base (which is in a different word): cf. simple so_(ko:)du with reduplicated cuh(yu)+_y(yu:)(du). All of these patterns follow from the proposed structure [base][reduplicant+suffixes].

Ronald R. Butters, Lyla Kaplan, & Jeremy Sugarman (Duke University) (Session 30)  
Semantic variability in terms for 'medical research': Implications for obtaining meaningful informed consent

In coming to terms with the real-life powers of words, dictionary definitions are helpful, but even unabridged dictionaries are more concerned with denotations than connotations. Moreover, English dictionary makers generally construct their definitions inductively, relying less on primary data obtained from native speakers. Important evidence for American English is contained in nearly 100 interviews carried out in 1995 for the President's Advisory Committee on Human Radiation Experiments. Persons interviewed had all at some time in their lives taken part in medical research as human subjects. They were asked for definitions of the terms 'medical research', 'medical experiment', 'clinical trial', 'clinical investigation', and 'study'. The connotations in American English of each of these terms could in themselves significantly influence a potential subject to accept or reject participation as a human subject. Our paper will evaluate the responses of these interviewees and compare their responses to the usual dictionary definitions, suggesting also implications for obtaining meaningful informed consent.

Jean-Robert Cadely (Florida International University)
Evidence for a constituent clitic group in Haitian Creole

The study of pronominal forms in Haitian Creole (HC) has recently been the topic of intensive debate. The most important issue concerns the status of clitic forms in the grammar of HC. They have been identified in two different ways. Degraff (1992a, 1992b, 1993) for instance, identified them as syntactic clitics or agreement markers. Deprez (1992a, 1992b), Law (1992), Deprez and Vinet (1991, 1992), analyzed them rather as syntactically autonomous. In Cadely (1994, 1995) it is argued that these elements are phonological clitics, i.e. deficient items which are unable to create by themselves an autonomous prosodic domain. Therefore, they have to be incorporated into an adjacent nonclitic element, a host. I still maintain this position. In this presentation, however, I would like to widen the debate by providing a more detailed account of phonological clitics in HC as well as a more detailed analysis of the process of rightward and leftward cliticization. I will focus on three points: the phonological process by which HC pronominal forms and other items having the same behavior are reduced and agglutinated to another morpheme, the implications of my findings, and finally I will present evidence showing that the clitic and its host rather form in HC a single prosodic unit, namely Clitic Group.

Michael Cahill (Summer Institute of Linguistics/Ohio State University)
Tonal associative morphemes in optimality theory

In optimality theory, constraints are proposed to be universal, differing from language to language only in their ranking. However, few cross-linguistic studies have been done to demonstrate this. This paper analyzes the behavior of tonal associative morphemes in several languages and accounts for the patterns by means of two general constraints. The associative construction in many African languages often has a purely tonal morpheme which manifests itself on one of the nouns in the associative noun phrase. Cross-linguistically, the direction of docking of this associative tone is not arbitrary but is governed by two principles which can be translated into constraints. The associative noun either docks left to the head noun, to the right to the dependent noun, or right to the head noun. Thus far I have not found a case where the tone docks left to a dependent noun. I propose two quite general constraints which can apply to a variety of phenomena, beyond the associative case examined here: (1) TONE-RIGHT, expressing the cross-linguistic tendency of tones to move to the right rather than left, whether in tone shift, docking of floating tones, 'tone doubling', or spreading. (2) HEAD-PROMINENCE, expressing the tendency of heads of phrases to be phonetically or morphologically marked in relation to nonheads. A typology of ranking of tone-rt and head-prom would include head-prom outranking tone-rt, tone-rt outranking head-prom, or an indeterminate ranking. These rankings are all found, as well as a more complex case where head-prom outranks tone-rt, but the high tone associates rightward in the case that the dependent noun on the right begins with a toneless prefix, when other constraints outrank head-prom.

Catherine A. Callaghan (Ohio State University) (Session 53)
More evidence for Yok-Utian: A reanalysis of the Dixon-Kroeber sets

I have reanalyzed, corrected, and updated the 171 sets in Dixon and Kroeber's 1919 article, in which they proposed California 'Penutian' stock consisting of Miwok, Costanoan, Yokuts, Wintun, and Maidun. (Miwok and Costanoan are a single family, Utian). I discarded 44 sets which lacked sufficient phonetic similarity or which postulated arbitrary assimilation, metathesis, or the unwarranted addition or loss of syllables. Some of the remaining 127 sets involved 2 or 3 subsets, yielding a total of 146 sets. Of these, 49 or one-third linked Yokuts and Utian. Only 13 involved resemblant sets linking Yokuts, Utian, Wintun, and Maidun. We can conclude that the original material supports kinship between Yokuts and Utian, with little evidence for a more extended grouping.

Elaine Camargo (CNRS-Paris)
Actancy: Double structure in Cashinahua (Panoan)

Cashinahua belongs to the Panoan languages localized on the border between Brazil and Peru in the Amazonian lowlands. In this language, personal pronouns and nouns do not have the same morphological treatment as arguments (actants). Personal pronouns are always marked by the suffix -n as actant I (which is the one actant in an unaictancial construction) and as agent in a biactancial construction. But the 3rd person of singular is not morphologically marked as actant. Only the two 3rd person of plural are required as actant II (which is the patient in a biactancial construction). The animate nouns require -n only as agent.
The actant I and II do not receive any morphological treatment. In fact, this language has an accusative structure when the arguments are represented by personal pronouns and an ergative structure when represented by nouns. If we postulate that only animate nouns are able to be agents, what about 'sun' and 'wid', for example, which receive -n when they behave like agent? Our purpose is to show this double structure in this Amerindian language.

**Wallace Chafe** (University of California-Santa Barbara)

*Morphological & discourse determinants of pitch in Seneca*

When they are pronounced in isolation, Seneca words vary in the number of syllables that are given a higher pitch than the surrounding syllables. I will call them morphologically accented syllables. At one extreme a word--even a long word--may have no accented syllables at all, while at the opposite extreme it is possible for every even-numbered syllable in a word to be accented. Which syllable, if any, will be accented can be predicted from reconstructed historical forms and processes, but not from the present shape of words. Pitch contours are also assigned by discourse. These discourse-motivated contours are superimposed on the morphological pitch patterns, which they often obliterate or distort. They perform various organizational, interactional, and evaluative functions, and their nature and effects vary considerably from one genre to another, distinguishing ritual, storytelling, and conversation, for example. Several genres will be used to illustrate the interaction of morphological and discourse patterns.

**Craig Chambers, Michael Tanenhaus, Greg Carlson, & Hana Filip** (University of Rochester)

*Definites, indefinites, & the on-line construction of referential domains*

Previous psycholinguistic research has shown that the interpretation of referring expressions involves the rapid integration of linguistic and nonlinguistic context. However, it is less clear which particular nonlinguistic parameters are involved in establishing reference and how or when they become relevant. The present study examines how domains of interpretation are constrained on-line by object properties (e.g. size, 'containerhood') and task-specific intentions, and whether the uniqueness and nonuniqueness conditions required for the use of definite and indefinite articles are sensitive to these domains. We used a head-mounted eyetracking system to record subjects' gaze to objects in a visual display as they heard instructions such as 'pick up the cube and put it inside the can'. Displays contained two instances of the target container (e.g. two cans), and these containers differed in size. Half of the instructions identified the target with a definite article, while the others used an indefinite article (e.g. 'put the cube inside the/a can'). The size of the moved object (e.g. cube) was varied such that for half of the subjects it fit inside both target containers while for the others it fit only inside the larger container. The results for definites show that eye-movements are speeded when the object was compatible with only one target container, compared to when both are compatible. Indefinites, on the other hand, show relatively slower latencies when just one target was compatible for the selected object. Also, looks to the alternative target increased, relative to when both target containers were compatible. These results demonstrate that the uniqueness conditions required by the definite and indefinite articles apply to pragmatically defined sets rather than simply the set of objects present in the current situation of utterance. Moreover, the findings suggest that these sets are constructed and modified dynamically as the utterance unfolds.

**Don Chapman** (Brigham Young University)

*Early English terminology for compounds: A study of medieval Latin grammars & Aelfric's English grammar*

This paper will focus mainly on the terminology for compounds found in medieval Latin grammars and Aelfric's English grammar (an adaptation of Priscian). Since a study of terminology often uncovers conceptual underpinnings of the science using the terminology, the comparison of English and Latin grammatical terminology should prove especially useful for better understanding medieval notions of morphology and syntax.

**Roberta Chase-Borgatti** (University of South Carolina)

(Se: 25, 31, 47)
Most research on language and social networks has concluded that social network variables have strong relationships to at least some components of the language behavior of their speakers. I argue that the representations of social networks in these studies are so flawed that we cannot yet determine the nature of the relationship between networks and language choice. Researchers have wrongly regarded 'social network' as a single relation rather than as a collection of distinct types of relations among people; they have focused on "etwork" as an attribute of individual speakers rather than as a pattern of relationships among a group of speakers; and they have not measured the actual networks of speakers but rather surrogate variables, such as intensity of ties to their community. Drawing on basic network theory, I develop the conceptual machinery for thinking about how, at the individual level, a speaker's position in a social network may relate to his or her use of language, and, at the community level, how the structure of the network may relate to the distribution of linguistic variables.

Carole E. Chaski (National Institute for Justice)  
Electronic parsing for idiolectal markers in suspect documents

Suspect documents occur in kidnapping, murder, fraud and other crimes. Language-based techniques for identifying authorship, e.g. Morton (1990, 1991a, 1991b), McMenamin (1993) are either not replicable or fail replication (Tiersma 1993, Finegan 1990, Totty et al. 1987, Harcastle 1993, Goutsos 1995); use statistics inappropriately (Herdan 1964, Sanford et al. 1994, Hilton & Holmes 1993) or violate principles of linguistic theory (Crystal 1995, Chaski 1996). Can linguistics offer a language-based method which is theoretically sound, replicable, statistically testable, and eventually admissible as forensic evidence? The Automated Linguistic Authentication System (ALAS) is an electronic parsing system built specifically for the demands of forensic cases, i.e. small (under 1000 words) sample size, restricted registers and text-types, and the need for the highest level of accuracy in data analysis. ALAS includes a writing sample database and parsing programs. The writing sample database, currently over 100,000 words, includes texts written by 98 authors on topics similar to those found in actual criminal and civil cases. The parsing programs process text into lexical, discursive, phrasal, and sentential patterns. The programs are highly interactive because accuracy of parsing, rather than speed, is essential for this application, and natural, unedited language includes many disfluencies (cf. Stenstrom & Svartik 1994). The patterns are stored in lexical, phrasal, and sentential databases which allow for quantification and sorting of the patterns. Idiolectal markers are patterns which are able to both differentiate texts from different author and to cluster together texts from one author. Pilot studies on subsets of texts in the writing sample database, in which sex, age, education, and dialect are held constant, demonstrate that

Shobhana L. Chelliah (University of North Texas)  (Session 6)  
Grammaticalization through areal & typological pressure: The case of Meithei

Grammaticalization of the second verb in verb-verb sequences, through the semantic bleaching of the second verb, is an areal feature of South Asia that has spread from Dravidian to Indo-Aryan languages. I will show, through examples from the Tibeto-Burman language Meithei, that the diffusion of grammaticalization has further spread from Indo-Aryan to Tibeto-Burman languages. Unlike Indo-Aryan languages, however, in addition to semantic bleaching, the grammaticalization has gone further in that verbs have become reduced phonologically and have become affixes. I argue that this 'decategorialization' is due to the typological tendency for agglutinative or polysynthetic suffixing languages to contain little or no compounding. In other words, typological pressure regulates contact induced language change.

Su-I Chen (National Tsing Hua University)  (Session 2)  
Palatalization in Japanese & Polish: Constraint models in OT
Palatalization across languages exhibits a large range of surface realizations. Even where the targets and triggers of palatalization are the same in two different languages, the surface outputs of palatalization may be distinct, as seen in Japanese and Polish palatalization triggered by the high front vowel /i/. In this paper, I argue for two constraints modules, one determining the phonological representation and the second determining the surface form. I propose an analysis of palatalization in Japanese and Polish as a general phonological process triggered by phonological constraints, mainly palatalization (PAL), which forces the coronal feature of /i/ to link with the preceding segment. The output of the phonological component is identical in Japanese and Polish before /i/. The different surface forms are determined by the phonetic constraints working on the phonological representation.

Yiya Chen (State University of New York-Stony Brook)

_Causative affix in Kammu_

Affixation is very common in Kammu, a language spoken over a large area of northern Southeast Asia. The causative affix in Kammu appears as a prefix /p/ or an infix /m/ (I use . to indicate syllable structures):

(1) a. r h 'to rise'  p.r h 'to raise'  b. s.kár 'straight'  m.ká 'to straighten'

I propose that they are derived from the same underlying segment and argue that the differences in its surface realization and location are the result of well-formedness constraints on the syllable structures of the Kammu language. I assume that a constraint ALIG (Caus, L; Word, L) favors forms in which the causative is a prefix as in (1a). When the stem has two syllables, taking (1b) as an example, prefixation could result in three possible syllable structures as shown in (2). The ranked constraints *COMP-ONSET, *STRUC ( ), No OBS NUC >> ALIG (Caus, L; Word, L) favor prefix p when a verb stem has only one syllable. When the stem has two syllables, infix m becomes the optimal candidate.


I account for the alternation of m vs p as follows. I propose that the causative affix in Kammu is a segment with a labial feature under the C-place node, unspecified for sonority and laryngeal features. There are only two such labial phonemes in Kammu: p and m.

(3) The constraint *OBS NUCIEI ranks higher than No OBS NUC, resulting in a sonorant infix /m/ but an obstruent prefix /p/.

Christine Sungeun Cho & Xuan Zhou (State University of New York-Stony Brook)

_The interpretation of wh- elements in coordinated wh- questions_

English and Chinese-Korean (CK) conjoined wh- questions show very interesting contrast in interpretations of wh-phrases. The English sentence _Who does John like and Mary admire?_ involves ATB movement and is understood either as single questions, requiring one set of individuals that are liked by John and admired by Mary (which person x, likes (j,x) & admires (m,x)) or as coordinated wh-questions, allowing distinct individuals that John likes and Mary admires (which person x, likes (j,x) & which person y, admires (m,y)). CK has two kinds of coordinated wh- questions: one with wh in-situ and the other with overt ATB wh movement. The former shows only the coordinated question readings and the latter, only the single question readings. We argue this contrast is explained by the two key assumptions about wh- movement in Chomsky (1993, 95): (1) Movement is copying. (2) Wh- phrases consist of a wh element and a pronoun. This yields two possible LFs for English depending on whether [wh+pronoun] or wh alone is interpreted as a variable: (a) [ who] does John like t and Mary admire t; (b) [ wh] does John like t-o and Mary admire t-o. It is therefore natural for us to propose that the number of questions understood corresponds to the number of pronominal segments at LF. Suppose (following current proposals) CK whs are interpreted in their source positions, being unselectively bound by interrogative Q, equivalent to wh. Our proposal correctly predicts the coordinated questions reading for CK sentences with wh in-situ on the one hand and the single question reading for those with overt ATB wh movement on the other. We show these same effects occur in English

multiple wh- questions like _I wonder who likes who and respects who_, which has two different coordinated questions readings: (1) (which person x, which person y, x likes y) and (which person x, which person z, x respects z); (2) which person x, (which person y, x likes y) & (which person z, x respects z) but lacks the
Among maintenance studies involving the Navajo language, there seems to be a limited amount of published response from the minority language community itself. And yet, it is critical that the voices of those who are experiencing first-hand the loss of their ancestral tongue be heard; these voices are not only enlightening but crucial to a true understanding of the unique situation present in the Navajo Nation. This paper is based on a recent study of Navajo language maintenance in which 28 Navajo university students from diverse backgrounds were asked their opinions as to the causes of Navajo language attrition and what might be done to maintain Navajo. Although several possible causes and solutions were given by the consultants, the primary response to both questions, interestingly, was the education system. Consultants provided several interesting school-related causes of the formation of negative attitudes towards the Navajo language among Navajo children and the simultaneous formation of positive attitudes towards the English language. Thus many consultants feel that it is crucial that the education system work to enhance the image of Navajo language and culture if attrition is to be reversed, and they suggested quite a few ways in which this could be accomplished. The information gathered from interviews and questionnaires serves to provide a unique perspective on Navajo language maintenance, and the study demonstrates that members of the Navajo community, experts in Navajo culture and way of life, are the ones who can provide key information regarding language maintenance issues.

J. Clancy Clements (Indiana University)  (Session 6)
The final stages of the head-initial to head-final shift

The present study sheds light on the final stages of the VX-> XV shift (X = object/locative, goal and sentential adjuncts) in Koral Creole Portuguese (KP), in which only recently objects and certain adjuncts have begun to appear to the left of the verb over 50% of the time. The KP data—taken from stories and narratives and representing four different stages of this development, with 2323 declarative noncopulative finite-, main-clause tokens over all—show the following progression regarding object/adjunct order relative to the verb: The first stage, 80% VO and 90% VAdjunct order; second stage, 51% VO but still 92% VAdjunct order; third stage, 58% OV and 42% AdjunctV; final stage, 73% OV but still only 46% AdjunctV order. This discrepancy between object and adjunct order relative to the verb does not seem to have come from Marathi. In a control study of five native Marathi speakers whose data consist of 416 declarative noncopulative, finite-, main-clause tokens, OV order is at 95% and AdjunctV order at 92%. The data of this study reveal not only a finer-grained picture of the final stages of the head-initial -> head-final shift, but they also offer diachronic evidence that objects are more immediate constituents to the verb than are adjuncts. Finally, these data impact the theory of Universal Grammar (UG) in a significant way. It is common in UG to posit for any given parameter two options. For example, the head parameter has ‘+’ (= head-initial) or ‘-’ (= head-final). The alternative suggested by the data in this study would be to allow a multi-valued parameter, i.e. allowing for at least 75% of the logical possibilities, i.e. (1) ‘+’, (2) ‘-’, and (3) ‘+&-’. For word order this would mean that predominantly head-initial and head-final orders would be parameters, as would be the combination head-initial&final. In a language such as KP, this move would account for the VX -> XV shift, as well as for the predominately OV order and free ordering of locative, goal, and sentential adjuncts. Although adding another parameter may add complexity to the theory, it is a just price to pay for being able to model more accurately a situation which is most likely not that uncommon in the languages of the world.

Jocelyn Cohan (University of Texas-Austin)  (Session 7)
Effects on reference assignment of focus structure in the dative alternation

The dative alternation appears to provide English speakers with two ways of conveying essentially the same information.

(1)  a. Double object (DO): Alice gave her daughter the necklace.
    b. Prepositional dative (PD): Alice gave the necklace to her daughter.

These two constructions have different focus structures (Hajicova & Sagall 1987, Gropen et al. 1989). Our experiment indicates that these different focus structures condition different coreference possibilities for
subsequent pronouns within discourse. Exactly the same discourse contexts were provided for sentences like those appearing in (2).

(2) a. Alex brought his father the evening paper. He put it on the table by the armchair.
b. Alex brought the evening paper to his father. He put it on the table by the armchair.

Experimental questions determined which potential referent readers (n=31) understood as the antecedent of the ambiguous pronoun by asking which character had performed a particular action. In general, readers understood the subject of the previous sentence as the referent of the ambiguous pronoun (74%), regardless of the sentence type the potential referents appeared in. Readers were more likely to understand the referent of the ambiguous pronoun to be the recipient when it had appeared in a PD construction (31%) than when it had appeared in a DO construction (19%). These results indicate that in the same contexts, sentences of equivalent truth conditions trigger construction of different mental representations of the information in a text. Topic-focus relationships appear to be a source of the different reference assignment observed. Our data support the view that readers assign reference of pronouns within a discourse based on a principle like 'assign reference to topic' (Ariel 1994): Sentence topic and subject often coincide. Readers also assigned reference to the recipient, primarily when it had appeared in sentence final position of the PD construction. In English, this sentence final position often coincides with focus and is thus precisely the position in which the next potential topic might be introduced.

James Copeland (Rice University) (Session 59)

Lexical & grammatical reflexes of *ma 'hand' in Tarahumara

The morpheme ma in Tarahumara is the reflex of a Uto-Aztecan word for hand. It has been replaced in Tarahumara by the term seka-ra. But the older form is widely attested in the lexicon and in the grammar. An incorporated reflex of ma occurs in makomi, 'handful', and makari, 'a span' (measure: width of the back of the hand). The reflex is evident in the decimal numeric system, in the words for five, ten, etc: ma-ri, 'five', ma-koi, 'ten'. Terms for objects often contain fused/weakened traces of ma: ma-htaka, 'metate', ma-hatasura, 'grinding stone'. Events involving the hand show the form: mahowa, 'to point to, point out' - , maga -ma, 'put, place with the hand', magana-ma, 'make (corn) beer', mako-ma, 'clutch with the hand', sieze, mato-ru, 'carry', etc. Dectic elements that sometimes involve physical pointing, ma!, 'here!' have been expanded to include temporal reference in clause initial position: ma (present event): ma ne ana 'i behete pa, 'I live here now'. Additional traces of ma include grammaticalized reflexes like the marker of completive, aspect (with past event) as in ma ne batari nowa, 'I have already made the beer'. This paper deals with the interplay between semantic/lexical change and grammaticalization. Within the context of current work on grammaticalization, it will be apparent that the same processes that result in lexical change are also at work in the evolution of grammar.

Chris Corcoran (University of Chicago)

What's in a name? The place of Guinea Coast Creole English (GCCE) & Sierra Leone Krio (SLK) in the Afro-genesis debate

Hancock (1969, 1971, 1986) suggests that Guinea Coast Creole English (GCCE) contributed to the formation of many of the English-based creoles spoken in the Americas. More recently Hancock (1992) has developed the Compositional Hypothesis (CH) which views the contribution of West African creole languages as one of a number of components involved in the creation of Anglophone Atlantic creoles. Data from Sierra Leone Krio (SLK) has always been central to Hancock's presentation of evidence for the transfer of features from one side of the Atlantic to the other. More recently, McWhorter (1995) has continued this tradition, using data from SLK and Nigerian Pidgin as representatives of English-based creoles spoken in West Africa in his efforts to establish genetic relationships among the Atlantic English-based creoles. Njeuma (1996) argues that SLK, Nigerian Pidgin, and Cameroonian Pidgin have a common ancestor in her University of South Carolina dissertation. This paper reviews evidence for the existence of an English-based pidgin or creole spoken by people living along the Gambia River, the Sierra Leone River, and the Sherbro coast before 1800 (Asiegbu 1969, Atkins 1735, Bolster 1997, Caulker Manuscript 1924, Coker 1820, Corry 1969, Cuffe 1812, Falconbridge 1802, Igabemi 1970). Though Hancock presents solid evidence for long-term British settlement and domestic unions between Europeans and Africans, there are some questions regarding the linguistic consequences. I present and define a list of pertinent geographical and sociohistorical labels and discuss the implications for the examination of linguistic evidence. Pre-19th century notions of 'mulatto', 'grumetto', and 'creole' are particularly important in evaluating this historical evidence. The second half of the paper examines the sociopolitical relationships between early Guinea
Coast settlements and Western Peninsula settlements. Freetown and other villages in the Western Peninsula were the homes of the people first identified as creoles (ethnically) in the mid-19th century. The paper describes the early environment of SLK's introduction to the colony (or growth in the colony) and evaluates Hancock's chronology, i.e. that the primary contributor to modern SLK was a variety of English spoken on the coast before 1800.

Hildo do Couto (University of Brasília)

*The place of place in creole genesis*

Creole languages generally arise out of the contact of a dominant (colonizer) people (P) and its language (L)--(PL1)-- with two or more subordinated (colonized) people(s) and their language(s)--(PL2, PL3,..., PLn). Theoretically, this contact may take place (1) in the territory (T) of (PL1), (2) in the territory of (PL1, PL3,..., PLn), (3) in third territory which is neither (PL1)'s nor (PL2, PL3,..., PLn)'s. In case (1) a creole would hardly arise. This is what happened with the Turkish immigrants in Germany. Case (2) is illustrated by the fort creoles. Case (3) is the ideal one for the emergence of a creole language. A good example is the plantation creoles. The aim of my paper is to emphasize the importance of territory in creole genesis. I will demonstrate that the contact of (PL1) with (PL2, PL3,..., PLn) in itself is not enough to give birth to a creole language. However, if the contact produces a mixed community which has its own T, the probability that a creole language will emerge is very high.

Wayne Cowart, Sadie Fowler, & G. Andrew Smith-Petersen (University of Southern Maine (Session 15))

*A biological parameter affecting sentence judgments*

There have been occasional indications that within linguistic communities the judged acceptability of sentences may differ for subpopulations defined by biological parameters that are orthogonal to linguistic and sociolinguistic criteria. Nagata (1997) contributes to this body of evidence, presenting results suggesting that an aspect of cognitive style, field-dependence, may interact with the context in which a sentence is presented to affect judged acceptability. The study reported here examined the field-dependence parameter directly without manipulating the context in which target sentences were presented. Several sentence types involving coordinate structures were used. The types we tested were based on examples such as: *The patients pretended that Eleanor injured themselves and the dietitian.* Earlier work shows that the presence of the coordinate structure greatly improves acceptability of binding theory violations such as this. Statistical analyses of our results detected a reliable difference in the performance of field-dependent and independent subjects bearing on examples such as that above. Field-dependent people rated sentences of this type much higher than did field-independent people, p < 0.02. We tentatively conclude that there are stable differences in the grammatical preferences of field-dependent and field-independent people. We believe, however, that our results reflect differences in the way the two types of individual deploy their grammatical abilities, not in differences in their grammars per se. We will present further evidence bearing on this question.

Megan Crowhurst (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

*Chain shifting & hyperfronted vowels in Sirionó*

This paper presents an OT account of a two-step diachronic chain shift in Sirionó, a Tupí-Guaraní language of the Amazonian region of Bolivia. The vowel inventory of Sirionó, like those of the related languages Guarayú and Guaraní-Chiriguano, contrasts six qualities (abstracting away from nasality and length). The vowels of Guarayú and Guaraní-Chiriguano, /i, e, a, i, o, u/, reflect the vowel inventory of Proto-Guaraní (P-G). The inherited systems are cross-linguistically unmarked, with /i/ representing a high central unrounded vowel. By contrast, the sixth vowel /i/ in Sirionó's inventory /i, i, e, a, o, u/ is highly unusual: /i/ is an extremely fronted, high, close, unrounded vowel with apical friction. Although Sirionó /i/ has no phonetic counterpart in other Tupí-Guaraní languages, comparisons with Guarayú and Guaraní-Chiriguano show that P-G *i > i* and *i > i* in Sirionó. A third related language, Yuquí, shares the P-G *i > i* but not the *i > i* shift with Sirionó, motivating P-G *i > i* as the initial development. Thus, Sirionó presents a classic example of a push chain. Recent works in OT propose analyses of two-step chain shifts in which certain vowels merge with others already present in the system, resulting in neutralization in some environments.
However, these analyses cannot obviously be extended to diachronic chain shifts whose end point is a highly marked new vowel unattested in the original inventory. Based on comparative data, much of it newly elicited from native speakers of Sirionó, Guarayu and Guarani-Chiriguano, this paper develops a diachronic analysis of Sirionó in which reprioritizing a small number of phonological constraints yields the currently attested vowel inventory.

**Megan Crowhurst** (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)  
*Phonological differences between Guaraní-Ava & Guarayu (Tupí Guarani)*

This paper presents a brief comparison of the phonologies of Guaraní-Ava and Guarayu, Tupí-Guaraní languages of eastern Bolivia. Though these languages are closely related, contemporary speakers communicate with difficulty due to lexical, semantic, phonological, and morphological differences. Points of phonological divergence are observed with respect to accent, syllable structure, segmental inventories, and regular sound changes which affect one language but not the other. The data on which this report is based were collected by the author in Camiri, Bolivia, and Ascensión, Bolivia, during the summers of 1996 and 1997. Comparative data from other Tupí-Guaraní languages will be introduced where needed to support claims regarding directions of change.

**Patricia Cukor-Avila** (University of North Texas)  
*(Session 24)*  
*Apparent time, real time, & over time: Approaches to the temporal dimension of language change*

The apparent time construct is the cornerstone of the synchronic approach to language change. The basic assumption is that unless there is evidence to the contrary, differences among generations of adults mirror actual diachronic developments in a language when other factors such as social class are held constant. Recent research (Bailey et al. 1991) confirms the essential validity of apparent time for studying language change; however, this work does not test for the effects of age-grading. The possibility that differences among generations may reflect age-grading, especially when some of the informants involved are preadolescents and adolescents, represents the single greatest problem for the use of apparent time to study linguistic change. This paper confronts the age-grading issue by comparing three kinds of data that bear on the temporal dimension of language change. The data come from African American Vernacular English speakers from the rural community of Springfield, Texas, and include: (1) apparent time evidence from four generations recorded in 1988 and 1992; (2) real time evidence collected in 1987/88 and 1996/97 from preadolescents and adolescents; and (3) longitudinal evidence from five residents interviewed annually from 1988 to 1997. These data show no evidence of age-grading, at least for the features examined. Changes in the vernacular of the preadolescents and adolescents tend to be toward the acquisition of urban vernacular forms; there is no evidence of age-grading involving the loss of vernacular features. The data from the longitudinal study show no change in the vernacular of adults, even in the speech of some who have furthered their education since the start of the study. All three approaches suggest similar inferences about the direction of language change in Springfield -- that is, an encroaching urban vernacular. The changes that appear to be spreading in apparent time are in fact spreading in real time and tend to expand in the vernaculars of preadolescents and adolescents over time.

**Patricia Cukor-Avila** (University of North Texas) & **Guy Bailey** (University of Texas-San Antonio)  
*(Session 28)*  
*The morphology of past tense in AAVE*

Although past tense marking is a widely recognized difference between AAVE and other American vernaculars, few have looked at tense marking in AAVE in any detail (cf. Fasold 1972; Tagliamonte 1991). While Fasold has an exhaustive study of the *t/d* past suffix, little has been written about other kinds of variation in past tense marking. The recent publication of articles on the use of *had*+past as a past tense form suggests, however, that the past tense is an important locus for studying variation in AAVÉ (Cukor-Avila & Bailey 1995, Rickford & Rafal 1996). This paper continues the examination of past tense marking by exploring the historical evolution of past tense morphology in AAVE. Specifically, it looks at the evolution of past suffix deletion, irregular past tense forms, and *had*+ past as a simple past tense form. The data for this examination come from two sources: an ethnolinguistic study of four generations of African Americans in the rural east-central Texas community of Springfield and interviews with former slaves that were mechanically recorded in the 1930s and 1940s. Since several
of the slaves were from near Springville, these data sets give us almost a century and a half of real and apparent time data. Preliminary analysis of these data suggests that: (1) There was more variation in past tense marking in earlier AAVE, in particular with irregular verbs. (2) When coupled with high rates of will/would deletion and zero third person singular, this variation led to a great deal of grammatical ambiguity. (3) The emergence of had+past as a past tense marker after WWII reflects an attempt to resolve some of this grammatical ambiguity.

**Naomi Cull** (University of Toronto)

Onset augmentation in Kisi

In Kisi (Niger Congo), affixation of vowel-initial suffixes potentially creates onsetless syllables resulting in two types of onset augmentation: onset building (consonant epenthesis, OB), triggered by onsetless noun class markers and resyllabification, triggered by V-initial verb suffixes. I analyze the Kisi facts within optimality theory (OT) (Prince & Smolensky 1993) and make the following claims: (1) Following Childs (1988, 1995), I propose that onset augmentation is motivated by prosodic conditions on the morphological categories Stem and Word. (2) OT requires modification of the constraint DEP-IO which must be split into DEP-IO and DEP-Feat to explain segmental and featural epenthesis. (3) The bimoraicity condition on OB is due to the alignment between the rightmost edge of a Prosodic Word and a bimoraic syllable. (4) The augmentation facts do not require a level ordering account as previously argued (Childs 1988, 1995).

**Christopher Culy** (University of Iowa)

Takelma noun incorporation reconsidered

Noun incorporation, in which a nominal element and a verbal element combine to form a verbal lexical unit, has received much attention in the linguistic literature, with Sapir's 1911 article forming the basis of virtually all later work. Types of noun incorporation can be classified according to how close the two elements are bound together (Mithun 1984). One extreme is complete morphophonological unity of the two elements. At the other extreme is separate wordhood of the two elements ('loose' incorporation). Sapir's example of loose incorporation was Takelma, a now extinct language of southern Oregon (Sapir 1922). In this paper I reexamine Takelma and argue that 'incorporation' is not incorporation at all in most cases. In particular, I argue that direct objects are not incorporated. Instrumental nouns may be loosely incorporated, but even here there is some doubt. Modals, which are syntactic clitics and hence not incorporated, occur between the verb stem and the 'incorporated' elements. They thus provide strong evidence against incorporation of the outer elements. For direct objects, there is additional evidence against incorporation. First, the only argument for incorporation of independent nouns is parallelism with noun stems. Second, it is possible to coordinate 'incorporated' stems, when coordination of subword elements is generally impossible. Finally, there is evidence that the 'incorporated' noun stems are not direct objects but locatives. For example, when these stems are possessed, the object marker on the verb corresponds to the possessor, not the noun stem. Furthermore, when the object is clearly not a location, it is not 'incorporated' but occurs as an independent noun. In addition, when an 'incorporation' structure alternates with a nonincorporation structure, the verb in the nonincorporation structure requires an additional locative. One piece of evidence that instruments are loosely incorporated is that incorporated instruments occur with the applicative while nonincorporated ones do not (Sapir 1922, Culy 1997). This reanalysis of Takelma raises an interesting question about noun incorporation. Mithun 1984 states that if a language uses noun incorporation, it will use it for patients, while Takelma seems to incorporate instruments but not patients.

**Christopher Culy** (University of Iowa)

Death of a Takelma applicative

Sapir's 1922 grammar of Takelma describes the verbal suffix -(h)ji, which has some curious properties. While it used to indicate the role of an argument (usually instrument), it does not co-occur with reflexive or third person markers. It is also restricted to certain tenses in some verbs and is optional with other verbs. While Sapir called -(h)ji instrumental, this does not explain the restrictions on its occurrence. I propose that -(h)ji is an applicative which is being reanalyzed as a person marker, which accounts for the dual nature of -(h)j. A variety of evidence, both internal and comparative support the directionality of the change. Not only is this an unusual path of change, it also poses a challenge for any theory which separates derivation (applicative) from inflection (person).
Christiane Cunha de Oliveira (University of Oregon)

Vowel harmony in Baré

In Baré, a Northern Arawakan language of South America, vowel harmony applies within the boundary of prefixes and vowel-initial roots. The four-vowel set of Baré consists of /i, e, a, u/, and the consonant inventory comprises voiceless, aspirated, and voiced segments, in addition to a laryngeal glide. Consonants characterized by supralaryngeal features block vowel harmony, but in the context of the laryngeal glide, the spreading still holds. Vowel harmony appears to be regressive [nu + abi - nabi], merging [bi + abi - bi] or progressive [me + abi - mabi] depending on the prefix used, so that each spreading pattern correlates with a particular group of prefixes, irrespective of their status as pronominal or derivational. The asymmetry of the system rules out an analysis grounded on directionality. An adequate solution for the problem must be based mainly on the active features involved in the process, and the direction of the spreading must be understood, rather, as a consequence of feature underspecification (cf. Steriade 1995). The active features in the harmony system, [-back] and [-high], suffice to characterize the contrasts found in the vowel inventory, and feature spreading from the high and back tiers take place simultaneously and obligatorily, under the appropriate structural conditions (cf. Goldsmith 1990). Although it accounts for the majority of the cases, this analysis fails to account for the phonological behavior of two of the prefixes, which invariably impose the feature specification of their vowel onto that of the root (i.e. dominant morphemes). Notwithstanding the usefulness of the theoretical tools for a synchronic analysis, these exceptions highlight the necessity of historical considerations for an understanding of the problem at hand.

Jun Da (University of Texas-Austin)

The additivity of the focus particle ye in Mandarin Chinese

In Mandarin Chinese, the focus particle ye is used to signal both nonscalar and scalar additivity. In the literature, Chinese linguists tend to treat ye as a polysemy (e.g. Ma 1983, Shen 1983, Zhou 1990), ascribing to it various meanings such as similarity, contrastivity, surprise/unexpectedness, etc. In this paper, I present a formal analysis of the semantics of ye, analyzing it as a monosemery rather than polysemy. I show that its default meaning is to signal simple additivity. I show that both the nonscalar and scalar readings of the particle can be related to focus marking in the sentential context in which it occurs, which include both the location and function of the focused constituent. Specifically, the scalar interpretation associated with ye is brought up when the only focused constituent or the primary focus precedes ye in a sentence and the focus constituent can be interpreted in terms of scales of some property. That is, the scale is context-dependent which forms a partially ordered set. Technically, the scalar and nonscalar interpretation associated with ye can be distinguished with several tests which include the optional insertion of lian (another particle associated with the scalar interpretation of ye), pause between the focused element and the rest of the sentence and the location of the primary focus. In both positive and negative polarity contexts where a scalar interpretation is necessary, ye always has wide scope.

Mary Dalrymple & Ronald M. Kaplan (Xerox PARC/Stanford University)

Resolution of person & gender in coordination

A coordinate noun phrase with a first person conjunct behaves as a first person plural form; analogously, a Hindi or French coordinate noun phrase with a masculine conjunct behaves as a masculine form. These have been termed 'resolution rules' for syntactic features, describing how certain features of conjuncts are 'resolved' in coordination. We propose that the person feature has a complex value which we will represent as a set of more primitive markers. For languages with an inclusive/exclusive first person plural distinction, we propose the feature values given on the left below, where S roughly indicates 'speaker' and H 'hearer'. Assuming that the feature value of the coordinate structure is obtained by taking the union of the person features of the conjuncts makes exactly the correct predictions, as seen on the right:

Features:
1st singular/1st exclusive nonsingular: {S} 1st inclusive nonsingular: {S,H}
1st singular/1st exclusive nonsingular: {S} 1st inclusive nonsingular: {S,H}
2nd: {H} 2nd: {H}
Feature resolution as set union:
{S} (1st sing) {H} (2nd) = {S,H} (1st incl)
{S} (1st sing) {H} (2nd) = {S,H} (1st incl)
{S} (3rd) = {S} (1st excl)
{H} (2nd) {S} (3rd) = {H} (2nd)
Unlike the analysis of Sag et al. (1985), this analysis is successful in predicting resolution patterns involving first person pronouns in such languages. We will also discuss gender resolution, which is more variable cross-linguistically. In particular, languages with more than two genders, such as Iceland and Rumanian, present more complicated resolution patterns. We will show that they can also be handled by treating the complex value of the gender feature as a set, and treating resolution as set union. This approach has a straightforward formulation in the theory of Lexical-Functional Grammar.

Regna Darnell (University of Western Ontario)

Text, discourse, & life history in the Americanist tradition

Native language texts have been the traditional database for Americanist ethnology as well as linguistics. The range of genres is considerable. In a contemporary linguistic anthropology dominated by discourse analysis, the most interesting are life history/personal experience texts, especially those (rare ones) preserved in dialogic form. This paper will examine the traditional text method in relation to present-day needs for linguists and for community members.

Petronila da Silva Tavares (Rice University/Goeldi Museum)

Assimilation & dissimilation in Wayana (Cariban)

Wayana (Cariban) is spoken in northern Brazil. A process of vowel deletion at morpheme boundaries creates consonant clusters, the first element of which then assimilates or dissimilates, depending on the feature composition of the two consonants in the cluster. Consonants with the same point of articulation dissipate unless the first element in the cluster is a sonorant. Thus, in sequences like pp, tt, pm, tn, and tl, the first element changes into h. Sequences like mp, nt, mn, nn, wv, and yv, remain unchanged. In clusters with different points of articulation, the first consonant assimilates either nasality or sonority from the following segment. Thus, the sequences tm and pn change into mn and mn, and the sequences py, pl, tw, and pw change into by, bl, dw, and bw, respectively. The sequences ty and th become d and t respectively. These processes may be accounted for in terms of feature geometry theory. Assimilation is explained as delinking of the place node and assimilation as spreading of a node dominating sonorants (as a consequence the feature [sonorant] is represented as a daughter of the root node). Clusters like mp and d arguably share a place node in the consonantal tier, behaving as semigeminate and affricate, respectively. The fact that glides w and y fail to trigger or undergo dissimilation but behave as consonants with regard to syllable structure leads to discussion of the representation of the place node for vowels and consonants.

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William D. Davies (University of Iowa) & Stanley Dubinsky (University of South Carolina) (Session 13)

Subject positions & the role of EPP features

Movement to subject is traditionally motivated by providing the position with something that NPs need, e.g. case (Chomsky 1981), or by assuming that NPs provide something that the position itself needs, e.g. checking off of a D-feature (Chomsky 1995). In (1), ‘Randie’ raises to matrix subject position to receive case or check off the strong D-features of T. Given this, (2) is unexpected.

1. Randiej appears [t₁ to have turned out [t₁ to be a good waiter]]
2. [CP that Shelby lost it]j appears [t₁ to have turned out [t₁ to be true]]

In (2), the CP must raise (similar facts obtain for PPs, APs, and VPs). Under common assumptions it is not clear why the CP must raise, nor how it can raise, since it cannot receive case and/or lacks the requisite D-feature. In this paper, we show that non-NP subjects exhibit NP-like properties, while non-NP objects do not. In addition to the raising facts, non-NP subjects can also trigger agreement, license the quantificational adverb equally, and be replaced by deictic pronominal forms. Importantly, none of these properties accrue to CPs, PPs, APs, or VPs outside of subject position. Our account for these facts involves providing particular content to the Extended Projection Principle: The EPP reduces to a requirement that the subject, i.e. (Spec,VP) position be endowed with the syntactic feature [number]. When a category filling this position has semantic number, the value of [number] is filled by a straightforward mapping. When it doesn’t, the value is filled by default. As a result, any category generated in subject position must ultimately raise to a position in which [number] can be checked off. This explains the raising observed in (2). This feature also triggers the agreement morphology and licenses equally (through [num:pl]) and nominal proforms. This proposal predicts that non-NP objects cannot exhibit NP-like behavior. For
example, CP complements of unaccusative predicates such as turn out and seem (since they are not generated as subject) will not have [number] and thus cannot raise.

**Anthony Davis** (CY Corporation) & **Jean-Pierre Koenig** (State University of New York-Stony Brook)

*Modal transparency at the syntax-semantics interface*

Lexical entailments form the sole basis for determining the mapping between semantic roles and syntactic arguments in several influential proposals (Dowty 1991). This picture does not account for the ditransitive linking patterns of the verbs in (1), for which there is no entailment of an actual transfer of possession, despite what ditransitive syntax prototypically requires (Pinker (1989), Goldberg (1995).

(1) Burns sent/charged/owed/promised/denied Smithers $10 for the dinner.
(2) Bill had/received/lost/needed too many books.

We propose that each of the verbs in (1) or (2) can be viewed as entailing 'cause to have' or 'have', respectively, modified by modal, temporal, or negation operators. Furthermore, following Kratzer (1981), we assume the particular interpretation of the relevant modal operators varies across verbs. For example, for 'promise', the transfer of possession is necessary, provided possible worlds are reduced to those in which speech acts' sincerity conditions are satisfied; for 'need', possession is necessary for all worlds in which the needs of the prospective possessor are satisfied. To model the distinction between the situational core and its modal or temporal modification, we represent the lexical semantics of verbs with two components: 'modal' propositional operators (including negation and aspectual operators), paraphrasable by ('nt', become', 'possible' ...) and 'situation-core' elements paraphrasable by ('cause, 'have'...). Each component corresponds to a different semantic type. Our hypothesis is that for purposes of mapping from participant roles to syntactic arguments, 'modal' operators are invisible. By distinguishing these two components, our proposal can maintain the elegance of entailment-based theories of linking while covering the patterns in (1)-(2), and others.

**Elizabeth Dayton** (University of Puerto Rico-Mayaguez)

*The done element in African American Vernacular English bedone*

Done and bedone are elements of the African American Vernacular English (AAVE) system of tense, aspect, and modality. Although it is recognized that bedone is 'not a single merger between the meanings of either be or done' (Baugh 1983), the descriptive terms, 'perfect', 'perfective', and 'completive' applied to both forms point toward the conclusion that the semantics of the done element in bedone and done are the same. However, bedone and done show different patterns of co-occurrence with respect to adverbials which support the perfect and the perfective. Thus, this paper proposes that the semantics of the done element in bedone and done are different. The argument is based on the analysis of tokens of done (n=624) and bedone (n=319) collected during four and a half years of participant-observation research in Philadelphia. It builds on the view that done forms an existential perfect and is developing in the direction of perfective aspect (Dayton 1996) while bedone forms a resultative developing in the direction of modality and aspect (Dayton 1997).

**Stella de Bode** (University of California-Los Angeles)

*Interhemispheric language transfer & functional plasticity*

Plasticity is said to underlie any functional reorganization under conditions of early brain damage. This presentation deals with interhemispheric transfer. It is not clear what conditions lead to transfer of language to the right hemisphere, i.e. the age by which such shift is still possible and the extent of damage that may lead to it. I will discuss those conditions through the results of an exhaustive analysis of the existing literature. Based on this analysis I will predict the degree of functional plasticity following left hemispherectomy. I will then present data on language development of 30 left hemispherectomized children and examine them for the age of initial brain damage, location and extent of this damage, and etiology. I will provide a detailed description of linguistic assessment conducted. General implications for neurolinguistics will be discussed.

**Patricia L. Deevy** (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

*A processing account of partial agreement effects*
This paper addresses how and why the relative order of subject and verb affects agreement acceptability judgments in English. As noted in the literature (Morgan 1972, Munn 1993, Sobin 1997), while plural agreement is preferred in declaratives (1), many speakers prefer 'partial agreement' in existentials (2). This is unexpected in any theory which claims that the postcopular DP is the subject for purposes of agreement checking.

(1) a. A man and a woman *was/were in the garden.
   b. There was/were a man and two women in the garden.
   c. There was/were two men and a woman in the garden.

However, new evidence from a questionnaire study shows that partial agreement effects occur more generally. Forty-eight SAE speaking college students rated sentences for acceptability in 3 types of verb-subject order constructions: existentials (1b, 1c), simple inversion (2), and stylistic inversion (3). (Each sentence appeared in 4 conditions: sing/P1 verb and sing/P1 first conjunct.)

(2) Was/Were a hamburger and two sandwiches ordered by table five?
(3) In the driveway was/were two cars and a truck.

There was a significant preference for plural agreement in all constructions; this effect was strongest for simple inversion and weakest for existentials. Judgments also showed a significant preference for an agreeing leftmost conjunct--strongest in existentials, but also present in simple and stylistic inversion. It will be argued here that the specific pattern of judgments is best explained with existing accounts of agreement (Chomsky 1995) and coordination (Munn 1993), in combination with an independently needed processing strategy, the Nearest Licenser Strategy. Alternative accounts which attribute the pattern to universal grammar (Munn, government agreement) and grammar-external rules (Sobin, virus theory) complicate the grammar and fail to account for the experimental data. Neither addresses the typological evidence which suggests that partial agreement is a function of subject/verb order (Corbett 1991). Instead, it will be argued that the processor's pressure to license agreement on the verb systematically impinges on acceptability judgments that, in other cases, are based on grammatical competence alone.

Michel deGraff (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

On children & vs adults in pidginization & creolization: Time machines & other experiments

First, two questions: In circumstances where language acquirers are exposed to PLD that are unstable and (overly) impoverished, are children and adults equally suited to stabilize and structurally enrich such PLD? How does this relate to pidginization and creolization (P/C)? I'd like to speculate on these issues in the light of recent research in P/C, in L1A/L2A (across modalities), and in neurolinguistics (NL). Compared to most P/C studies, certain L1A/L2A 'experiments' tap more reliably into (the capacities underlying) the performances of children and adults engaged in massive restructuring. As of NL, researchers there have recently published some tentative, yet intriguing, results on the (distinct?) neurobiological substrates of child vs adult acquisition. (Taken together, these results may have important epistemological implications for creole-genesis theorists--and for the very use(s) of the term 'genesis'.) It is from the L1A/L2A/NL perspectives that I would like to re-examine the now-familiar, but much debated, contention that, w.r.t creole 'genesis', adults are the primary potential innovators while children are the primary stabilizers. In this view, the latter are the ones most capable of integrating a subset of the former's innovations into emerging stable grammars. In other words, many (most?) of the potential innovations introduced by adults in stressful language-contact situations may not fit into UG-compatible systems, and children would be those who, par excellence, are responsible for restructuring this unstable--pidgin/interlanguage-like--input into 'crystallised', UG-compatible creoles. In evaluating this hypothesis, I'll touch on some aspects of Haitian Creole syntax, especially those that make it typologically distinct from all its major ancestors.

Priska Degrans (University of Aix-Marseille III)

Créolités carabé anglais et francophone: Traduction, transcription, adaptation de l'oeuvre littéraire

Comment transmettre, dans la langue d'accueil (anglaise ou française) la spécificité d'une certaine parole romanesque ou poétique caraïbe? Quels choix de traduction opérer pour restituer la singularité de la parole de l'écrivain mais également son vœu de l'inscrire dans une pratique collective? Comment déterminer et traduire les écarts par rapport à une langue prétendument standard ainsi que les différents niveaux de langue présents dans le texte? De que façon transcrire les marques, parfois peu décelables, de l'oralité caraïbe mais aussi les signes, plus ou moins évidents, d'une spécificité culturelle, parfois hautement revendiquée par les auteurs? Doit-on adjoindre à la traduction un glossar, un lexique, des notes ou une notice explicative sur les choix effectués? Doit-on courir le risque d'une adaption du texte a l'univers
This paper examines the syntactic similarities and differences of Jamaican creole (JC), Sierra Leone Krio (KR), and Nigerian Pidgin (NP) in the light of their interwoven histories. Section I examines the sociohistorical background of JC, KR, and NP, focusing on demographic shifts and the ensuing varieties of linguistic inputs that helped shape these creoles, to determine how JC may have influenced KR and, through it, NP. Section II presents a comparison of the modern JC, KR, and NP verb phrase, including TMA, the copula, passive and negative constructions, adjectival verbs, complementizers and serial verbs. Whenever possible, their features are traced back to the languages spoken by the various groups that came into contact at the time of these creoles' formation and development, with a view to clarifying the diverging claims concerning their genesis. In this process, attention is paid to the influence of substrate and superstrata languages, universals, etc. In conclusion, this analysis suggests that, given the interacting histories of JC, KR, and NP, as well as the similarities of their verb phrase, there is a 'genetic' link, however partial, between these creoles.

Marcela Depiante & David Michaels (University of Connecticut)

On the representation of downstep

This paper is about the phonological representation of tonal register shifts. We focus on data in two of the Oti-Guang languages: Chumburung for downstepped tones and Krachi for upstepped tones. We propose an analysis that requires only one tonal tier, where register shifts are the consequence of a universal operation that merges floating tones to linked tones. The analysis has the consequence of reducing both downstep and upstep in Oti-Guang to downstep and capturing the difference between Chumburung and
Krachi as a parametric difference in the direction of tonal merger. For example, in Chumburung, a floating low tone is merged to the tone to its right. The result of the merger is the modification of the register of a fixed tone by a floating tone while leaving the tonal category as it was. The reduction of upstep in Krachi to downstep in this analysis comes about by assuming that the merger in Krachi is from a floating L tone to its lefthand multiply linked tonal neighbor. Thus, what appears as an upstep of the righthand vowel, in this analysis is the downstep of the lefthand vowels. A significant finding here is that the Oti-Guang languages share a single register shift, downstep, but differ in the direction of Merge.

**Willem J. de Reuse** (University of Northern Texas)  (Session 48)

*Clause conjoining in Western Apache*

In the San Carlos dialect of Western Apache, an Athabaskan language of Arizona, there are five different subordinating enclitics or particles which are used to conjoin clauses: -g o, -dôi', ádôi', -dôa', and ádádôa', all of which are almost always translated as ‘and’. They can be distinguished semantically in terms of the temporal sequencing of the action or state expressed by the main verb with respect to the action or state expressed by the subordinate verb; thus -g o expresses simultaneity between the action or state expressed by the subordinate and main verbs, or at least a measure of overlap; -dôi' expresses overlap; ádôi' expresses a small amount of overlap; -dôa' expresses continuity without overlap, and ádádôa' means that the action or state expressed by the main verb took place some time after the action or state expressed by the subordinate verbs, i.e. there is no overlap, and no continuity. Thus, going from -g o to ádádôa' there is less and less simultaneity and continuity between the action or state expressed by the subordinate verb and the action or state expressed by the main verb. There is, however, some semantic overlap between the meanings of subordinators that are next to each other on the list. There is also a tendency toward iconicity, in that the shorter subordinators (-g o, -dôi') express more continuity between the action or state expressed by the subordinate and main verbs, and the longer subordinators (ádôi', ádádôa') express less continuity.

**Laura Walsh Dickey** (Max Planck Institute-Nijmegen)  (Session 12)

*The processing of tone & pitch accent in Igbo & Japanese*

Detecting segmental cues in the speech stream is usually a matter of detecting the presence or absence of phonetic characteristics. Prosody stands apart in being relative. Prosody is the linguistic manipulation of pitch (F0), loudness (amplitude), and duration. What is unclear is how being relative affects the use of prosodic cues by listeners. This paper reports on a set of studies designed to look at how prosody, and F0 in particular, is made use of in language comprehension. On-line experiments on a pitch accent language, Japanese, and a tone language, Igbo, reveal that the processing of prosody is fundamentally different from the processing of other phonological information. The Igbo data indicate that perception of tone is indeed relative. Speakers need one tone as a baseline by which to judge the identity of following tones. Pitch accent, although acoustically identical to tone, is not used initially in lexical access. The fact that the prosody is F0 does not determine what the processor does with it. This suggests that the use of the F0 contour in the language-specific system, and not perception of F0 itself, is crucial in the processing of prosody.

**Laura Walsh Dickey & Stephen Levinson** (Max Planck Institute-Nijmegen)

*Phonetics of Rossel multiple articulations*

Rossel is a language isolate spoken by about 3,300 people on Rossel Island in the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea. This paper reports on recent phonetic field work done on the vast range of multiply articulated consonants in this language. The focus of this study is on the labial articulations. Rossel (also known as Yele or Yeletnye) has a very large phoneme inventory, containing about 94 contrastive segments, including 56 consonantal phonemes. Labiality is found in Rossel as a primary place of articulation for stops and fricatives, as labialization (which can be coupled with palatalization), and as a point of articulation for double stops (both labiovelar and labiocoronal). The use of the lips in this range of Rossel
contrasts is the central point of the current study. Using aligned video and acoustic data, we were able to measure the timing and type of lip movements which correspond to various labial consonantal types. Our findings reveal an unusually large range of labial constrictions. The four distinctive levels of labiality in Rossel include the rounding of labialization, the approximation of the fricative, the light closure of the labio-coronal oral stops, and the more forceful and slightly rounded closure of plain oral stops and of the nasals.

Michael Walsh Dickey (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
Wietse Vonk (Max Planck Institute-Nijmegen)

*Center-embedded sentences in Dutch: An on-line study*

In a classic study, Bach, Brown, and Marslen-Wilson (1986) had subjects rate the difficulty of center-embedded sentences in Dutch and German in an off-line rating task. Dutch examples are found in (1):

(1) a. Jan *heeft Marie* de buurman *de paarden* helpen leren voeren.

   Jan has Marie the neighbor the horses help teach feed

b. *Marie heeft de buurman de paarden* leren voeren

Parallel to English, Bach et al found a significant 'jump in difficulty' for center-embedded sentences in both languages. This paper presents a self-paced study in Dutch following up Bach et al's findings, exploring a question Bach et al were unable to address in their original study: At what point on-line do doubly center-embedded sentences (1a) become more difficult than singly embedded ones (1b)? Results indicate that the difficulty associated with doubly-embedded sentences like (1a) comes at the final verb of the sentence after the point at which the processor discovers that it is holding more than two clauses in memory at once. These results provide evidence against several theories of processing capacity and overload (e.g. Kimball 1973, Gibson 1991). Instead, they lend support to theories which claim that center-embedded sentences become difficult after it has overrun its memory capacity (e.g. Lewis 1996), when it has thrown some material out of memory and later tried to associate it with other material in the sentence.

Bernhard Diensberg (University of Bayreuth-Germany)

*Teaching American dialects to German students: Problems & issues*

In German-speaking countries (in particular Austria, Switzerland, and Germany itself) 'dialect' (as distinguished from the standard language) refers to rather small areas. As is the case in my native region (Westerwald/Rhineland) two neighboring villages may differ in their respective dialects, especially if they belonged to different principalities (of different religious adherence) before the advent of Napoleon and the unification of Germany. The academic teacher then has to make his students familiar with an altogether different dialect situation in North America (USA and Canada). Undoubtedly, this has consequences for the methodology (selection of informants/communities, data gathering, etc.). The deplorable fact that only a few students are familiar with American English may constitute another obstacle. At high school level British English is still taught as a rule, although at university level both American and British English enjoy equal status. Moreover, even recently published manuals and handbooks dealing with American English and American dialects seem to be rather old-fashioned in their approach. The word lists which misleadingly suggest clear-cut lexical differences between British and American English are still to be found in most handbooks.

Ivy Doak (University of North Texas)

*Nontopic ergative constructions in Coeur d'Alene discourse*

Coeur d'Alene (Southern Interior Salish) transitive constructions consist of a stem followed by a transitivizing sequence and object and subject pronominal suffixes. In sentences based on these transitive constructions, the object and subject may be optionally specified as adjoined structures. Object adjuncts are introduced by a determiner, and subject adjuncts are introduced either by a determiner plus an oblique marker or by an oblique marker alone. In nontopic ergative constructions, the subject pronominal is
replaced by -m/-t, indicating an ergative argument that is third person but may be cross-referenced in an adjoined structure to indicate a subject of any person or number. The structure differs from Salishan topical object constructions, which do not affect subject pronouns. The function of the nontopic ergative construction is to maintain the topic of discourse while introducing or specifying another participant. It is commonly used in reporting conversations and in maintaining the hero as topic in traditional tales and personal adventures.

**Simon Donnelly** (University of Illinois-Urbana/University of the Witwatersrand)

*Locality vs specification: Tone & voice in Phuthi*

Most recent theoretical topology has been underpinned by two principles: locality of tone movement and underspecification of tonal representations (Odden 1995). The result of assuming the latter has been but a single phonologically active tone in most Bantu languages, in almost all cases. Optimal satisfaction of these two principles in the phonology of Phuthi is argued to be impossible unless an active Low tone is employed, with a third inert default pitch: Mid (M). Although this L tone is grounded in the depressed phonation of syllables with breathy voiced onsets (a-d), its function has been extended by the grammar into novel, phonation-independent environments—embedded within the body of H domains (e-g)—requiring an analogous L-extension constraint. The apparent gapped configuration is accounted for by ranking of the conflicting feature expression instructions (L >> H).

(a) [kú-vulélana] to open for one other
(b) [bá-yá-vulélana] they open for one other
(c) [kú-gudzisélana] to help shear for each other
(d) [kú-gudzgelá]nisa to cause to shear indiscriminately for each other
(e) [kú-ladzelí]sana to cause to follow one another
(f) [kú-limagelá]nisa to help cultivate indiscriminately for one another
(g) [kú-patalagelá]nisa to help pay indiscriminately for one another

**Amanda Doran** (University of Texas-Austin)

*Rising glides in Mexican American English*

Mexican American English (MAE) is an ethnic variety of English spoken in many parts of the United States, particularly in the Southwest. Prosody is the aspect of MAE that most noticeably distinguishes it from other varieties of English. Moreover, many Mexican Americans use MAE prosody (or features of MAE prosody) as a way of asserting their ethnic identity and identification with the Mexican American community. However, most phonological studies of MAE have focused on segmental variation. Indeed, Penfield's (1984, 1989) preliminary study of MAE prosody remains the only published study that describes MAE intonation patterns in any detail. Based on data from a talk show, two films, and a documentary supplemented by participant observation among Mexican Americans, I examine the overall phonetic characteristics and the use and function of rising glides, the most salient intonation pattern in MAE. Rising glides are used by speakers to emphasize or highlight specific words and, by extension, specific aspects of a discourse. In highlighting the need for further research on rising glides and other features of MAE prosody, this study reaffirms the importance of continuing to study more firmly established ethnic dialects even as we undertake the investigation of newly emerging ones.

**Ewa Dornisch** (Cornell University)

*A non-operator of wh- phrases in Polish*

Examples such as (1) show that in Polish multiple-wh-questions, wh-phrases other than the first one need to move only as far as the immediate preverbal position:

(1) Co Anna komu poleciła?
   what Anna to-whom recommended
   'What did Anna recommend to whom?'

I argue that the movement of komu 'to whom' is an instance of A'non-operator movement, driven by the wh- feature in the head of an intermediate functional projection (Transitivity Phrase (TrP) (Collins 1996)). I follow Chomsky (1995), Collins (1996), and Citko (1997) in separating the features [Q] and [wh]. I propose that [Q] is in C, while [wh] is in the head of TrP (Tr). Collins's (1996) hypothesis that [Q] is an operator feature, while [wh] is not, is supported by the fact that wh-phrases in the immediate preverbal
position in Polish do not trigger weak crossover effects, but they license parasitic gaps. Lasnik and Stowell (1991) argue that such behavior is characteristic of A'-binders which are not true quantifiers (see also Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, and Cinque 1990 for similar proposals).

Luciana Dourado (Unicamp-Brazil)

Postposition incorporation in Panará

In Panará, a language of the Jé linguistic family spoken in Brazilian Amazonia, there is a set of postpositions that occur normally preceded by object NP functioning as an oblique constituent in the sentence. These postpositions may be incorporated into VPs with either intransitive or transitive verbs. The verb's agreement marks indicate cross-reference to the NP subject and, in the case of transitive verbs, also the cross-reference to the NP object of the postposition. It is the aim of this paper to describe the process of postposition incorporation in Panará. It will be shown that contrary to the existing postulations (Baker 1985) the so called 'aplicative' does not take place in Panará, since with incorporation, there is no change either in the valence of the verb or in the agreement system.

Matthew Dryer (State University of New York-Buffalo)

Preverbs in Kutenai

I argue that Kutenai (a language isolate spoken on the Canada/US border, in the west) has three open classes of words: verbs, nouns, and what I will call 'preverbs'. This third class does not correspond closely to word classes in most other languages, and the choice of name simply reflects their position before the verb. The number of preverbs is well over 200. The range of meanings associated with preverbs in Kutenai corresponds to what are in other languages manner adverbs, temporal adverbs, locative adverbs, adpositions, quantifiers, tense-aspect particles, auxiliary verbs, main verbs, morphemes of associated motion, degree words, negative words, adjectives, and various other categories. While many preverbs are morphologically related to verbs, there are various reasons for concluding that they should not be considered a class of verbs.

Juliet Wai Hong Du & Wing Cheong Lau (University of Texas-Austin)

An integrated syntactic-semantic account of negative clitic mh in Cantonese Chinese

This paper examines the properties of the Cantonese negative morpheme mh in various linguistic environments. Special emphasis is put on the interactions between its inherent semantic properties and its syntactic ones. The Cantonese negative marker mh exhibits some interesting distributional restrictions and semantic differences when occurring in different linguistic environments, e.g. (1) It is incompatible with dak- adverbials, perfective aspect markers. (2) It carries a strong volitional futural connotation when preceding an action verb but never so when preceding a stative verb. Few studies on the Cantonese mh can be found. Several studies on the corresponding negative bu have been done to account for a similar phenomenon. They are limited in several ways. One important drawback is their failure to look into the negative morpheme from a wider perspective taking its meaning differences into consideration. The present study attempts to explain the properties of mh in terms of an integrated syntactic-semantic approach. We argue that the negative marker has two semantic realizations: (1) a neutral negative clitic in stative situations; (2) a volitional negative in nonstative situations. These two realizations are further affected by its syntactic properties: (1) its clitic property, (2) its scope of negation, and (3) its coinciding with the focus of the sentence. It is the interactions among these linguistic properties that give rise to various restrictions and meaning differences.

John A. Dunn (University of Oklahoma)

Some Coast Tsimshian DP's?

This paper examines the use and meaning of the [n], [na] proclitics and prefixes in the adawx performance of a Coast Tsimshian woman, Eliza Ross, born about 1860. The Coast Tsimshian linguist, Gwisg aayn (William Beynon), recorded this performance in the late 1930s for Franz Boas. The usual analysis, that the use of this morpheme shows a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession, or between disconnected and connected association, is too simple. This paper explores the value of considering this
morpheme a determiner head. It also considers each occurrence in Eliza Ross's performance in its linguistic and discourse context.

Carrie J. Dyck (Memorial University of Newfoundland)
Accessing dictionary entries in polysynthetic languages

The morphological characteristics of certain polysynthetic languages pose unique problems both for dictionary makers and users. I focus on user-based problems here, with examples of Cayuga (Iroquoian) verbs. I propose to exploit, among other things, the equation of syllable and morpheme in order to make Cayuga-to-English dictionary entries accessible to naive users. The basic method proposed is a 'loopy' parsing of word-initial (or word-final) sequences. Sequences can consist of either a word-initial syllable or a multisyllabic unit which is unlikely to have more than one morphological parsing in the language (for example, the morphemomorphemic sequence tsha'dega-, which is immediately followed by the verbal stem in Cayuga). Using successively finer-grained look-up tables, these word-initial units then form the basis for isolating a verbal stem. In summary, I propose a method of limited morphological parsing which relies entirely on phonological rather than mixed (including semantic) criteria for the purposes of finding a dictionary entry.

Dirk Elzinga (University of Arizona)
Fronting & palatalization in Shoshoni

In Shoshoni, coronal obstruents participate in two distributional patterns following a front vowel. In fronting, alveolar dental stops alternate; dental stops follow front vowels: sittu 'here', sattu 'there' (-tu 'locative stem'). In palatalization, alveolar and alveo-palatal

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affricates alternate; alveo-palatal affricates follow front vowels: pusiaffsi 'louse', kniffsi 'throat' (-tssi 'absolutive'). These two distributional patterns can be subsumed under the single alternation type laminal/apical based on the observation that obstruents following front vowels--dental stops and alveo-palatal affricates--are produced with the blade of the tongue, while the others are produced with the tongue tip.

Thomas Ernst (Rutgers University)
The scopal basis of adverb licensing

Recent works (e.g. Laenzlinger 1993, Cinque [to appear]) propose that adverbs are licensed by feature-matching with an X head. This paper provides evidence, in the tradition of Jackendoff (1972) and Zubizarreta (1987), that adverbs are primarily licensed rather by matching scope requirements to the semantic type of their LF c-command domain. For example, wisely in (1) requires an event (=refuse the offer but = must have refused the offer, which represents a proposition), so it must follow must:
(1)  Carol (*wisely) must have (wisely) refused the offer.
(2)  Carol wisely has (*probably) refused the offer.
(2) shows (assuming has to be in Infl) that Infl can license wisely, yet (1) is bad with wisely before Infl. Feature theories cannot express this fact and also account for the unacceptability of probably in (2), while scope theories do so by assuming that must and probably represent the 'edge' of proposition, which wisely cannot modify. Feature-based theories claim that the four different occurrences of wisely in (3) are different adverbs, dubiously, or that feature-matching can hold with respect to a range of heads. But this range is predictable from the adverb's independently needed scope properties: Thus, compare (3) with (4), where the manner adverb tightly can only occur within the scope-domain of V, the locus of manner at LF (Ernst 1997). Thus feature-matching adds a redundant mechanism.
(3)  (Wisely), they (wisely) will (wisely) have (wisely) refused to attend the meeting.
(4)  (*Tightly) they (*tightly) will (*tightly) have (tightly) held on to the ledge (tightly).
Adjuncts which do not take scope, such as the PPs in (5), permute freely, unlike the scopal adverbs in (1) and (2). A general, scope-based theory of adverbial modification handles this directly if such phrases add participants to an event variable in an unordered way (Parsons 1990). On a feature theory this freedom, and the contrast with the restricted ordering of scopal adverbs like wisely, is essentially a stipulation.
(5)  Marie fixed the cabinet for her brother in the yard with a screwdriver.
Genevieve Escure (University of Minnesota-Minneapolis)  
*Presentative structures & paratax in Belizean Creole*  

Cognitive functionalist approaches to grammar intend to explain how incoming information is processed in multipropositional (spontaneous) discourse. Anaphoric relations are assumed to signal the continued activation of the topic (Givon 1995). In language systems which are particularly subjected to shifting sociohistorical factors, such as those of creole continua, anchoring mechanisms are predominantly linked to various presentative structures. This paper examines in Belizean varieties several types of grammatical devices traditionally defined as existential structures and presentational relative clauses.

> We just have dat ship comin in here, da: was good because it only spend couple hours, de touris' it just stay couple hours...
> There was somebody having a sandwich.

Such structures, although superficially distinct, are in fact pragmatically analogous, as they deictically identify a theme, so efficiently indeed that subsequent anaphora is often unnecessary (as indicated by a quantitative analysis spanning Belizean lects). Topics deprived of apparent co-indexing are typical of varieties which favor parataxis over a syntax with subordination, an organization called 'topic chains' (Shi 1989; Escure 1997). The theory of topic chains (in which the topic extends its domain to a sequence of several propositions) can help explain the function of complex presentative elements as the grammaticalization of topic-processing structures. Beyond rapidly developing cotinua such as those of creoles, this theory may apply to other languages, including Chinese, and the spontaneous styles of many others.

Genevieve Escure & Portia McClain (University of Minnesota-Minneapolis)  
*Habitual aspect in migrant African American preadolescents in Minneapolis*  

(Session 41)

African Americans have been recently moving in large numbers from Northern urban centers such as Detroit and Chicago to the Twin Cities. (Minneapolis/St. Paul), Minnesota. This rapid demographic change has created serious problems of adjustment, for both the migrant and the host population, because migrant African Americans (AA) have left primarily Black ghetto areas to settle among Midwesterners of German and Scandinavian ancestry who have had little prior exposure to other ethnic groups. This paper investigates the effects of traumatic ethnic interactions on the social and linguistic development of two groups of recently transplanted AA children and preadolescents, age 5-13—the first group ranging from age 4-8, and the second group from 9-13. This analysis focuses on habitual aspect forms, ranging from the unmarked standard English version (habitual present) to the stereotypical preverbal *be* invariant morpheme—often with V+in(g)—and including a zero copula from with V+in(g) and various adverbial forms (e.g. *always, steady, all de time*), accompanying or substituting for any of the above forms, as in:

> When these little white kids out here be like hearin bout North Minneapolis, dey only hear bout shootin an killin not about the good things

Our goal is twofold: first, to document the social and linguistic adaptation of recently displaced children, and secondly, to contribute to solutions that will meet the academic and psychological needs of the AA community (Rickford 1997). Preliminary results indicate that a new mesolect is developing: Young AAE speakers appear to shift phonologically toward Standard English, but to preserve grammatical forms typical of AAE (as based on the habitual variable). The gender variable will also be taken into consideration in evaluating the relative functions and uses of standard and nonstandard variants.

Nigel Fabb (University of Strathclyde)  
*The economy of tense interpretation in Madi (Central Sudanic)*  

In Madi (Central Sudanic), tense is sometimes coded by morphology, and sometimes not. This paper explores how tense can be unambiguously interpreted when it is not morphologically coded; the argument dispenses with a T projection in the language—Lokai and Burulo—differ in the extent to which they code tense. Neither dialect morphologically codes the distinction between present and future, though sentences are usually unambiguously one or the other. Burulo codes the past/nonpast distinction by tonal change on the verb (which is in VØ order), while Lokai does not. Instead, the past/nonpast distinction in Lokai
correlates with VO vs OV word order. Both Burulo and Lokai code the past/nonpast distinction in negative sentences by a choice between two negative particles, in which case the word order distinction in Lokai is lost (VO only). The explanatory problem is to account for the interpretation of tense by mechanisms which take morphological information into account but do not depend on it (since it is often lacking): I present preference rules for interpretation which prefer (in terms of syntactic costliness) present to future, and nonpast to past. This involves showing why some structures are less costly than others. The related structural problem is to explain why VO arises in a head-final language: VO order is driven by a morphological requirement, with the verb driven to attach to the subject prefix.

Alice Faber (Haskins Laboratories)
'Replacement of postvocalic /t/ by glottal stop in New England'

The literature on glottalization of postvocalic voiceless stops in English generally conflates two phenomena: (1) reinforcement of /p t k k/ by an overlapping glottal closure in such words as arctic [aː k k] or pick [p k k], and, (2) replacement of /t/ by [ ] following a stressed vowel and before a syllabic resonant (mitten [m ɪ n ɪ] or word-finally (hit [h ɪ]). Both sorts of glottalization have been observed in dialects of American and British English, but there is little published data about the coordination of laryngeal and supralaryngeal articulation in such sequences. The present paper reports an investigation of type 2 glottalization in 2 Boston-area speakers. Five New Englanders produced a set of S_T and P_T words and pseudo-words in a fixed carrier 'Say ___ again.' The positions of various articulators (tongue tip, tongue body, tongue rear, upper lip, lower lip, and jaw) were monitored via magnetic coils affixed to the articulators; for each utterance, the position of each articulator was recorded in parallel with the acoustic waveform. During data acquisition, it was apparent that 2 speakers systematically replace /t/ in the target words with [ ], an impression subsequently confirmed by the consistent absence of release bursts on the waveforms, the absence of formant transitions towards an alveolar locus on digital spectrograms, and (for 1 speaker) consistent irregularities in the waveform consistent with laryngealization during the end of the vowel. (Of the other 3 speakers, 1 has unambiguous release bursts for virtually all tokens, and 2 show signs of resyllabifying /t/ with the a- of again, producing flaps or [ tʰ].) Inspection of the articulatory data, however, reveals that all 5 speakers produce superficially comparable alveolar closures. Additional investigation will focus on potential differences in the velocity and timing of the alveolar closure as it relates to the percept of [t] vs. [ ]. But the consistent presence in these data of an alveolar closure in utterances perceived to have none supplements observations by Browman & Goldstein (1990) and Kerswill & Wright (1991) that the acoustic effects of some articulatory maneuvers may be obscured by the effects of other maneuvers to the extent that the acoustic signal provides an insufficient record of phonologically relevant phonetic information. [Supported by NIH grant HD-01994.]

Julia S. Falk (Michigan State University) (Session 33)
The American shift from historical to nonhistorical linguistics: E. H. Sturtevant & the first Linguistic Institutes

Of the 29 men who signed the call for the founding of the Linguistic Society of America in 1924, at least 21 were engaged in teaching and research in historical and comparative linguistics. Only 5 were clearly identified with the descriptive and often synchronic studies of Native American languages. The early Linguistic Institutes (LI) represented the historical interests of the majority of LSA leaders and members, with most courses devoted to older languages, their historical development, and comparison. Edgar Howard Sturtevant (1875-1952)--Director of the first four LIs--was in many ways typical of his peers. In 1928, he was professor of linguistics and comparative philology at Yale University, where his initial appointment had been in Greek and Latin. Throughout his career all of his scholarly publications treated the historical side of linguistics. By the mid-1930s, a dramatic shift was taking place in American linguistics, away from these historical interests and toward a focus on synchronic study. The contributions to this shift on the part of Franz Boas, Edward Sapir, and Leonard Bloomfield are well known, but Sturtevant also played a significant part in redirecting the field as he sought to bring the principles of linguistic science to the attention of his colleagues in philology and to free linguistics from the influences of literature, archaeology, history, and culture. His primary strategy was to emphasize speech as the appropriate subject matter of linguistic science, and as an essential element of this strategy he promoted the study of phonetics, preparation in field methods for work on Native American languages, and training in phonetics and field work for research on the dialects of the United States and Canada. Sturtevant's work in these areas was not scholarly, but rather organizational. The courses in these subject areas that he
scheduled for the LIs both reflected and contributed to the shift from historical to nonhistorical that came to characterize American linguistics in the following decades.

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Fred Field (University of Southern California)

Revealing contrasts: Function words & inflectional categories in modern Mexicano & Palenquero

There are a number of similarities between Modern Mexicano (Nahuatl), a mixed language spoken in various regions of Central Mexico, and Palenquero, a Spanish-based creole spoken near the Caribbean coast of Colombia. In each, there is a nearly equal number of Spanish function words. In that function words play pivotal roles in the structural organization of a language, both the mixed language and the creole appear to be held together by Spanish forms. In addition, neither language displays the kind of fusional morphology characteristic of Spanish. Contrasts include vast differences in morphological typology and basic lexicon. Mexicano, a member of the Uto-Aztecan family, is highly synthetic and agglutinating, though it has lost much of its original polysynthetic and incorporating character. While some 60% of its lexical items (in speech) are said to come from Spanish, only about 20% of its core items do; the remaining 80% are original, ancestral forms. Palenquero is much more isolating-analytical by comparison; however, the vast majority of its lexicon is Spanish, including 100% of its core. The current paper proposes that the lack of Spanish inflectional morphology in each results from two distinct processes: In Palenquero, it is at least in part the consequence of the relative learning difficulty of Spanish fusional morphology; in Mexicano, the same social processes that act to preserve Nahuatl core vocabulary items operate to maintain original inflectional morphology. The examination of semantic and formal differences between function words (that express types of meanings common to all languages) and markers of inflectional categories (that are language particular and highly idiosyncratic) in these languages may shed light on processes of creolization and language change.

Hana Filip (University of Rochester)

The quantization puzzle

In this talk I will explore two classes of Russian predicates that do not seem to be quantized and yet exhibit certain syntactic and semantic properties that only perfective predicates have, e.g. future reference in the present tense and incompatibility with the future auxiliary, among others. Examples are:

(1) a. PO-gulját'(pf) 'to walk for a (short) while'
   b. NA-gulját'sja(pf) 'to walk for a long time', 'to walk often', 'to walk to one's heart's content'
(2) NA-brát'(pf)grybov 'to pick a lot of/many/a (large) quantity of 'mushrooms'

The problem is that PO- predicates are divisive but not cumulative, and NA- predicates are cumulative but not divisive in the strict sense. Hence, they challenge the current characterizations of the categories 'perfectivity' (cf. Krifka 1992:50) and 'quantization' (Bach 1981, Krifka 1986-97), and the common assumption that all the perfective verbs are quantized (Krifka 1992:50, and others). Such data have puzzled many linguists, most recently Kiparsky (1997), and no satisfactory solution has been provided for them. I propose that NA- and PO- denote a two-place relation between maximal separated entities x of type P (cf. Krifka 1997) and some contextually determined expectation standard s, whereby the quantity of x exceeds s for NA- and is lower than s for PO-, NA-, and PO- predicates are not quantized in the strict sense, but rather they introduce a measure function over events, as in (1), or individuals, as in (2). Two main arguments support this proposal: (1) NA- and PO- predicates freely co-occur only with vague adverval quantifiers specifying the measure function introduced by NA- and PO-; (2) if the maximal separated entity x is taken from the denotation domain of nominal predicates, it must be introduced by a bare mass/plural incremental theme NP (cf. Dowty 1988, 1991). Due to its property of event-to-object mapping (see Krifka 1986-92), such an NP denotes some quantity of x, roughly, a maximal participant with NA-, and a minimal participant with PO-. Crucially, such bare mass/plural incremental theme NPs do not behave like quantized NPs, for example, referential identity is not required between them and anaphoric pronouns, and they have a narrow scope with respect to negation (cf. Carlson 1977).

Malcolm Finney (Carleton University)

The status of /se/ in Krio: Verb or complement?
The complementizer /se/ in Krio is apparently obligatorily overt even in constructions involving an extracted embedded subject. This is in violation of the that-trace filter if /se/ is analyzed as a complementizer even though Krio cannot be classified with languages that allow that-trace effects (i.e. Pro-drop Romance languages). I argue for two homophonic lexical items—a verb and a complementizer—and a process of haplology when both items co-occur. I propose an underlying structure containing the verb /se/, as a serial verb followed by the complementizer /se/, and haplology deletes the complementizer. The deletion of the complementizer verb /se/, as a serial verb followed by the complementizer /se/, and haplology deletes the complementizer. The deletion of the complementizer results in the embedded subject trace being properly governed by the verb /se/.

**Stephen Fix** (Northwestern University)

*Pragmatic constraint on the use of exclamative sentences*

Exclamatives are sentences which take the form of (1).

(1) A good speaker, Bill Clinton.

Exclamatives are structurally similar to right dislocations (Ziv 1994) and may appear to be reduced right dislocations. While a reduction analysis suffices for some exclamatives, I show that the use of exclamatives is in fact a form of postposing and is governed by a stricter set of constraints than the use of right dislocations. Specifically, the utterance-initial predicate in exclamative sentences must be evaluative in nature. The noun phrase which is postposed in exclamatives is constrained by its information status. Generally, the postposed material must be discourse-old. However, information which is hearer-old, discourse-new may be admissible if preceded by a demonstrative. The use of a demonstrative allows discourse-new, hearer-old material to be treated as discourse-old. It thus facilitates pragmatic accommodation in a manner similar to that discussed for other types of postposing in Birner and Ward (to appear).

**Beverly Olson Flanigan** (Ohio State University)  (**Session 29**)

*Complementizer variation in American English: Overt, covert, & pleonastic*

Complementizers in American English presumably reflect usages from the variational English of earlier periods and different regions of both England and America. In an earlier survey of dialect awareness, I discovered a frequent use of 'all's' (< all aa=all that), for example, as well as of zero COMP (as in 'He knows to do it' and 'The dog wants out') and pleonastic (or doubled) COMP (as in 'I felt like that I should go'). Some COMP forms resemble prepositions, locatives, and even 'to be' verbs; thus, 'It seems as if/as/like/that/like that/to be the case that/is/where/zero + complement' are all possible. With infinitive clauses, however, generalized ellipsis sometimes occurs: 'He wants to do it' generalizes to 'He knows (that he ought) to do it' and 'The dog wants (to go) out'. The question of acceptability, as well as understanding, of such reduced or redundant structures is the focus of this paper. A grammaticality judgment task containing examples of different complementizer types was given to college students representing all regions of the U.S.; respondents were asked to indicate personal use, acceptance of grammaticality, or rejection of each form and then to write a paraphrase of each sentence. Results are analyzed for grammatical and dialectal variation as well as for interpretation of sentence meaning.

**Suzanne Flynn** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), **Claire Foley** (Morehead State University), **Barbara Lust** (Cornell University), & **Gita Martohardjono** (Queens College-City University of New York)

*Mapping from the initial to the final state: UG at the interface in L1 & L2 acquisition*

A traditional question in acquisition research: Does the adult L2 learner access the 'initial-state' (UG), as does the child L1 learner? A more interesting question might be: Does UG essentially map from an initial state to a final state in the same way in both L1 and L2 learning? This paper presents results from three studies that indicate that child L1 and adult L2 acquisition both share the initial language competence and map equivalently to the target language. The experiments include results from studies of: (1) adult native speakers of English placed under performance constraints and tested on their production of sentences with structural variation that indicate native speakers deficient production comparable to L2 learners; (2) matched groups of adult and child Japanese native speakers acquiring ESL that indicate equivalent
performance by child and adult L2 learners on multiple clause topicalizations except for factors of distance; (3) a developmental commonality between L1 and L2 acquisition for the priority of 'free' relatives before lexically headed ones. Taken together these results suggest a redefinition of both 'initial' and 'final' states be applied equivalently to both child L1 and adult L2 acquisition and that the only levels of representation are interface levels suggested by a theory of 'minimalism'.

Carmen Fought (University of California-Santa Barbara)
*The role of the sex/social class interaction in Chicano Spanish*

There have been several recent discussions of the importance of the sex/social class interaction in terms of its effect on sound changes (e.g. Eckert 1989, Labov 1990). This study finds that the sex/social class interaction has an effect not only at the level of sociolinguistic variation but also with respect to language acquisition and maintenance, at least in some populations. It also disproves conclusively the commonly found claim that children who begin learning a second language from birth will normally grow up to speak that language in a native-like manner, given sufficient and continuing input (cf. Strozer 1994). Spanish fluency was determined by an experiment in which native Spanish speakers rated short segments of the young adults' speech. Both language-related factors (such as whether or not the parents spoke English) and demographic factors (such as social class) were included in a generalized linear model with degree of Spanish fluency as the dependent variable. While no single demographic factor showed a significant correlation with fluency, the interaction of sex and social class did emerge as statistically significant. Interestingly, in a previous study of sociolinguistic variation in English among this same group of speakers, the interaction of sex and social class (along with a third factor, gang status) was also significantly correlated with the linguistic variables. This finding is crucial because it implies that studies which have attempted to model second language acquisition and similar phenomena without including interactions of social factors may have missed significant effects. Some possible explanations will be proposed for why the interaction patterns as it does with respect to Spanish fluency for the Chicano speakers.

John Fought (University of Pennsylvania)  (Session 56)
*Cholan pronouns, Mayan subgrouping, & methods of reconstruction*

Chorti and the other Cholan languages are widely believed to have had an important role in the evolution of Mayan hieroglyphic writing, implying a special importance for the ongoing process of its decipherment. Robertson (1992) offered a new subgrouping of the Mayan languages as one illustration of the operation of his deductive principles of language change. His proposed subgrouping differs in part from previous ones (e.g. McQuown 1956, Kaufman 1974) in placing Colonial Cholti, attested ca. 1695, as the ancestor of modern Chorti, based on the absence from Cholti (as predicted by Robertson's theory) of a third set of personal pronouns found in modern Chorti alone among Mayan languages. This paper assembles forms from the 1695 Cholti manuscript which clearly do contain 62 occurrences of the third set of pronouns, some already cited in publications before 1990. It then considers the implications of these forms for for Robertson's and others' proposed subgroupings, reviewing them in the light of some key sound correspondences and obvious analogical patterns in the pronoun systems. Finally, some observations are offered on the handling of early manuscript evidence.

Bruna Franchetto (Federal University-Rio de Janiero)
*Prosody & dialect distinctions in the Upper Xingu Carib language*

Speakers of Kuikuro and Kalapalo, two dialects of the Upper Xingu Carib language of Central Brazil, characterize the opposition between their dialects in terms of rhythmic-melodic distinctions. The aims of this paper are: (1) based on acoustic analysis of suprasegments, to identify the prosodic phenomena responsible for the perception inspiring native metalinguistic categories (pitch, intensity, duration); and (2) to analyze the rhythmic structures of the two dialects through the construction of prosodic constituents.

Stefan Frisch & Richard Wright (Indiana University)
*Implications of featural & subfeatural errors in speech production*
Phonological speech errors are a traditional source of evidence for phonological units like features and segments in both phonological and psycholinguistic theory. Assumptions about the unitary nature of speech errors have been brought into question by research that found evidence for subfeatural errors in speech production (Mowrey & MacKay 1990). Based on an articulatory study of speech errors, Mowrey and MacKay conclude that speech errors occur on a continuum of muscular activation, and that segmental errors are just the extreme cases which are perceptually anomalous. However, they analyzed electromyographic data from single muscles and thus were unable to determine whether single muscle activations occurred independently, or as part of larger gestural units. This paper examines the unitary nature of speech production acoustically. We find evidence for both featural and subfeatural errors in speech production. Our results support a model of speech production which organizes individual gestural units into gestural constellations (e.g. Saltzman & Munhall 1991). More generally, it supports a theory of linguistic knowledge which includes noncontrastive phonetic units (e.g. Browman & Goldstein 1990, Steriade 1996). [This work supported by NIH Training Grant DC 00012 to Indiana University.]

**Stefan Frisch & Bushra Adnan Zawaydeh** (Indiana University)

*The psychological reality of phonotactic constraints*

Generative and connectionist approaches to linguistic knowledge make different claims about the psychological reality of linguistic constraints. In distributed connectionist models, constraints are emergent properties of the set of lexical items and do not exist as mental entities. In formal generative grammar, constraints (or rules) are the core of linguistic knowledge, and knowledge about individual lexical items is restricted to idiosyncratic information. This paper provides support for the generative approach based on three experiments testing the psychological reality of a highly abstract phonotactic constraint within the Arabic verbal roots (OCP-Place). These experiments also provide converging evidence on the analysis of Arabic phonotactics by confirming the conclusions of previous dictionary studies (McCarthy 1994, Pierrehumbert 1993, Frisch 1996). In our experiments, 30 native speakers of Arabic living in Amman, Jordan, rated nonverbs which were presented orthographically on a 1-7 scale (1 = impossible, 7 = sounds just like a verb of Arabic). Patterns from the dictionary studies were reflected in subjects' acceptability judgments of constraint violations, demonstrating the validity of these studies. In addition, constraint violations were rated less acceptable than control nonviolations. The difference between constraint violations and controls was not in the type frequency of consonants and consonant pairs involved, but instead a difference between a linguistically systematic and an accidental gap in the lexicon. In other words, the abstract constraint is psychologically real. [This work supported by NIH Training Grant DC 00012 to Indiana University and an Indiana University Grant-in-aid of Research.]

**Janet M. Fuller** (Southern Illinois University-Carbondale)

*Er hat uns gesaved van unser sins*: *Past participial marking in Pennsylvania German*

On issue in the study of Pennsylvania German (PG), an American German dialect, is the role of English in linguistic change. These data from PG speakers from the Midwest show variation in past participial marking which indicates that English verbal morphology is appearing in PG, a sign of structural convergence toward English. There are two types of past participles which are formed with English-origin verbs in PG: full English participles (e.g. *mir warre delivered* 'we were delivered') and English stems with German participial morphology (e.g. *Ich war gebaptized dat* 'I was baptized there'). Sixty percent of the full English participles fit the requirements for reanalysis as German nonseparable prefix verbs; i.e. they have a first syllable which could be interpreted as a prefix and a final alveolar stop (e.g. *re-model-ed, en-joy-ed*). However, 40% of the full English participles in this PG corpus do not allow this analysis. Some of these English-origin verbs appear in both full English participles and with German morphology (e.g. *Mei dad hat net farmed* 'My dad didn't farm' and *mir ham bout three years gefarnt* 'We farmed for about three years'). This variation is even more indicative of convergent changes in PG when compared to the patterns in participial formation in German/English codeswitching data, which represent an earlier phase of German/English language contact. In the codeswitching data, the only verbs which occur as full English participles have phonological forms which allow them to be interpreted as German nonseparable prefix verbs. Thus the variation in the PG data is posited to be a sign of the dialect's convergence to English.
Judith W. Fuller (Gustavus Adolphus College)

*Searching for Standard American English*

According to standard grammar, *lie* is an intransitive verb, as in 'I'm going to lie down', while *lay* is a transitive verb, as in 'I'm going to lay the baby in her crib'. Twentieth century dictionaries of American English reflect these distinctions, citing intransitive *lay* as 'illiterate', 'nonstandard', and 'incorrect'. Careful listening to American speakers, however, shows that the situation has gone rather beyond this assessment: College professors, even in English departments, say 'I'm going to lay down', and whole classes of students in college composition courses have never heard of the distinction. These discrepancies indicate a gap in our knowledge and assessment of the actual usage of educated native speakers, the population that is the foundation of the designation 'Standard English'. This study addresses this gap with an examination of the speech and intuitions of Minnesota speakers about the *lie-lay* distinction, using data from both natural conversations and elicited judgments. Results indicate the extent of the gap between the dictionary standard and actual usage. Preliminary data suggest that for Minnesota undergraduates the two verbs are not distinct in some constructions, that some constructions are obsolete, and that the corrections made in sentences the respondents indicated they would never say suggest ways in which the two verbs have partially fallen together. Possible reasons for these findings include historical, structural, and semantic factors.

Diamandis Gafos (Haskins Laboratories/Yale University)

*Consonant harmony: An articulatory & perceptual account*

This paper presents the results of a cross-linguistic survey of consonant harmony (CH), a process of assimilation which affects sequences of noncontiguous consonants in a similar fashion to vowel harmony. The first show that the sounds which participate in CH form a well circumscribed subset of the coronal sounds of each language. Then, I present an articulatory and perceptual explanation which accounts for the observed cross-linguistic properties of CH. Specifically, an examination of 15 languages with CH reveals that the sounds which participate in the assimilation are articulated with the tongue tip and blade at the dental, alveolar, or postalveolar zones. Why is it that only these sounds participate in CH? I propose that these factors are involved in the apparent restriction of CH to coronal sounds. First, the tip and the blade are articulatorily independent from the dorsum, with which vowels are articulated. Thus, the tip/blade configuration can be maintained during the production of an intervening vowel. The consonantal constriction itself, of course, cannot be maintained, because, if it were, it would obscure the production of the vowel. This explains why Dorsal CH is never found. The dorsum is the major articulator involved in the production of vowels, and thus maintaining its position during the production of an intervening vowel is impossible (without affecting the vowel). The second factor involved in the apparent restriction of CH to coronals is that the precise configuration of the tip/blade gesture has no perceptual effect on the vowel. This explains why Labial CH is never found although the lips are more articulatorily independent from the dorsum than the tip/blade combination. A Labial CH would impose a labial gesture on the intervening vowel, which directly affects the perception of the vowel.

Paul Garrett (New York University)

*An 'English Creole' that isn't: On the origins of St. Lucian English lexicon vernacular*

In St. Lucia, contact between Kwéyòl (a French-lexified creole) and English has given rise to a St. Lucian English-lexicon vernacular (SLEV)--a restructured language variety that has an English lexicon, but is much more similar grammatically to Kwéyòl than to standard English. Though not a creole at all in the usual sense, this vernacular resembles English-lexified creoles spoken elsewhere in the Caribbean. Scholars who have acknowledged in passing this language variety's existence have in most cases called it an 'English creole' and assumed it to be a transplanted CEC variety. But there is little demographic or sociohistorical evidence to support this. More important, this explanation of SLEV's origin ignores the fact that SLEV emerged primarily through the acquisition of English as a second language by speakers of Kwéyòl with limited access to English. The question of SLEV's origins will be approached from two angles: through consideration of demographic and sociolinguistic/sociohistorical factors and through an overview of the SLEV tense-aspect system. It will be demonstrated that SLEV is in key respects more similar to Kwéyòl than to CEC; that SLEV's tense-aspect system directly reflects that of Kwéyòl; and that surface similarities between SLEV and CEC are in fact pan-creole similarities, as readily attributable to Kwéyòl as to CEC. It will be concluded that while some CEC influence can be identified in SLEV today (especially among urban
This paper represents the introduction to the symposium, 'Pidgin and Creole Linguistics in the 21st Century: Essays at Millennium's End'. Questions to be raised will include the following: (1) What part will the discipline of pidgin and creole linguistics play in future social planning and educational planning? (2) What will be the future role of applied pidgin and creole linguistics vis-a-vis more theoretical work? (3) Will the rapidly accumulating field data and historical data that we can expect from future research better define the role of substrata (versus universals) in creole genesis? (4) What part will universalist theories retain in 21st-century pidgin and creole linguistics? (5) Will the typology (language grouping) of creoles ultimately lead them more strongly to their constituent languages, or will it link them more strongly to each other? I see both the symposium and the published proceedings as consisting of predictions, directions, (and maybe admonitions) for the science of pidgin and creole linguistics. Thus, contributions would presumably de-emphasize narrowly-focused viewpoints, with correspondingly greater emphasis on considerations and opinions of a more global nature, incorporating supporting data as the authors choose to use them, in the light of the authors' experience and expectations. Many of the columnists in JPCL, for example, have followed this avenue of approach.

Spike Gildea (Rice University)

Innovative progressive & imperfective aspects in some Cariban languages

This paper considers two issues: (1) What is the source of innovative progressive/imperfective constructions in certain Cariban languages? (2) How can we know that syntactic reanalysis has actually taken place in these cases? In Panare, Makushi, Pemon, and Kapon, the etymological source of the new progressive is split: For intransitives, the verb bears the infinitive suffix *-no, followed by the postposition *poko on and an optional copula which agrees with the S; for transitives, the O NP or proclitic comes first (historically as possessor of the following nominalized verb), the verb bears the action nominalizing suffix *ni followed by the same postposition *poko and the copula, which agrees with the A. In the Apalai progressive/imperfective the etymology is arguably the same, but analogical levelling has resulted in a single morphological form for both transitive and intransitive verbs: - ~ko/-noko (the allomorphy being phonologically conditioned). Evidence for the prelevelling form in transitive verbs comes from the irregular plural form of the progressive/imperfective. In the Kaxuyana progressive/imperfective, the transitive form has undergone extensive phonological erosion, but as for Apalai, the irregular plural form demonstrates the common pan-Cariban etymology. However, the innovative intransitive progressive/imperfective in Kaxuyana is unique in being formed directly from the action nominalizer, without the additional postposition or copula. Both discourse distributional and syntactic evidence argue for reanalysis in Panare; in Apalai and Kaxuyana, discourse distributional and morphological evidence argue for reanalysis; at this point, all such evidence is lacking in Makushi, Pemon, and Kapon, leaving the syntactic status of the innovative progressive construction in doubt.

Ives Goddard (Smithsonian Institution)

The sources of plural markers in Arapaho & Cheyenne

Arapaho and Cheyenne have both undergone extensive phonological change from Proto-Algonquian. Although their morphologies have also innovated extensively, the history of almost all inflectional forms can be traced. This paper surveys the pluralization devices in the verbal paradigms of the two languages with respect to their various types of origin. These innovations give insight into the mechanisms by which important morphological distinctions are maintained in contexts of extensive historical innovation. Of particular interest are cases in which the new plural morphemes have been formed from historical complex morpheme sequences that included material with other original functions.

Svetlana Godjevac (Ohio State University) (Session 12)

Realization of Serbo-Croatian lexical tones in sentential contexts
Serbo-Croatian (SC) is a pitch-accent language. Standard analyses (Browne & McCawley 1965, Inkelas & Zec 1988 [I&Z], Lehiste & Ivic 1986 [L&I], Kostic 1983, Stevanovic 1989, inter alia) recognize four different types of accents: short (') and long (´) falling and short (') and long (´) rising. This paper presents a surface tone analysis of these accent types in three different broad-focus declarative sentential environments, based on the instrumental analysis of recorded utterances by seven native speakers. My analysis argues for three main innovations over the cited analyses: an L word-boundary tone, bitonal accents for which the trailing tone is unassociated, and no neutralization of the lexical accents in sentence final position. Within a declarative broad focus utterance of a sentence, the accents are realized differently in discourse initial, medial, and final positions. The discourse initial position is marked by a super H target of the lexical H tone. I&Z interpret the previous instrumental literature (e.g. L&I) as indicating neutralization of accent contrast in final position, which they account for by insertion of L tone which overrides the accent tones. Current data suggest instead super reduction of pitch range utterance in final position over and on top of the reduction of the downstep. One reason a refined picture of SC word tone is important is because it serves as the foundation of a study of the interaction of such intonational effects as downstep with syntactic scrambling and focus constructions.

Victor Golla (Humboldt State University/University of California-Davis) (Se:
An old borrowing for 'copper, knife' in North America

A root of the general shape we/as or me/as is found in several North American languages with the meaning 'copper) knife, (copper) metal'. It can be reconstructed in Proto-Athabaskan, Proto-Tsimshianic, and Proto-Siouan, and possibly in Proto-Algonquian. Related forms in some Iroquoian languages appear to be more recent and are probably borrowings from Siouan or Algonquian. The root may also occur in Klamath-Modom and Maiduan, although these are more likely to be chance resemblances. Since cold-hammered copper was widely diffused in North America, the occurrence of such a Wanderwort is not totally unexpected. More surprising is the striking resemblance of this form to a Proto-Uralic word for 'copper, metal', and similar words in some other languages of Eurasia.

Evgeniy Golovko (Institute for Linguistic Research-St. Petersburg, Russia) (Se:
Language contact in the Bering Strait area

The paper discusses four contact-induced language varieties which, supposedly, were used by the natives of the Bering Strait area to communicate among themselves and with Euro-American newcomers: (1) an Eskimo-based pidgin/jargon; (2) a Chukchi-based pidgin/jargon; (3) a whalers’ pidgin ('nautical jargon'); (4) a Russian-based pidgin/jargon. The data stem from old word lists, historical sources, linguistic analyses of modern languages of the area, as well as from interviews collected during recent fieldtrips. In connection with contact-induced language varieties of the Bering Strait area, problems of linguistic terminology (pidgin vs jargon) will be discussed.

Chris Golston (California State University-Fresno) (Session 8)
Feature geometry is syllable geometry

Most current theories of phonology have a segmental level between features and syllables. I argue that this keeps us from understanding a range of markedness phenomena. The least marked syllables across languages are those with:

(1) One Laryngeal, Place, Manner feature per Onset marked sda, pka, pfa
(2) One Laryngeal, Place, Manner feature per Nucleus marked taa, tau, taã
(3) One Laryngeal, Place, Manner feature per Coda marked azt, apk, apf

Models with segments and syllables must get this by stipulating that unmarked segments have one L, P or manner feature and that unmarked onsets, nuclei, and codas are monosegmental. They also fail to account for the fact that two-segment onsets, nuclei, and codas rarely have 2 laryngeal features, 2 place features, and 2 manner features. I propose that manner features and the LARYNGEAL and PLACE nodes associate directly to onset, nucleus, and coda, with no intervening segmental layer. Deviations from (1-3) have branching L or P nodes or multiple manner features but no segments: [sz] has a branching laryngeal node but is otherwise unmarked; [mb] involves 2 manner features but is otherwise unmarked; [pk] involves 2 places but is otherwise unmarked. The proposal essentially embeds McCarthy's (1988) feature geometry
directly under onset, nucleus, and coda, doing away with the segmental level. 'Simple' onsets are characterized as having no branching L or P nodes and at most one manner node. More complex onsets have branching L nodes [sz], branching P nodes [kt], or multiple manners (ts). The proposed representation makes more accurate predictions than segmental theories and lends support to the claim that segments don't exist (Archangeli & Pulleyblank 1994, Golston & van der Hulst to appear).

Chris Golston (California State University-Fresno) & Tomas Riad (Stockholm University)

Iambic pentameter is neither

Traditional treatments of English pentameter analyze it as 5 syllabic iambs, despite the fact that syllabic iambs are either highly marked (Kager 1993) or completely impossible (Hayes 1995) in human language. We show that there are 10 feet rather than 5 and that the feet are uniformly trochaic rather than iambic (cf. Hanson & Kiparsky 1996). Contra Hanson & Kiparsky, however, we show that the moraic trochees must include degenerate feet (L) and do not require resolved feet (LH). The same applies for the phonology of English, which requires degenerate feet (Kiparsky 1979, Nespor & Vogel 1986). A metrical position is thus filled by L, H, or LL, as Golston & Riad have shown for a number of meters in Greek, Arabic, Old and Middle English (1995, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c). Contra Kiparsky 1977, we show that Shakespeare allows 'strong syllables in weak positions' phrase medially:

My cousin Warwick? No, my fair cousin. [Henry V, 4.3.19]
With distinct breath and consigned kisses to them [Troilus, 4.4.47]
Weeds among weeds, or flowers with flowers gathered [Sonnet 124.4]
In pursuit of the thing she would have stay [Sonnet 143.4]
Harless Richard was murdered traitoriously[2 Henry 6,2.2.27]

The meter of Shakespeare thus requires no reference to strong or weak positions in the text or in the metrical parse. The canonical (but not exceptionless) iambic pattern of stress in pentameter is shown to result from avoidance of rhythmic constraints that have nothing to do with footing: Clash (*xx), Lapse (*x..), and Moraic Lapse (*x.) (Kager 1993). Iambic feet (x) emerge as the best possibility given these constraints: Iambic rhythm in Shakespeare and elsewhere is thus emergent and not a property of feet.

Elsa Gomez-Imbert (CNRS-Paris)

Prosodic structure & segmental processes in Barasana (Eastern Tukanoan)

Prosodic minimality plays an important role in Barasana, an Eastern Tukanoan language from the Northwest Amazon. The sensibility to prosodic structure is shown by the most salient segmental processes, which involve vowel gemination, consonantal fusion and vowel epenthesis. Some lexical entries, interpreted as having latent segments, surface as either monomoraic or bimoraic, depending on the moraic structure of the constituent which follows into the word. If the constituent to the right is bimoraic, gemination is triggered when the latent segment is a vowel, and an epenthetically inserted i vowel is when it is a consonant (always an anterior coronal). If this constituent is a monomoraic CV suffix, there is a consonantal fusion between the final latent consonant and the initial C of the suffix. By these processes, a kind of moraic harmony between adjacent constituents is reached. Vowel gemination is also triggered by a few underlying monomoraic roots when they constitute a word. Prosodic templates are defined in terms of one authentic unit of prosody: the mora. The root standard template is bimoraic and, as expected, the minimal word is bimoraic, too. The Barasana phonology and morphology interaction can only be understood in terms of sensibility to moraic constituency.

Hebe Gonzalez (DDL-MRASH)

Phonetic aspects of Araona

Araona is a language of the Takana family spoken today by no more than 80 people in an isolated community of the NW of Bolivia. The data were gathered in the process of an alphabet workshop for literacy purposes in August 1996. The documentation of this endangered language includes the study of some of its most striking phonetic aspects. The SounDesigner software was used to record the sounds studied, and Signalyze was used to produce the spectrograms. The sounds considered were the preaspirated unvoiced consonants, a relatively rare phenomenon, and the prenasalized voiced consonants better known in that region of the world but not previously identified for this language.
Phonetic duration is one of the primary acoustic cues of the traditional tense/lax vowel distinction in English. Recent phonological analyses (Hammond 1997, Rubach 1996) characterize the contrast between tense [i] and lax [ ]; tense [u] and lax [U], and other pairs, as a ‘long’ or bimoraic versus a ‘short’ or monomoraic distinction accompanied by quality differences. Further, it is the dimension of weight or length that is proposed to be manipulated in patterns of vowel shortening and reduction. We summarize here the results of a phonetic analysis of monosyllabic English words closed with a single voiceless consonant and containing tense/lax vowel pairs such as seat [i] vs sit [ ]. Within a single speaker, the durational differences within each vowel pair, e.g. [i] vs [ ], are significant (in a two-tail t-test). However, duration and formant frequencies vary significantly from speaker to speaker. Nevertheless, the durational difference between the tense and lax vowels is remarkably similar across speakers: For all nonlow, tense/lax vowel pairs, a durational difference of approximately 20 to 30 milliseconds is found for the speakers analyzed in this study. Vowels which are not contrastively paired, e.g. [ , æ, a], are, however, generally longer than tense/lax vowel pairs and also show a relatively small durational range within speakers. The total vowel duration as well as the durational differences in English are smaller than those reported for languages with vowels contrasting solely in length. If the tense/lax distinction in English corresponds to more count, then English exemplifies a more subtle mora to time relationship as well as the interaction of both phonetic duration and quality with phonological length.

Matthew Gordon (University of California-Los Angeles)

Syllable weight as a function of processes: The case of contour tones

Different processes within the same language may display different weight criteria, e.g. only long vowels are heavy for stress in Khalkha, but the minimal word is CVC (Bosson 1964). Such weight mismatches raise the possibility that weight is primarily a property of processes rather than languages. A case in point is restrictions on contour tones which in many languages are tolerated only on certain syllable types, e.g. only long vowels in Tubu (Lukas 1953). Such restrictions are typically analyzed by representing contours as sequences and allowing only heavy syllables to host two autosegments (Hyman 1985). A survey of 51 diverse tone languages indicates an implicational hierarchy. Languages which allow contour tones on open syllables containing short vowels (CV) also allow contours on closed syllables (CVC) and on syllables containing long vowels (CVC). Languages allowing contours on syllables closed by obstruents (CVO) also tolerate contours on syllables closed by sonorants (CVR). Interestingly, in other weight sensitive phenomena (quantity-sensitive stress, quantitative meter, minimal word requirements), use of the {CVC, CVR} vs {CVO, CV} criterion is either rare or unattested, providing evidence that weight is more a function of process than language. For the case of contour tones, the relevant restrictions should follow from factors inherent to tone itself. Within optimality theory, this can be done using the universally ranked hierarchy of constraints below. Dotted lines show ‘cut-off’ points for three representative cases; constraints to the left of the line are active in the language indicated.

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Matthew Gordon (University of California-Los Angeles)

The Navajo d-effect as a nonneutralizing process

One of the more famous phonological processes in Navajo is the ‘d-effect’, a consonant mutation process resulting from the concatenation of a prefix ending in /t/ (orthographic ‘d’) onto a stem beginning in one of the consonants \{t, n, m, j, w, y, ?, s, \} (Sapir & Hoijer 1967). The prefixal /t/ becomes glottal stop before \{n, m, w, j\}; concatenation of /t/ with \{t, l, s, ?, \} results in a segment which is orthographically identical to an underlying segment: \textasciitilde t = k, \textasciitilde t+1 = tl, t+1 = ts, t+1 = t. This paper investigates whether consonants resulting from the d-effect are phonetically neutralized with their underlying counterparts. Two duration measurements were taken from consonants in a corpus of 81 words uttered by a native Navajo speaker: duration of the stop (the closure) and the postclosure phases. This second measure is the duration from closure onset of the following vowel, i.e. the continuant phase of affricates
and the voice onset time for /k/ and /t'/. Results suggest that consonants resulting from the d-effect are not neutralized with their underlying counterparts. Underlying consonants typically displayed longer closures and shorter postclosure phases; these differences were small but statistically significant. Interestingly, closures were longer and postclosure durations were shorter for stem-initial consonants in nouns than in verbs. Finally, closure and postclosure durations were longer before high vowels than before low or mid vowels.

Stéphane Goyette (University of Ottawa)
*Genetic linguistics, creolization, & pidginization*

Contra Thomason and Kaufman (1987), this presentation seeks to demonstrate that pidgins, creoles, and mixed languages are genetically related to their respective original source languages. Following the lead of Antoine Meillet, we will say that two languages, A and B, are genetically related if and only if both A and B are later, changed forms of a single language. Following this simple definition, it will be shown that the history of the speakers of a language, the typological profile of said language, and the issue of whether or not there was any 'interruption' in normal language transmission is totally irrelevant to the issue of its genetic classification. Moreover, in the case of creole languages in particular, a position denying their being related or relatable to other languages would lead to difficulty in the case of 'creoloids' or 'semicreoles'. Such a position would also lead to problems in the classification of most of the languages of the world, since creolization may have played a role in the genesis of at least some languages and language families. Remaining faithful to the original tenets of genetic linguistics allows us to avoid both these difficulties.

Randolph Grażyk (Pryor, MT)
*What we can learn from the 19th century Jesuit Crow language materials*

Apart from a few short word lists, the earliest analysis of the Crow language was done by Jesuit missionaries during the last two decades of the 19th century. Extant unpublished materials include three dictionaries, a grammar, and various catechetical materials. Given the difficult circumstances under which the Jesuit authors produced these materials, they provide us with a competent analysis of Crow grammar and a quite comprehensive lexicon. A study of these materials allows us to document phonological changes that have occurred in Crow over the past 100 years and provides insight into the effects of culture contact during the early reservation period.

Joe Grady & Chris Johnson (University of California-Berkeley)
*Semantic constraints on the acquisition of instrumental marking*

A number of studies of child language have commented on patterns in children's acquisition of instrumental marking—i.e. the marking of objects as instruments used in the performance of actions. There has been a curious lack of agreement among these studies, however, as some English-language researchers have reported that children acquire *with* in its instrumental sense early and without apparent difficulty, while others have reported that young children do not use *with* in the instrumental sense of the adult language. Drawing on evidence from several published sources of child-language data, this paper argues that children at an early stage of language acquisition do not use *with* in the adult instrumental sense. Rather, utterances which appear to conform to adult usage are actually motivated by simpler form-meaning mappings, which do not involve instrumentality per se. Our account of the semantics of child-*with* relies on a unit of analysis we refer to as the 'primary scene', and we argue that this type of perceptual-conceptual unit accounts well for constraints on child semantics. The relations which characterize children's uses of *with* are both logically and perceptually simpler than instrumentality and can be characterized as Possession and Accompaniment, two notions closely associated with the child's visual and motor experience of simple scenes. The analysis also correctly predicts patterns in usage of other forms with semantics related to instrumentality, such as *use.*

Anthony Dubach Green (Zent Allegemeine Sprachwissenschaft)
*The prosodic licensing of onsets in Munster Irish*
The prosodic hierarchy has been shown to play a prominent role in phonology, both above the word level and within the word, being used in discussions of metrical phenomena, epenthesis, reduplication, and more. In this paper, I use evidence from Munster Irish to show that the levels of the prosodic hierarchy at and below the word play a role in determining the well-formedness of onsets as well; specifically, I argue that each level licenses less well-formed onsets than the next lower level. In Munster, the distribution of onsets is highly restricted. Noninitial unstressed syllables permit only simple onsets, not clusters; any underlying rising-sonority clusters are broken up by epenthesis. Noninitial stressed syllables (i.e. noninitial feet) permit onset clusters of stop + liquid, but any other rising-sonority cluster is broken up by epenthesis. Word-initial syllables permit a wide variety of rising-sonority clusters, whether they are stressed or unstressed. There is a one-way implication relationship among the onsets permitted at the various levels: All onsets permitted at $\emptyset$ are permitted at $\text{PrWd}$, and all onsets permitted at $\text{PrWd}$ are permitted at $\text{Ft}$.

The prosodic word, being the highest prosodic level to which the lexicon has access, is most tolerant of onsets, permitting relatively marked clusters. The foot is more restrictive, permitting only the least marked clusters: those with a steep sonority rise of stop + liquid. The syllable is more restrictive still, prohibiting clusters altogether but permitting single consonants. The mora is the most restrictive, since moras do not license onsets at all. Onset consonants are associated with the right edge of the lowest prosodic category at which they are licensed. Thus, single consonants are associated with the syllable since they are not licensed by the mora. In a stop + liquid cluster at $\text{PrWd}$, the liquid is licensed by the syllable, but the stop is associated with the foot instead. In a word-initial cluster, the last consonant is associated with the syllable, and the first consonant is associated with the prosodic word. The analysis is stated in terms of optimality theory: Constraints are proposed that control which onsets are permitted at which prosodic edges. These constraints are dominated by constraints prohibiting rising-sonority clusters from being divided by a syllable boundary. A constraint against epenthesis is ranked low. Thus it follows that onsets surface only where they are licensed and are otherwise broken up with epenthesis.

**Lisa Green** (University of Massachusetts-Amherst/University of Texas-Austin)  *(Session 7)*

*Embedded inversion & double COMP varieties of nonstandard English*

Embedded inversion occurs in Hiberno-English (HE), Belfast English (BE), and African American English (AAE):

(1) Go over there and see [did they bring my car in]. (Af Am female, 30's)

Another type of embedded inversion, negative inversion, also occurs in AAE. Whereas the embedded construction (1) is interpreted as a question, negative inversion (2) is not.

(2) I know that [don't nobody be walking].

 'I know that usually there isn't anybody walking.'

In (2), embedded negative inversion, nobody remains in Spec,IP, but don't inverts to COMP.

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The descriptive analysis explains the meaning that is associated with embedded inversion and shows how negative inversion compares to inversion in embedded questions. The formal analysis is similar to the double-CP analysis proposed for embedded inversion in HE in that it represents negative inversion as having two COMP positions. The major similarity between embedded question inversion in HE, BE, and AAE and negative inversion is that the auxiliary in both types of constructions inverts to COMP. The major difference is that in negative inversion constructions, two lexical COMP positions are available, but in embedded questions, double lexical COMP elements are ungrammatical:

(3) *Go over there and see that/whether did they bring my car in.*

In double COMP positions as in (2), the higher COMP cannot be [+wh]; the position can only be filled by that. As a result, negative inversion can never be interpreted as interrogative.

**Colette Grinevald** (DDL-MRASH)

*Movima classifiers: A mixed system of semantic & phonological classification*

The interest of the Movima numeral classifier system resides in the fact that it functions on the basis of two different principles, one semantic and one phonological, creating a mixed system. A handful of classifiers correspond to a semantic classification of objects of the world common to many such classifier systems (animals, plants), while the majority of the classifiers are in fact phonologically produced anaphoric elements functioning as unique classifiers and devoid of actual categorization function. The Movima data
confirm the nominal origin of many classifier systems and the discourse rather than categorization function of classifier systems.

**Colette Grinevald (DDL-MRASH), Pilar Valenzuela (University of Oregon), Veronica M. Grondona (University of Pittsburgh), Alejandra Vidal (University of Oregon), & Megan Crowhurst (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)**

*Endangered languages of the Bolivian Amazon: A view from the field*

This paper reports on the current status of indigenous languages of Bolivia's eastern lowlands. The 31 Amerindian languages spoken in this linguistically diverse region exist in varying stages of endangerment: Some are represented by many thousands of speakers (Guaraní, Besiro/Chikitano); others have fewer than 500 (Sirionó, Yuki, Arona); and some have very few speakers left (Moré, Itonama, Kayuvava, Reyesano). This report will be presented by the team of linguists hired by the government of Bolivia and the organization of the indigenous people of the eastern lowland of Bolivia (CIDOB) in 1995 to begin to attend to the languages of the region in view of the establishment of bilingual-multicultural programs in the elementary school system commended by the new Constitution of 1994. The team's role in providing linguistic training and support to groups of native speakers involved in literacy materials production will be discussed, as well as general language revitalization and promotion work and activities undertaken with the purpose of documenting these languages through the production of grammars and dictionaries. Finally, we will include an evaluation of the accomplishments to date and a discussion of the challenges—linguistic, ethical, and political—of such an endeavour as a reality check for academics involved in such projects.

**John Grinstead (University of California-Los Angeles)**

*Wh- movement & subject-verb inversion in child Catalan & Spanish*

In an early stage of child development (approximately 1;6 - 2;0) 4 child speakers of Catalan and 1 child speaker of Spanish produce no questions involving movement of the verb to a position above the subject, as in the adult languages. The few wh- questions produced during this period appear to be formulaic and include no inversion errors. There are no yes-no questions produced in this period. Assuming that inflectional heads carry the wh- feature, following Rizzi's (1990) Wh- Criterion, this study contends that movement of V to C is blocked by the inactivity of the tense and number phrases. Evidence of this inactivity comes from the fact that children do not use contrastive tense and number morphology in this early stage. That is to say, only present tense and imperative verbs are found up until roughly 2;0. Further evidence of the inactivity of these projections comes from the fact that no overt subjects are used, which is explicable if the absence of tense and number results in the failure of nominative case checking. In a second stage (approximately 2;0 - 2;6), when tense and number morphology begin to be used contrastively, the children begin asking inverted questions in an adult-like fashion—both wh- questions in which inversion is obligatory and yes-no questions in which inversion is optional. No uninvited questions of the variety found in some studies of child English (Klima-Bellugi 1964, Davis 1987) are attested in either period. Overt subjects begin to be used at approximately the same time as wh- movement begins to take place, giving further evidence of the onset of TP and NumPs activity.

**Veronica M. Grondona (University of Pittsburgh)**

*Active-inactive system in Mocoví person markers*

This paper provides an analysis of the person markers in Mocoví, a Guaykurúan language spoken in Argentina. It presents evidence that shows that Mocoví person markers reflect an active-inactive system, where agent forms are marked by one set of person markers and nonagent and possessive forms by another set of person markers. I will also present evidence to show that while most of the person markers are suffixes, the second person singular respectful is not a suffix, but a clitic.
Cavineño is a language of the Takana family of languages, like Araona. It is spoken by a population of about 1,000 in scattered communities in the NW of Bolivia. The data for this study were gathered in the process of an alphabet workshop in the summer of 1996. The interesting phonetic aspects of Cavineño to be presented are the distribution of its vowels in the vocalic acoustic space with a comparison to the French cardinal vowel system and acoustic and articulatory descriptions of its alveolar flap and its geminate consonants.

**Raquel Guirardello** (Rice University)

*The causative construction in Trumai*

In Trumai, an indigenous language spoken in the central region of Brazil, the causative construction involves the use of the particle *ka*, which occurs after the verb. The causativization of intransitive verbal roots is simple and follows the patterns attested in the typological literature: causee marked as absolutive, causer marked as ergative. The causativization of transitive verbal roots is more complex because both the causer and causee are marked as ergative, a pattern apparently unattested in the typological literature. According to Comrie (1989), the doubling of indirect object is common and doubling on direct object unusual, but attested; doubling of subjects (the Trumai pattern) is unknown. Causatives with dative causees have never been encountered in text, nor have speakers offered such sentences spontaneously, but they have been accepted and interpreted when presented in elicitation. However, in this interpretation, there are some semantic changes: The causation is less direct, it cannot be accidental, and the causee is a recipient as well as causee (causer brings the patient to the causee and demands that the action be performed). It is possible that the doubling of subject in the ergative causer would be the subject of this verb; the object would be a subordinate clause. Inside the subordinate clause, the subject would be the ergative causee and the object the absolutive patient.

**Jeanette K. Gundel** (University of Minnesota-Minneapolis/Norwegian University of Science)

**Sherri R. Page** (University of Minnesota-Minneapolis)

*The givenness hierarchy & children’s use of referring expressions*

Appropriate use of referring expressions requires knowledge of the necessary conditions for different forms as well as the close monitoring of the addressee’s knowledge and attention state. This paper is concerned with the acquisition of such knowledge and abilities by children. We address the following questions: When do children master the full range of referring forms? Is the appropriate use of these forms acquired idiosyncratically or is there a pattern that holds for all children? If there is an order, does this order correspond to the order of forms associated with statuses on the Givenness Hierarchy (Gundel, Hedberg, & Zacharski 1993)? Our study is based on an analysis of longitudinal, naturalistic data from 3 preschool children using CHILDES (MacWhinney 1995), supplemented by results from experimental studies. Preliminary results suggest that the order of acquisition of referring forms does in fact parallel forms on the hierarchy, with the strongest forms (pronouns) appropriately used first and the weakest form, the indefinite article, last. We also found that the relative frequency of demonstrative pronouns and determiners is considerably higher in children's speech than in adult speech (including adult speech to children). Gundel, Hedberg, and Zacharski (1993) propose to explain the relatively low frequency of demonstratives in adult discourse as resulting from interaction of the Givenness Hierarchy with Grice's Maxim of Quantity. Our findings thus suggest that children acquire the necessary conditions for appropriate use of different forms before they have fully mastered the Quantity Maxims. Separating out these two components also allows us to explain previously anomalous findings relating to the acquisition of definite vs indefinite articles (e.g. Maratsos 1976).

**Paul Hagstrom** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

*Attraction of general features & intervention effects*

There is evidence that the features responsible for syntactic movement are more general than is commonly assumed (e.g. [+wh] and [+Neg]). Considering c-command restrictions on wh-phrases, negative polarity items (NPIs), contrastive topics, and focus elements in (at least) Japanese and Korean under the assumption that movement is driven by feature attraction (Chomsky 1995), we see that, for example, non-wh elements such as NPIs can block movement of a wh-phrase to CP, indicating that it is not [+wh] but a less specific feature that is being attracted to CP. In Japanese, neither *naze 'why'* nor the NPI *-sika 'only'* can c-
command another wh- phrase, and emphatic -koso phrases must c-command wh- words (Watanabe 1992, Tanaka in progress, Richards 1997), yet the NPI and naze can occur in either order. In Korean, the restrictions on NPIs, wh- phrases, and wae 'why' are substantially the same, and contrastive topics must c-command wh- words and focused phrases (Cho 1997, Beck & Kim 1996). Suppose that contrastive topics, -koso phrases, and focus phrases have in common a general feature, F (perhaps 'focus'), while naze/wae 'why' and NPI's have in common a different general feature, O. Further suppose that wh- phrases share both features. Assuming that all and only wh- phrases are interpreted in CP, and all and only contrastive topic/-koso phrases are interpreted in a lower projection FP, the patterns follow if FP attracts feature F and the higher CP attracts feature O.

Mark Hale & Charles Reiss (Concordia University)

An account of analogy based on the nature of parsing & acquisition

Producing surface forms from URs is a one-to-one mapping (a given UR is mapped to a single surface form), whereas parsing surface

70 forms to converge on a UR can clearly be a one-to-many mapping (a single surface form can be mapped to a set of URs which are neutralized by the grammar). Consider the following data from German:

(1) Production: /bunt/ > [bunt] Parsing: [ bunt] > /bunt/ OR /bund/

We argue that the partial indeterminacy of parsing provides a straightforward explanation for the diachronic process commonly referred to as 'analogy', both within and across paradigms. We adopt the view that language change is a mapping between successive grammars, rather than a change in a single grammar. With this distinction in mind, we propose that analogical effects come about as a result of the ambiguity arising from the indeterminacy of parsing:

(2) Parsing basis of analogical change: Given a grammar G1, URs /a,b/ and a surface form □ s.t.

G1(a)=G1(b)=□ □ is ambiguous for a learner constructing G2 using the output of G1 as PLD.

For example, [bunt] is ambiguous to a learner of German since it is the output of two different adult URs. Since the learner's grammar cannot resolve the ambiguity, nongrammatical strategies are invoked which may lead to 'analogy'. Accounts of analogy based on output-output constraints have several problems which our theory avoids: They fail to account for leveling between paradigms, they confuse synchronic and diachronic issues; and they do not provide an explicit theory of how 'base forms' are determined.

William Ham (Cornell University)

Suprasegmental differentiation of singletons & geminates in Swiss German

The Bernese dialect of Swiss German contrasts three types of stops word-medially and word-finally, devoiced [b, d, g], voiceless [p, t, k], and voiceless geminate [p:, t:, k:]. The three types are distinguished by closure duration alone: Devoiced stops are shortest (100 ms), followed by voiceless (200 ms) and voiceless geminate (275-300 ms); neither aspiration nor voicing is contrastive. This pattern conforms to results of acoustic studies of a number of other Swiss dialects (e.g. Dieth & Brunner 1943, Willi 1996). While in many other languages singletons as a class are unambiguously distinguished from geminates at the segmental level purely in terms of closure duration (e.g. Lahiri & Hankamer 1988), this is not what we find in Bernese: Although geminates have the longest segmental duration, the durational difference between devoiced and voiceless stops is actually twice as large as that between voiceless and voiceless geminate stops. I propose that geminates in Bernese are differentiated from singletons (devoiced and voiceless) primarily at the suprasegmental level. This is similar to Lehiste's (1965) account of the three-way durational contrast in Estonian. The difference is that vowel quality interacts predictably with the following stop type in Bernese, but not in Estonian. Specifically, vowel quantity has polarized as a function of following stop type, such that short vowels precede devoiced stops and long vowels precede voiceless stops; geminates are preceded by short vowels. The result is that the relative internal timing of CV sequences is the same for short vowel plus devoiced and long vowel plus voiceless sequences (i.e. singletons), which pattern against short vowel plus geminate sequences. Results suggest that languages may differ not only as to whether quantity distinctions are realized purely at the segmental level but also as to the suprasegmental locus of such distinctions.

Anne Marie Hamilton (University of Georgia)
Who speaks Scots in the United States? An analysis of social labels in DARE

The Dictionary of American Regional English identifies the words that distinguish certain regions, states, and localities of the United States. Three hundred sixty-five entries in the first two volumes of DARE are listed in the DARE index as Scots, making DARE the best resource for assessing the survival of Scottish vocabulary in the United States. For a portion of these entries, DARE provides social fables and social statistics. Where individual informants are identified, it is possible to obtain even more demographic information from the list of informants in the first volume of DARE. Informants are characterized by community type, age, education, occupation, sex, and race. By matching social characteristics with regions of occurrence, we can begin to understand the differential impact of the Scots linguistic minority on the language varieties of regions and socioeconomic classes of the United States. The findings are compared with settlement history. Surviving Scots forms serve as a geographic and cultural trace of the contribution Scots and Scots-Irish settlers made to American English and explores the power of linguistic minorities to effect change.

Anne Marie Hamilton & Frank Bramlet (University of Georgia)

Standard English hardball: The pressure of transplant dialects on young Atlanta professionals

Atlanta is a large and growing southern metropolis receiving a large infusion of middle class newcomers from the North and West who may view southern speech as nonstandard. The fact that there is a great and increasing number of newcomers relative to native Atlantans decreases the likelihood of overhearing native Atlanta dialect features among professionals. It is unclear to what degree native Atlantans are modifying their speech in reaction to the influx of newcomers. One socioeconomic group in direct competition with the newcomers is college graduates, predominantly ages 21-23, who are in the professional client-based job market. Their potential employers consider professionalism and intelligence to be job qualifications. As communication with clients is important to their jobs, the interviewer might take speech features into consideration when making hiring decisions. The results of this study characterize the amount of pressure felt by prospective employees in relation to the expectations of employers expressed through interviews with the researchers. Our data attempt to measure the pressure on young native Atlantan professionals to modify speech toward a perceived standard. The study characterizes the amount of pressure to change linguistic features in three fields where speaking and professional image are part of the job. Our survey of 90 college seniors native to Atlanta and 9 personnel managers, divided equally among the client-based fields of engineering, computer science, and accounting, measures attitudes toward language use. College graduates represent the next generation of the upper middle class, so their attitudes toward their own language variety will help us understand the effect of transplant dialects in rapidly growing areas.

Kristin Hanson (University of California-Berkeley)

The linguistic structure of rhyme in Robert Pinsky's The Inferno of Dante

Halle and Keyser (1972) called for a reconsideration of the traditional definition of a meter by a canonical pattern on the grounds that such a definition draws no formal distinction between departures from the pattern which occur in metrical compositions and those which do not. In this paper, I suggest that an analogous theoretical reconsideration is required for the description of rhyme in English. Traditionally, the canonical pattern for rhyme is full rhyme, in which the vowels of the relevant syllables and all succeeding consonants are identical (e.g. Wordsworth's fears/years). Myriad departures from this pattern, or partial rhymes, have also always been recognized. For example, Pinsky's translation of Dante's Inferno requires only partial identity of final consonants (e.g. thought/shade/understood). But across the English tradition, these types of rhyme are not necessarily used discretely but rather often are intermixed within the same compositions for arshtc effect (Malone 1996). This suggests that rhyme itself should be defined in such a way as to unify both types. Focussing on Pinsky's text, I propose such a model, in which all the linguistic material following the onset of the syllable in the final strong metrical position of a line is a domain whose melodic material is matched with that in some corresponding position. A match of the final consonants in these domains is obligatory (modolo some 'xtraprosodicity). Matches of additional segments are optional and proceed according to the principle "beginnings lax, endings strict" adduced by Hayes (1989) for meter. Moreover, as Zwicky (1976) has shown, the match of even the final consonants may be partial: In Pinsky's practice, obstruents may differ in voice, and nasals may differ in place, exactly the features that these classes of sounds give up in English assimilation processes. The resultant possibilities for tightening and
loosening rhyme are used by Pinsky to replicate aesthetic effects achieved by Dante through tightening and loosening meter.

James D. Harnsberger (University of Michigan)

Quantifying phonetic similarity among nasal consonants

This poster reports the results of a cross-language speech perception test in which 5 subject groups (16 speakers each of Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Bengali, and American English) were presented with nasal stops from three languages (Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya) varying in place of articulation (bilabial, interdental/dental, alveolar, and retroflex nasals), and asked to classify and rate them in terms of native phonemes. The purpose of the study is two-fold: to generate measures of perceived phonetic similarity for the purpose of predicting perceptual performance on nonnative contrasts and to uncover any cross-language differences that are not expected from a straightforward comparison of a nonnative contrast and the listener's inventory of perceptual categories. Similar classification patterns and ratings were found for the bilabial, dental, alveolar, and certain retroflex nasals, providing quantitative measures of phonetic distance from native perceptual categories that may be generalizable to other languages with similar nasal inventories. However, differences were found between American English and Bengali subjects for the interdental nasal in [a] and [i] contexts. American English subjects perceived the interdental nasal as intermediate to bilabial and alveolar places, while Bengali subjects were more categorical in their judgments ([m] in the [a] context, [n] in the [i] context).

Jennifer Hay (Northwestern University)

The nonuniformity of degree achievements

Dowty (1979) calls verbs such as widen, age, and cool 'degree achievement' verbs. He notes that, while they appear to denote a change of state like other achievements, they can take durational adverbs (usually disallowed with achievement verbs). Degree achievements, then, are problematic. A significant subset of degree achievement verbs is derived from gradable adjectives. In this paper I argue that verbs derived from gradable adjectives by -en (e.g. widen) and by -0 (e.g. cool) are not achievements. I motivate the classification of types of adjectives according to type of scale and use aspeutal tests to demonstrate that the aspeutal classification of a deadjectival 'degree achievement' verb crucially relies upon whether the base adjective is bounded or unbounded. Verbs related to bounded adjectives by -en/0 are accomplishments, and verbs related to unbounded adjectives are activities. This simplifies the overall picture of aspeutal classification by eliminating a problem class.

Kirk Hazen (North Carolina State University-Raleigh)

Negation, nasalization, & regularization: Creating similar diachronic paths

This paper presents acoustic, phonological, and morphological evidence for an innovative variant in the past be paradigm, wont, as collected from interviews with 72 speakers over four years in the tri-ethnic, rural community of Warren County, North Carolina. In Warren County, African Americans, European Americans, and Native Americans have was regularization as is expected for vernacular speakers; however, no ethnic group has extensive wasn't regularization. All three ethnic communities have wont regularization which dominates the negative paradigm to the exclusion of other forms. This paper argues for specific paths of development for this three-part paradigm. This paper argues that wont developed along similar paths as ain't in the present paradigm. Both wont and ain't have the minimal, yet necessary, phonological and morphological structure to convey their meaning. This simplest structure provides an advantage in terms of markedness to the other variants in the present and past paradigms: isn't/aren't and wasn't/weren't are all more complex and contain unnecessary phonological and morphological structure for semantic transfer. The similarities between wont and ain't indicate that the steps involved in their diachronic development are natural and productive steps in language change.
In the Malaysian language Semai, there exists a pattern of reduplication which can be illustrated by the following data:

(1) c  □·:t  'sweet'  
    b 1 'painful embarrassment'

This pattern, in which the reduplicant is composed of a copy of both the initial add final consonants of the root, is known as 'expressive minor reduplication' (Diffloth 1976). Current analyses of partial reduplication (McCarthy & Prince 1993, 1995) have relied upon a templatic constraint to account for the surface shape of the reduplicant. These constraints are of the form RED=X, where X is a prosodic unit to which the reduplicant is mapped. However, the data in (1) represent a class of reduplicative phenomena which do not lend themselves to such an account. In Semai, the reduplicant surfaces as a CC string, which is not a prosodic unit. Any proposed template constraint will not be crucial and will be rendered opaque by the surface form. It is my proposal that the shape of the reduplicant can be accounted for without a template constraint. Under this account, the interaction between alignment of the root, anchoring, and faithfulness are sufficient, avoiding the need to propose a prosodic template that does not appear on the surface.

Jane H. Hill & Kenneth C. Hill (University of Arizona)

*Culture influencing language: Plurals of Hopi kin terms in comparative Uto-Aztec perspective*

Whorf suggested that language, as the more intricately-integrated system, would be more likely to shape culture than the reverse. Hopi presents an example of the opposite type. In most Uto-Aztecan languages a small but complex semantic category of nouns is marked by a special type of pluralization and contrasts with a large unmarked category. In Tepiman, words for nonpatrilineal relatives are in the marked category. Hill and Zepeda argue that this marking conceptualizes such relatives metaphorically as protrusions or intrusions from a patrilineage conceived of as a 'body.' The category of marked plurals in Hopi is very similar to that of Tepiman, except that terms nonpatrilineal relatives are not marked. The most likely explanation for this is that the Hopi are matrilineal. Only the terms for 'bride' and 'husband' exhibit marked plurals in Hopi. The point of view involved is from within the receiving matrilineal, apparently conceptualizing these categories as protrusions or intrusions with respect to this lineage.

Erhard W. Hinrichs (University of Tubingen) & Tsuneko Nakazawa (University of Tokyo)

*VP relatives in German: An HPSG analysis*

This paper argues against a scrambling account of VP relatives in German, as proposed by Haider (1985). We show that German VP relatives, as in (1), involve two types of extraction: extraction of the entire relativized VP (since distance between the relativized phrase and the head which subcategorizes for this phrase is in principle unbounded) and extraction of the relative pronoun within the extracted VP (since relative pronouns can be licensed by a verb that can appear at an arbitrary level of embedding under one or more control verbs).

(1) das Buch, das zu lesen er sichweigerte zu versuchen seiner Frau zu versprechen, the book which to read he self refused to try his wife to promise
    'the book which he refused to try to promise his wife to read.'

Our analysis of German VP relatives posits two filler-head rules in the framework of Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: a Filler-Head Relative Clause ID rule, which licenses extraction of relativized VPs, and a Filler-Head Relative VP ID Rule, which is responsible for the internal extraction of relative pronouns within the VP. We demonstrate that subject VP relatives require double extraction in the same way object VP relatives do and show that the proposed filler-head ID rules are applicable to both types of VP relatives.

Pau-San Hoh (Marist College)

*Symbiotic phonological development in a Cantonese-English-speaking child*

A primary issue in bilingual first language (L1) acquisition concerns whether the child begins with one system (cf. Volterra & Taeschner 1978) or two (cf. Lindholm & Padilla 1978). This paper--which analyzes tone and voice onset time (VOT) productions of a Cantonese-English learner from birth to 2;8--proposes a third possibility: The bilingual child maintains separate systems, but they develop symbiotically. Interference from the nontone L1 was evident when language mixing commenced. During this period, previously accurate Cantonese words occurred extratonally, 'sounding like' (s.l.) acquired English words, e.g. [f t m] 'return' s.l. funny for [fan lei]; [h m] 'cry' s.l. home for [ham]; [p l] 'pear' s.l. belly for [p
The corpus also illustrates simultaneous modification of both systems in approximating the target languages' VOT distinctions. For example, the aspiration contrast saddled the two languages: All English stops were aspirated and Cantonese unaspirated ([pou] 'carry' for [pʰou]), followed by the right distinction within Cantonese ([pʰou] 'carry' vs [p] 'ball'). Analysis of these interrelationships helps to close the gap between perceived differences between L1 and L2 learners. Where previous studies of monolingual children stress their ease of tonal acquisition (cf. Tse 1978, Li & Thompson 1977), this study of a bilingual child instead highlights the problem of mastery of both tone and nontone systems—not unlike the difficulty facing adult learners of tone languages. This paper also contributes to bilingual L1 acquisition research: Its investigation of L1s easily distinguishable suprasegmentally allows us to address de Houwer's (1990) question of what might constitute acceptable evidence of language separation.

Jill Hohenstein, Letitia Naigles, & Katherine White Marsland (Yale University)

Differences in mothers' & preschool teachers' use of mental verbs

This project analyzed the input children receive at home and at preschool to investigate how children acquire the distinctions between mental state verbs (MSVs) during the preschool years. Mothers and preschool teachers of 43-month-olds did not differ in terms of frequency. Both used MSVs in 10% of their utterances. Teachers provided more information about MSVs than mothers did in three different ways: They used MSVs more often in questions. Moreover, especially with think, teachers used more diverse sentence frames and conveyed more pragmatic uncertainty. The linguistic clues given to children in the classroom may thus afford preschool attenders an earlier understanding of MSV distinctions on the dimension of certainty than children not attending preschool.

Maurice Holder (University of New Brunswick)

The prosodic hierarchy in Guyanese Creole

This paper presents a description of the overall prosodic system of Guyanese English incorporating the especially interesting area of intonational phonology. I propose a hierarchy consisting of four major syntactic levels--morpheme, word, clitic group, and utterance--and five prosodic levels--stressed word, stress group, tone group, phonological (intoned utterance), and phonetic utterance. The manner in which these levels are interleaved will be discussed, as well as such related topics as cyclic vs noncyclic application of stress rules, shape of pitch-accents and comparison with the Scandinavian word accents, assignment of pitch accent below of level of utterance, consequences for intonation, intonational phenomena modifying shape and relative height of pitch-accent, and control of pitch direction by boundary tones. The intonational framework adopted is the autosegmental metrical model pioneered by Janet Pierrehumbert (1980, 1987), with modifications and clarifications by D. Robert Ladd (1966).

John Holm (City University of New York Graduate Center)

The study of semicreoles in the 21st century

This paper examines how scholarship on each of the major semicreoles (AAVE, Afrikaans, Réunionnais, and nonstandard Brazilian Portuguese and Caribbean Spanish) has taken its own course, assuming various theoretical models for the variety's genesis and development, from that of a purely European dialect reflecting general western European tendencies, to a postcreole retaining substratal features, to the result of differing degrees of restructuring varying according to social factors. Outlining the major advances made in developing a theoretical model for semicreolization in the 1980s and 1990s, this paper identifies issues that still need to be resolved in the coming century so linguists can deal with these languages on the kind of firm theoretical footing that has been developed in the 20th century for the study of fully creolized languages.

David Holsinger (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Tone & ballistic stress in Ojitlán Chinantec

Ojitlán Chinantec [OC], an Otomanguean language of northern Oaxaca, Mexico, has previously been analyzed as having four tonal registers but lacking the feature called 'ballistic stress' which is reported for
some Chinantec and other neighboring Otomanguean languages (Smith & Smith 1955, Rensch 1978). In past analyses of OC and nearby Usila Chinantec [UC], those phonetic markers typically associated with the 'ballistic syllable' were found to be lacking. Instead, OC and UC were reported to have 4 and 5 distinctive tonal registers, respectively, replacing 'ballistic stress' with new tonal variants. Instrumental phonetic analysis reveals numerous characteristics of OC that contradict many prior assumptions about this dialect. Among other things, the discovery of a 'very high' tone allows for a complete reanalysis of the tone and stress systems of OC. In light of this new data, OC can be described as having a more typical three-level system which then is affected by ballistic stress. Recent work by Silverman (1995), which suggests that 'ballistic stress' is better described as a phonation type than as a prosodic feature, is supported by the phonetic evidence at hand in OC. Acoustic cues such as postvocalic aspiration point to the association of ballistic stress with the feature [spread glottis], rather than features typically associated with prosody or stress.

David Eric Holt (Georgetown University)  (Session 8)

*Canonically long & geminate vowels in Chimila (Chibchan)*

Many researchers have observed that long vowels are more marked than short vowels (Paradis 1988, Prince & Smolensky 1993, Sherer 1994, Hammond 1997), a fact encoded in the constraint 'no long vowel' (NLV) in optimality theory. The precise formulation of the restriction against bimoraic vowels must be considered carefully, however, and in this paper I show that incorporation of the sonority hierarchy into OT has major implications for the nature and content of NLV. Following Zec (1995), I assume that moraicity is mediated through sonority. Under this approach, the generalization that less sonorous segments in a language may be moraic only if more sonorous ones also are, derives from the sonority hierarchy. I will show that under this approach, NLV introduces a redundancy into the set of constraints, but a necessary one. Given an implementation of the sonority hierarchy as \*O(sonority) \*N(sonority) \*L(sonority) \*G(sonority) several formulations of NLV are considered: (1) the double violation of \*V; (2) the local conjunction (Smolensky 1995) of \*V with itself, effectively \{\*V & \*V\}; and (3) \*V. I adduce evidence from Fula, Wiyot, Koya, proto-Romanic, Italian, and Sardinian and rule out (1) on both empirical and theoretical grounds; further theoretical considerations (Miglio & Fukazawa 1997) disfavor (2) because self conjunction may undermine one of the central tenets of OT. (3) is thus preferred because it allows for the retention of the sonority hierarchy while also permitting gemination and compensatory lengthening, though it requires the coexistence of \*V and \*V.  

Kathleen Hubbard (University of California-San Diego)

*Quantity or quality? Characteristics & typology of vowel length*

Vowel length is the subject of considerable terminological confusion: Does [i] vs [I] count as the same 'quantity distinction' as that of [i] vs. [,l] ? This paper explores correlations of length patterns with other phonological features and with the phonetic manifestation of quantity. The central claim is that the prototypicality of a quantity opposition—the degree to which it involves duration only and not also vowel quality—correlates with the size of the language's vowel inventory and the type of prosodic system it has (e.g. stress, tone), and drives the surface manifestation of the long:short ratio. Languages in which quality plays no role in quantity show a 2:1 or greater ratio of long vowel duration to short, while those in which quantity is linked to quality show smaller ratios; although the literature suggests that the latter case is more common (e.g. Kluender, Diehl,& Wright 1988), this actually is an artifact of the overrepresentation of Germanic languages in previous studies. Here, a cross-linguistically balanced sample of 85 languages with quantity oppositions (from Crothers 1978) is examined for correlations of quantity patterns with other phonological features. Three interesting results emerge: (1) Duration-only quantity systems are not as rare as the literature implies; (2) whether a language is more tonal or more accentual affects quantity relations, probably because stress languages often have vowel reduction which can give rise to a quality difference among long and short vowels; and (3) if a language has a large vowel inventory and a quantity opposition, it is unlikely to have nonoverlapping sets of long and short vowels.

Magnus Huber (University of Essen)

*The origin & development of Krio: New linguistic & sociohistorical evidence*

The paper draws on ample (but as yet unexploited) demographic and newly discovered linguistic data from the early history of the colony of Sierra Leone in an attempt to reconstruct the development of Krio.
Questions to be addressed are: (1) How much does Krio owe to a restructured variety spoken in the area before colonization in 1787? It will be suggested that the precolonization variety was in very limited use and that neither tertiary hybridization nor nativization of this took place. (2) What was the contribution to Krio of the Poor Blacks, Nova Scotians, Maroons, and Liberated Africans? I will argue that the Nova Scotians had a greater impact on Krio than has hitherto been acknowledged and that they may be responsible for Krio's close affinities with Gullah. Further, it will be argued that the Liberated African variety was geographically isolated and did not substantially influence Krio. (3) At what time can Krio in its modern form be said to have existed? The earliest text resembling modern Krio dates from the 1850s. As the colony's society was highly segregated until well into the 1840s, this suggests that Krio probably existed much earlier on and is the continuation of the languages spoken by Sierra Leone's status groups, the Nova Scotians and Maroons. The spread of Krio features to West African Pidgin Englishes will also be discussed.

Christopher Hutton (University of Hong Kong)

From colonialism to nationalism: Ethnic minorities in the linguistics of Vietnam

This paper looks at the evolution of labelling practices for ethnic minorities in Vietnam during the 20th century, focusing in particular on the ambiguous status of rural Chinese in Northeast Vietnam on the Sino-Vietnamese border. Many of these Chinese were known by labels such as Ngai and Nung, and their status and ethnic identity was caught up in the turbulent history and migrations of modern Vietnam, in the complexities of Sino-Vietnamese relations (including the 1979 border war), and in the Vietnamese 'boat people' problem. The aim of the paper is to point briefly to changes, inconsistencies, and amalgamations that are discernible; track statistics given by different authorities (colonial French, US, Vietnamese); and to examine differing criteria for defining ethnic identity. Among the French linguists considered are G. Maspero and A. Haudricourt. Their writings are contrasted with materials from ethnographic studies sponsored by the US army, and with the writings of Vietnamese ethnographers from the 1960s onwards. It is argued that important lessons can be learned from tracking the history of these categories for our understanding of colonial and nationalist linguistics, as well as for the discipline of linguistics as a whole. In seeking to 'map ethnicity' centralized authorities were faced with the need to disambiguate and clarify relationships between myriad groups and subgroups. It is argued that as the century progressed, linguistic criteria gradually took over from other criteria drawn from physical anthropology and cultural anthropologists. This process can be documented both in official and academic sources and is of great significance for understanding the role that linguistics has played in shaping modern notions of identity and ethnicity.

Larry M. Hyman (University of California-Berkeley)

Cyclicity & noncorrespondence in the Bantu verb system

In this paper I argue that cyclicity, contrary to common assumption, need not be motivated by the tendency for morphologically complex forms to reflect phonological properties of corresponding base forms. As evidence I cite Bantu cases of cyclicity in which the effect of the cycle is to obscure the similarity among root allomorphs of related words. The Bantu case involves a pervasive conflict arising between the applicative -il- and causative -i- suffixes: Both a causativized applicative [[ [ ROOT ] APPL ] CAUS ] and an applicativized causative [[ [ ROOT ] CAUS ] APPL ] can only be realized in the order -il-i-. Since the CAUS-APPL structure is more frequent, it is constantly contradicted by the surface linear order appl-caus of the morphs. In Hyman (1994), semantic, morphological, and phonological arguments were presented that the sequence should be derived cyclically via 'interfixation': ROOT -> ROOT-i- -> ROOT-il-i-. Languages like Bemba exhibit cyclic 'frication' conditioned by -i-, e.g. Bemba lub-il-i- 'lose for/at' (from lub-il-i-). This paper expands the earlier work to consider languages which 'undo' inner frication with a 'replacive' C, e.g. /k/ in Matumbi, Yao. I argue that the unifying property between the two resolutions of the Bantu conflict is the transparency of derivation as one goes from CVC- to CVC-i- to CVC-il-i-, not 'correspondence'.

Georgette Ioup (University of New Orleans)

The language of the free people of color in 19th century New Orleans: Evidence from the journal of Sister Mary Bernard Diggs
The controversy over the origins of African-American Vernacular English (AAVE), whether it derives from a Caribbean-type Creole or from older white dialects which have since disappeared, has led researchers to examine extant remnants of AAVE from earlier periods. Until recently these have been of the spoken vernacular: from the descendants of ex-slaves isolated on the Samana peninsula (Poplack & Sankoff 1987), and the WPA ex-slave narratives (Schneider 1989). However, letters from the Civil War era written by semiliterate African Americans provide a more authentic sample of 19th century AAVE and argue for a closer connection to British dialects (Montgomery et al. 1993). The archives of the Roman Catholic archdiocese of New Orleans contain documents written by African Americans in the 19th century which have not previously been studied. One of these documents is a 370-page manuscript, written over a period of two years (1894-1896) by a semiliterate nun born a free woman of color in 1846. This paper analyzes linguistic features of her language, which in some ways is similar to the AAVE Civil War letters analyzed by Montgomery et al. but in many ways is divergent in that it appears to be closer in verb structure to a standard white dialect. The main focus of analysis will be the verb forms (especially the copula and the auxiliaries have and be), tense consistencies, and subject-verb concord. It will examine whether concord is systematic, in what ways it deviates from standard English concord, and whether a subject-type constraint (STC) or a proximity-to-subject constraint (PST) characterizes deviations.

**Michael Israel** (University of California-San Diego)

*Ever: Polarity sensitivity & polysemy*

This paper offers a semantic account of the use and distribution of the English adverbial quantifier ever. The analysis draws on a corpus of over 1000 examples from the *Wall Street Journal* and supplemented by introspective data on grammaticality. It will be shown that the uses of ever constitute a network of distinct but tightly related senses with significant parallels to the uses of the indefinite determiner any. These parallels include an almost isomorphic indefinite semantics for the polarity sensitive uses of both forms, similarly liberal licensing constraints for both forms as polarity items, and a similar (though by no means identical) pattern of polysemy for the nonpolarity sensitive uses of both. These parallels offer strong evidence for the lexical semantic basis of polarity sensitivity and for the nature and importance of grammatical polysemy in general.

**Rika Ito** (Michigan State University)

*Topic coding without marking: Topic & information status in Japanese*

Research on the functions of the topical marker wa is one of the most well studied areas in Japanese, but zero-marked phrases (i.e. topic encoding without the particle wa) have not yet been fully analyzed. Although Suzuki (1995) proposes that zero-marked phrases have their own independent functions, her analysis seems to depend on an interpretation of the content of the discourse. This paper offers an alternative analysis based on Prince's (1992) information status (IS). The data for this study consist of three naturally-obtained audiotaped dyadic conversations (two same-sex pairs and one cross-sex pair) of native speakers of Japanese at a large university in the Midwest. Sixty minutes of these conversations (20 minutes for each dyad) are transcribed. For coding, Prince (1981, 1992) and Hinds (1987) were used, i.e. the NPs are categorized as evoked (situational or textual), inferrables (or containing inferrables), unused, and brand-new. The grammatical relations (i.e. subject, direct object, indirect object, etc.) are also considered. The data are subjected to statistical analysis using VARBRUL in order to find out whether any correlation exists among wa-marked/zero-marked phrases, the information status of the NPs, and the grammatical relations. Contrary to previous studies, these data show that zero-marked phrases are not used randomly: They are used systematically, based on the information status of the NPs, following Prince's familiarity scale (1981). Zero-marked phrases are more common on subject NPs although it is not statistically significant. The correlations between zero-marked and other kinds of ellipsis in Japanese in general, i.e. the principle of recoverability (Kuno 1978) will be discussed.

**Roumyana Izvorski** (University of Pennsylvania/Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

*Are there infinitival or subjunctive free relatives?*

This paper discusses the status of infinitival and subjunctive wh- constituents, embedded under a possessive/existential predicate (a phenomenon found in Hebrew, Yiddish, Greek, and the Romance and Slavic languages). Previously, Pesetsky 1982 and Rivero 1986 kave proposed that the infinitival/subjunctive constituent is a free relative (FR). I discuss the problems that the FR analysis raises
and develop an alternative. I propose that the wh- constituent is underlyingly a question (Q) and that wh-
words are not -quantifiers. The matrix predicate provides the - quantification that binds the variable of the
embedded Q. This explains why the matrix is limited to existentials/possessives (only they come with an
- quantifier) and also why the embedded clause has to be a wh- Q (syntax turns the clause into an open
sentence; yes-no Qs are ruled out, since an individual and not a propositional variable is needed). I further
discuss the role of indicativeness in the semantics of Qs and FRs.

William H. Jacobsen, Jr. (University of Nevada-Reno)
The earliest Makah vocabulary

The earliest Makah vocabulary was collected by the Galiano-Valdés expedition of 1792, which paid a visit
to Puerto de Nuñez Gaona, now Neah Bay. This is attested in two versions: an anonymously compiled
book published in Madrid in 1802 and a manuscript published by Kendrick in 1991. These share a
vocabulary of 27 items. The earlier publication shows an additional word, which is

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probably Nitinat, and a list of 11 place names. The shared vocabulary is clearly Makah; the place names
are partly Makah or other Nootkan and perhaps partly from other languages. Three kinds of distortions
must be allowed for in interpreting this data: (1) There were misunderstandings as to meanings. For
example, three words that are given as cardinal directions are actually names for winds blowing in a certain
direction; 'stars' is wrongly listed as also meaning 'sky'. (2) The Spanish ears, and their writing system,
were not adapted to the very different sounds of the language. Thus h- is not recorded, and final -e is added
after -[\-]. (3) There have been misreadings of the script of the manuscripts, as shown in part by discrepant
forms as between the two sources and in part by likely identifications of certain words. Some indications
are present as to changes in Makah in the last two centuries. Nasals had changed to voiced stops initially,
but not medially or finally, whereas this change has by now been carried through in all environments.

Janice L. Jake & Carol Myers-Scotton (University of South Carolina)
How to build a creole: Splitting & recombining lexical structure

This paper offers a set of hypotheses to explain the makeup of creoles. The hypotheses depend on three
central claims. First, in contact situations where speaker proficiency in at least one of the major
contributing languages is problematic, a composite grammatical system labeled the Composite Matrix
Language (ML) projects structure. Second, conceptualizing a ML depends on the assumption that abstract
lexical structure is complex, consisting of at least three levels or subsystems—lexical-conceptual structure,
predicate-argument structure, and morphological realization patterns. The key to a ML is that these
component subsystems can be split and recombined. Thus, a creole surface form can be composed of
abstract material from more than one variety. Third, the hypotheses depend on distinguishing morphemes
in several ways. The paper tests three hypotheses against diverse P/C data.

Richard D. Janda (University of Chicago)
More than two points on umlaut in Modern Standard High German

This paper shows that a morpholexical account of Modern High German umlaut in optimality theory is
preferable to the most recent rule-based approach, that of Wiese 1996a, 1996b. Wiese posits a [+front]
autosegment floating over any root that ever shows vowel-fronting. When a suffix is added, making a form
a derived one, a maximally simple linking-rule of umlaut—with essentially no environment—applies;
otherwise, the floating autosegment disappears. This treatment is ingenious but has two negative (and
related) characteristics making it unacceptable. First, Wiese's analysis violates the strict-cycle condition, as
is clear from the fact that the floating autosegment on which it relies is present underlyingly and that its
umlaut rule literally has no context (suffixation is needed only to make a form derived). Second, for the
same reason—that it is irrelevant what the segmental make-up and even the identity of any suffix whose
addition to a root turns the latter into a derived form—Wiese's account wrongly predicts that the umlaut
rule should apply to any derived form, even a prefixed one. Wiese 1996b minimizes this problem by
suggesting that umlaut is restricted to Level 1, but he later gives up this tack (i.e. 'the confinement of
umlaut to the first lexical level ... [is offered] as a speculation only'). The only way to limit NHG vowel-
fronting on Wiese's approach is via the massive use of lexical exception-features (for [- umlaut]). But,
given that OT combines (1) constraints on alignment and faithfulness with (2) abandonment of derivations
and intermediate steps, there is no longer a need for floating autosegments in the analysis of umlaut. An OT account can consist simply of a set of ALIGN constraints requiring the alignment of (the left edge of) a particular suffix with (the right edge of) a root whose last vowel is [+front] (or [-back]); such constraints are ranked higher than FAITHFULNESS for umlaut-triggering suffixes, but lower than the latter constraint for non-umlaut-triggering suffixes.

Lawrence D. Kaplan (University of Alaska)  
*Compiling an Inuit dictionary*

Eskimo languages enjoy one of the longest traditions of lexicography of any American Native language group. From the early efforts of Fabricius and Egede nearly two centuries ago to the present, dictionary-makers have conceived their task differently and developed a variety of formats to organize entries. Almost all have been bilingual in a single direction, listing Eskimo words or word stems with definitions in a European language. This paper discusses and compares formats, including a new one developed at the Alaska Native Language Center intended to serve the needs of both linguists and Native speakers of Inupiaq.

Angela Karstadt (University of Minnesota-Minneapolis)  
*Relativization strategies in a postimmigrant setting: A longitudinal study of Swedish & English in contact*

The sociolinguistic backdrop for this paper is language contact due to large-scale and sustained Swedish immigration to the Midwest. My paper addresses such questions as: What happens at the level of syntax in immigrant settings where the languages in contact have similar patterns? In cases of presumed syntactic simplification, are they due to substrata! patterns or better explained by linguistic universals that are activated during language contact? I investigate relativization strategies and take my evidence from oral history interviews that were recorded over a span of 30 years. Data from three speaker groups are considered-- Swedish immigrants, second and third generation Swedish Americans, and comparative data from interviews recorded in Swedish in Sweden. The speakers represented are aged 60 and above. My analysis presents the frequency of relative clause structures for each group, looks at the grammatical roles of relative markers in terms of the relativization hierarchy to see if there is evidence for simplification, and discusses paratactic strategies that compensate for relativization.

Motoko Katayama (University of California-Santa Cruz)  
*Sympathetic correspondence in loanword phonology*

Prosodic role preservation is well-motivated in cases like reduplication (Gafos 1996) or an argot (Itô, Kitagawa, & Mester 1996) where the input is an already established, syllabified word in the language. On the input to loanword phonology, Silverman (1992) assumes that it is purely a string of segments with no phonological structure provided. Such an assumption makes a prediction that prosodic role preservation should not be observed in loanwords. I will present data from Japanese which strongly suggest that prosodic role preservation is active in loanwords. In Japanese loans, word-final consonants in English undergo gemination, as in [hitto] 'hit'. Gemination seems to be driven by an attempt to preserve the syllable structure of English. However, because Japanese speakers have no access to the English grammar, it is unreasonable to assume that the English syllable structure is present in the input. I will propose a SYMPATHY-based model of loanword phonology in the framework of optimality theory, which successfully achieves prosodic role preservation even in loanwords while keeping the input unsyllabified. According to sympathy (McCarthy 1997), a candidate may win when it is most sympathetic to a particular failed cocandidate that is optimal with respect to a designated lower-ranking constraint. Assuming that the designated lower-ranking constraint in the case of Japanese loanwords is Dep-V (no epenthetic vowels), I will show that word-final consonants are syllabified into a coda not in the English input but in the sympathetic candidate in Japanese, and propose that prosodic roles are preserved between the sympathetic candidate and the output. Sympathetic correspondence well captures the nature of loanword phonology; that is, speakers of the borrowing language attempt to imitate source words maximally with minimal modification.
Stefan Kaufmann (Stanford University)

Context inheritance in discourse processing

I present a dynamic treatment for modal subordination in which the accommodation proposed in Roberts (1989) is replaced by a formal way of calculating contexts. It builds on proposals to treat discourse as an incrementally developed tree structure in which nodes are inserted by expansion or adjunction. In such a tree, a temporary modal context is a property of a SUBTREE. From there I take the step to a fully dynamic treatment: In a tree, each node is identified by the unique path between it and the root. I represent these paths in stack structures, whose changes over time (left-to-right in the tree) correspond to operations of PUSHING, ASSERTING, and POPPING. The theory is truly dynamic in providing not merely a representation but an interpretation at any point during the discourse.

Takako Kawasaki (McGill University)

Spreading & final exceptionality

Although languages tend to restrict what can appear in coda, word-final position sometimes escapes this restriction. This phenomenon has been accounted for by extraprosodicity. Among the languages which do not allow codas to license Laryngeal, some allow Laryngeal specification in word-final position while word-internal codas must share Laryngeal with the following onset (Hungarian, Serbo-Croatian). Interestingly, languages which have laryngeal Final Exceptionality (FE) almost always have Laryngeal assimilation in word-internal clusters (Cho 1990). In this paper, I will argue that Laryngeal FE is a result of being faithful to constraints which require all segments to have sonority specification. I assume that laryngeal defines obstruency and SV defines sonorancy and they constitute a class of sonority nodes. Then, I propose a constraint—SonNode—which requires all segments to have one of sonority nodes. Consider coda laryngeal constraint (*CodaLar) (Lombardi 1991). If both *CodaLar and Crisp (Itô & Mester 1994) rank higher than SonNode, laryngeal will be neutralized in coda as in German. If the ranking is SonNode >> Crisp >> *CodaLar, the language will not exhibit any coda restriction on laryngeal as in English. If the ranking is *CodaLar >> SonNode ~ Crisp, laryngeal spreading will occur in word-internal clusters and word-final laryngeal will be neutralized as in Dutch. Finally, if the ranking is SonNode >> *CodaLar >> Crisp, spreading will occur in word-internal clusters, but laryngeal will be retained word-finall as in Serbo-Croatian. In the present analysis, FE is a result of SonNode. Since there is no segment following in word-final position, laryngeal must be retained in order to be faithful to SonNode. This analysis of FE correctly predicts that if a language has laryngeal FE, the language also has laryngeal spreading word-internally.

David Kemmerer (University of Iowa)
Mirella Dapretto & S. Y. Bookheimer (University of California-Los Angeles)

Individual differences in regular & irregular inflectional processing as revealed by fMRI

A debate has been taking place over whether the past tense forms of regular and irregular verbs (e.g. walk-walked vs run-run) are processed in separate systems or in a single system. Several functional neuroimaging studies have found distinct patterns of brain activity underlying the production of regulars and irregulars, thus supporting the dual-system theory. It is noteworthy, however, that these imaging studies relied on group analysis of the data and obtained different and contradictory results. For example, one study found activation in the left dorsolateral prefrontal cortex uniquely for regulars, while another study found activation in this same area uniquely for irregulars. One possible explanation for this is that subjects utilize different strategies. To test this hypothesis, we conducted a within-subject analysis of functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) data acquired during regular and irregular past tense production. Eight subjects (4 male, 4 female) converted verb stems to past tense forms under two different conditions: mixed lists of regulars and irregulars and separate lists of regulars and irregulars. A great deal of variation was found in the activation patterns for both regulars and irregulars across the subjects and also across the conditions for each individual subject. Some subjects had stronger activation for regulars than irregulars (or vice versa) in certain areas and in certain conditions, while other subjects did not display the same pattern but rather had differential activation for the two types of verb in other areas and in other conditions instead. Finally, an earlier report of consistently greater right
hemisphere involvement for women than men was not corroborated. These results suggest that the subjects were using different strategies to perform the tasks, sometimes changing from condition to condition. Similar individual differences in strategy application may underlie the variation seen across the previous imaging studies of inflectional morphology.

István Kenesi (University of Szeged)

VP-focus: Arguments & adjuncts

Following research into the prosody of focusing it is shown that in contrast to languages with in-situ focus (like English), a language with ex-situ focus (such as Hungarian) can make a distinction between exclusive (contrastive operator) and nonexclusive (or information) focus by syntactic means. The paper will argue that (1) VP-focus is expressed by placing the verb, one of its arguments, or referential adjuncts into the focus position; (2) VP-foci do not have to be understood as contrastive; and (3) ex-situ VP-focus is possible only in case of activity verbs. The fact that arguments can be used to focus the VP is consonant with the general properties of focusing. Since arguments are ultimately projected by the head, they are in a grammatical sense representative of it. This is shown to be true even in case of idioms, which can be focused much like other predicates, although idiom chunks are not focusable as such. Adjuncts, particularly nonreferential adjuncts, have no role in the projection of categories and are therefore incapable of 'transferring' their focus properties onto the category they are adjoined to whenever they are focused. Nonreferential adjuncts, e.g. manner adverbials, have limited contestability, though exclusive focus in such adjuncts is not impossible in the semantic domains they determine.

Jeanette King (University of Canterbury-New Zealand)

Maori language for the future: The vital role of adults

The purpose of this paper is to report relatively little known revitalization initiatives which aim to increase Maori language proficiency among Maori adults. Of particular relevance are the language immersion camps called Wananga Reo. One of the main characteristics of the Maori language revitalization movement in New Zealand is that it has developed from community initiatives. While focus has been on the development of Kohanga Reo (preschools) and, subsequently, on Maori medium schooling (Kura Kaupapa Maori), the success of these has depended on the efforts of Maori adults for whom Maori is a second language. These adults, often teachers or parents, are typically determined to become fluent speakers of Maori in as many domains as possible. Their role is crucial in intergenerational language transmission since these adults are the generation between the fluent speaking elders and the children now being raised as Maori speakers. It is argued that the intense commitment by a significant number of these adult ‘language fanatics’ is vital for the success of the language revitalization movement in New Zealand.

M. Dale Kinkade (University of British Columbia)

Coping with a new world: The use of lexical suffixes to create new vocabulary in Columbian Salish

Within a period of 50 years, from about 1809 to 1858, when Eastern Washington was opened to settlers, the white man became a potent factor in what is now central Washington state, and the next 30 years was a time in which life for the Middle Columbia Salish was revolutionized. Like Indians everywhere in North America, these people were expected to become farmers, housewives, tradesmen, etc. All this involved new concepts and new vocabulary. Salishan languages have resources in abundance to create new vocabulary. The lexical suffixes of Salishan languages allow speakers to create new words readily, and such words are ordinarily overtly descriptive; this had long been a way of creating new vocabulary. Much of this word creation to adapt to the new culture clustered around concepts relating to farming, houses, domesticated animals, and store-bought merchandise. The suffixes in these constructions are often thematic objects, instruments, goals, locatives, etc., but not agents. Examples are xåïksn 'derrick, forklift' (thing to raise by hand); m c'wiltn 'axle grease' (smear grease on a vessel); npap xåílc'a?tn 'harmonica' (instrument for habitually blowing on the inside); nl wla wùsn 'eyeglasses, goggles' (concave objects over both eyes); kaxwúšk 'beer' (foam on top of water). Such creations demonstrate the flexibility that Salishan languages have to create native words for virtually any complicated object or concept.

Robert Kirchner (University of California-Los Angeles)

Some new generalizations concerning germinate inalterability
It is a familiar observation that phonological processes frequently fail to apply to geminates. Thus, in Tigrinya, postvocalic spirantization of velar stops yields [ʔa-xallib] 'dogs' (cf. [k lbi] 'dog'), but [f k: r ] 'boasts', not [f x k r ] nor [f x: r ]. Previous treatments of this geminate inalterability have relied upon a distinction between singly- and multiply-linked autosegments. Subsequent research, however, has observed that the clearer cases of geminate inalterability are restricted to lenition processes (Churma 1988, Inkelas & Cho 1993), a generalization uncaptured by the autosegmental approaches. From a survey of over 90 lenition cases, I have identified several additional generalizations, including the following:

1. No process converts an underlying noncontinuant (geminate or otherwise) to a geminate continuant.
2. No process converts an underlying voiceless consonant (geminate or otherwise) to a voiced geminate obstruent.
3. 'Partial geminates' (i.e. homorganic nasal/stop and lateral/stop clusters) behave identically to full geminates with respect to spirantization; however, they readily undergo voicing.
4. No lenition process (other than degemination) exclusively targets geminates.

I argue that these generalizations follow from articulatory considerations such as the difficulty of making a precise partial constriction for an extended temporal interval. This phonetically-grounded account is formalized in terms of optimality theoretic conflict between constraints favoring articulatory reduction (i.e. lenition) and faithfulness constraints, and exemplified with analyses of Tigrinya and additional classic inalterability cases. Finally, the behavior of heteromorphic geminates, which frequently pattern with singletons, follows from interaction with output-output faithfulness constraints (Benua 1995), without resort to a 'true' vs 'fake geminate' representational distinction.

**Mika Kizu** (McGill University)

* Licensing conditions on VP ellipsis in Japanese

This paper argues that one of the elliptical constructions in Japanese that appears to be VP ellipsis requires a distinct account from the one in English (cf. Lobeck 1995); the elided structure involves a cleft construction where the presuppositional clause is empty but the focus clause is realized. The proposed analysis readily accounts for the apparent parallelism between the remnant phrase in the elided sentence and the focus phrase in the cleft construction. For example, multiple foci in the remnant clause are not generally allowed, and this is also true of the focus phrase in cleft constructions but not of other constructions, such as the one where the NP-mo 'NP-also' is located in sentence initial position. Another fact to support the cleft analysis is that, unlike English VP ellipsis, the elided structure in Japanese observes island effects; the remnant phrase in the elided sentence cannot be associated with a corresponding noun phrase within a complex NP nor an adjunct clause. This fact can be explained naturally under the assumption that a null operator movement is involved in the presuppositional clause of cleft constructions.

I further point out that the elided sentence is not created by a PF deletion operation (cf. Lasnik 1995) but by reconstruction at LF (Williams 1977 and others). The evidence is provided by the fact that the elliptical constructions in question do not yield a nonlocal sloppy reading (cf. Hojj 1996) whereas the corresponding fully realized sentence allow long-distance sloppy identity. If we assume that the elided structure is produced merely by a deletion operation at PF, such a nonlocal sloppy reading should be obtainable. The implication is that the licensing conditions on ellipsis differs between English and Japanese in that the latter does not license elided phrases by a functional category but creates ellipsis sites by focus movement in cleft constructions.

**Thomas Klein** (Georgetown University)

* Nasal velarization & dissimilatory blocking in Gullah

Work on the synchronic phonology of creole languages has rarely gone beyond phonemics. This paper contributes to filling this void by investigating the synchronic phonology of Gullah as reported in Turner (1949). First, the distribution of Gullah postvocalic nasals is laid out in some detail. The focus is on the finding that Gullah exhibits Nasal Velarization (Navel) plus a long-distance dissimilatory blocking effect: /n/ assimilates to [n] after [ w] (see (1a)) unless the word contains a velar consonant elsewhere (see (1b)).

1. a. [d wn] 'down'; [r wn] 'around'; [s nd wn] 'sundown'
   b. [g wn] 'gown'; [gr wn] 'ground'

(Se:...
Significantly, this pattern cannot have been transferred from the African languages involved in the Gullah lexicon or from noncreolized English: None of the African based vocabulary items contain [w], and the phonotactics of noncreolized varieties of English prohibit word-final [n] after [j] and [w]. In the second part of the paper, an optimality theory (OT) analysis of the facts is presented. Given the constraints in (2-4), the constraint hierarchy ID [dor] >> *DOR^2 >> NaVel yields the correct results,
(2) NaVel (informal): [w] shares its [dor] specification with following /n/.
(3) *PL+[cons]/DOR^2 (*DOR^2): More than one velar consonant is prohibited (cf. Alderete 1997)
(4) ID [dor]: If an input segment is [dor], then the correspondent output segment is [dor]. (McCarthy & Prince 1995)

Gullah nasal velarization is of particular interest from the creolist perspective because it cannot be explained via substrate or superstrate influence but reveals interesting internal properties of the phonological system of Gullah. The generalizations and the OT account presented in this paper show that the synchronic investigation of the phonology of creole languages leads to the discovery of intricate patterns and, thus, must be pursued in its own right in future work.

**Robert Knippen** (University of Chicago)

* Singular referring terms, scope, & modality

This paper will argue that by utilizing the more dynamic approach to quantification, scope, and modality which has been emerging from recent work such as Kamp and Reyle (1993), Groenendijk, Stokhof, and Veltman (1996), and particularly Farkas (1997), it is possible to provide a coherent scopal account of referentiality—the unique property of the class of nominals known as singular referring terms. Against objections to scopal accounts based on the fact that sentences containing singular terms have object-dependent truth conditions, I posit a scopal dependency between the world in which a referential term is uttered and the world with respect to which it is evaluated. Insights of recent work allow us to model the fact that the evaluation of expressions can also be dependent on worlds made available outside the sentence. Widest scope is therefore discourse scope. Given that the interpretation of referential expressions is tied to the context of utterance, it should not be a surprise that the value of a referential term usually remains constant across worlds of evaluation, though not across contexts; referential terms take discourse scope, and their content is therefore evaluated with respect to the world of utterance, or some alternative world available in the discourse.

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**E. F. Konrad Koerner** (University of Ottawa)

*Pioneers, forerunners, innovators, transitional figures in the history of linguistics: Convenient labels or historical realities?

In her important 1997 Longman book *Nineteenth Century Linguistics* Anna Morpurgo Davies makes a bold attempt to revise the standard account of the development of historical-comparative linguistics in the past century. In it, among other things, she debunks the traditional view that there was serious opposition on the part of the classicist establishment against the fledgling Indo-European field of studies, but she also puts into question what she perceives as the well-established custom of classifying the leaders of historical-comparative grammar into separate generations following one another, with certain scholars being labeled in accordance with their perceived role in the development of the field as 'precursors', 'founders', 'developers', 'consolidators', and the like. At first sight, such a system of characterization may seem almost self-evident, for instance, when we think of the lineage Bopp—Schleicher—Brugmann, provided of course we subscribe to the view that Schleicher was not merely a 'mopper-upper' of the Boppian framework. But even were we to deal with figures who we conventionally place into the same generation, such as Grimm (b. 1785), Rask (b. 1787), and Bopp (b. 1791), we may wonder whether indeed Rask is not more likely a 'forerunner' of Grimm, notably in terms of historical phonology, than one of the 'founders'. More problematic still is the position of August Friedrich Pott (1802-1887), a direct student of Bopp's, who not only was born much earlier than Schleicher (1821-1868), but also lived beyond the 'war of monographs' (Jankowsky) of 1885 fought between the generation of Georg Curtius (1820-1885), the teacher of Brugmann and others, and the *Junggrammatiker*, albeit not exclusively. As a result, we may ask whether Pott was a '(co)-founder', given his relative age, or a 'consolidator' in view of his important work in Indo-
European morphophonology. This paper proposes to discuss the usefulness of such labels in linguistic historiography, especially in view of the recognition that history is written more appropriately when social aspects (e.g. group dynamics, interaction between practitioners of the craft) are considered.

**Marvin Kramer** (University of California-Berkeley)

*Transitivity in Saramaccan adjectives, passives, & shared object serial verb constructions*

Constructions in Saramaccan Creole involving derived attributive adjectives, passives, and shared object serial verbs are reduced in transitivity, as defined by Hopper and Thompson (1980). The verbs that occur in these constructions are prototypically dynamic and patient affecting, implying agentivity. Thus these constructions of reduced transitivity are restricted to highly transitive verbs. For derived attributives and passives the verb must denote a visible effect on the referent, although no agent is expressed. Shared object serials may also include volitional verbs which do not affect the referent visibly, while expressing the agent. An expressed agent paired with a volitional verb raises the transitivity to a threshold of event interpretation and identifies volitionality as well as affectedness of the object as important features of transitivity in this construction. The verb in the passive and the second verb in a shared object serial are parallel syntactically in following their affected topical referent, and semantically in denoting the result of an event. This may reflect a functional overlap, and when combined with their nonexpression of the implied agent may explain the dispreference for passives. Basic attributive and predicate adjectives, on the other hand, are prototypically stative and so do not imply an agent. The lack of motivation for the expression of an agent may explain the absence of adjectives from shared object serials.

**Charles W. Kreidler** (Georgetown University)

*Noah Webster's linguistic influences*

Important influences on Noah Webster were John Locke and Johann David Michaëlis, from whom he formed the notions that a language expresses a national character to which all speakers contribute; that it can and should be 'developed'; and that written language should reflect speech. Thus after independence Webster became a leading proponent of an American standard of English, which he saw as a symbol that would promote cultural unity while also serving to differentiate the new nation from the former mother country. His early publications, fairly radical in nature, proposed innovations in spelling and acceptance of vocabulary items peculiar to the new country. However, before 1828, when his master work, An American Dictionary of the English Language, appeared, he became considerably more conservative. Unfortunately, he never became familiar with the work of Bopp, Rask, and Grimm, then going on in Europe.

**Paul D. Kroebber** (Indiana University)

*Some types of adverbal expression in Thompson River Salish*

Semantically distinct types of adverbal expression correspond to morphologically distinct constructions in Thompson Salish. Expressions that modify the internal structure of an event (frequency, duration, manner) are alternately treated as PPs or as higher predicates followed by a subordinate clause; the latter construction is evidently to be construed as cleftlike extraction rather than as complementation. Expressions that locate the whole event in time, however, are either simple adverbs adjoined to the main predicate or else PPs of a different sort from those that code frequency, duration, or manner. Degree expressions also take a distinct range of syntactic forms.

**Murat Kural** (University of California-Irvine)

*Obligatory dative shift & preposition incorporation*

The obligatory dative-shift with the verb give in English as in *John gave me a headache* or *Mary gave me an idea*, cf. *John gave a headache to me* or *Mary gave an idea to me*. This has often been taken as an indication that dative shift is lexical in its nature,

either through separate lexical entries give₁ and give₂, or a lexical conversion rule. This paper argues that this asymmetry can be derived from Koopman's (1996) layered PP structures, in the context of Baker (1988), where dative shift is the result of the incorporation of the preposition into the verb, leading to the accusative case assignment to the indirect object. Based on the distribution of adverbal elements and the
availability of stranding in Dutch, Koopman (1996) shows that directional PPs have a complex structure with a number of functional projections dominating the PP: PathP > CP(PlaceP) > DegP(PlaceP) > PlaceP > PP. Crucially, she places PathP as the topmost projection of the PP complex, above the PlaceP (cf. Jackendoff 1990's semantic predicates). The only stipulation in this work is that a directional P must incorporate into Path in order to check its directionality feature, which forces the head-movement of the preposition to to Path in English. In the regular (optional) cases of dative shift, e.g. Bill gave me a hat, a null preposition TO raises through the heads Place, Deg, C, and Path, and incorporates into give. In the spirit of Baker (1988), P-incorporation leaves the DP complement of P with no case, which then moves to the accusative case position, [Spec, AgroP] (due to the P-incorporation, both the goal and theme arguments are equidistant to [Spec, AgroP] (cf. Chomsky 1995). Since neither the headache nor the idea traverses any path in the examples above, it can be argued that goal arguments have their PathP is missing in these structures. This means the directionality feature of the preposition to/TO can be checked only by incorporating into V give, triggering the dative shift.

Darlene LaCharité (Laval University)
Onset cluster production by Jamaican children

In Standard English, including Standard Jamaican English, syllables may begin with consonant clusters that are not permitted in Jamaican Creole. This paper reports on a cross-sectional study of 50 rural Jamaican school children which shows that despite their earlier entry to school, where English is, at least officially, the medium of instruction, and despite earlier instruction in reading than is the case in either Canada or the U.S.A., Jamaican children lag far behind English-speaking children in the production of many Standard English consonant clusters. However, the significance of this study lies not in the time delays it reveals, but in the fact that it lays out a pattern of cluster production typical of normal Jamaican Creole-speaking children. Further, the study confirms, empirically, that Standard Jamaican English is a foreign language for many Jamaican children, and it suggests that Jamaican children may not be exposed to the amount of Standard English input, even at school, that is often assumed, or which is necessary for the mastery of Standard English and English-based skills.

Lisa Ann Lane (University of Michigan)
Takin' Bauman to the burbs: Verbal art in the discourse of suburban teens

I attempt to support Bauman's claim that 'it should be self-evident that performance genres, acts, events, and roles cannot occur in isolation, but are mutually interactive and interdependent' (1975:300) by exploring the use of storytelling, quotation, imitation, and joking in a group of teens' discourse. These teenagers are members of a highly 'local linguistic community' (Silverstein 1996) who are identifiable from emic and etic perspectives as separate from the other local linguistic communities as delimited by their linguistic norms, the geographic area in which they live and socialize, the closed social network ties they maintain, and the expressed ideologies they share. The focus of this aspect of the investigation is how performance frames are keyed and understood within their culturally specific conventions and who is eligible to perform which genres of verbal art. There are numerous examples of metalinguistic discourse surrounding the fluctuating social and linguistic roles of the group members. These social and linguistic fluctuations index the changing social organization/structure of the group. In this way we understand this Chicago socioclect as not only a geolinguistic variety but also as a variety in which interesting linguistic dexterity is displayed through numerous types of verbal art and performance by different members of the group under different conditions. The structure of the verbal art and performance does indeed shed light on the group's social organization and the group's use of external and internal linguistic references.

Sonja L. Lanehart & Paul A. Schutz (University of Georgia)
Facilitating self-regulated learning in English language studies classrooms

This paper uses current theory and research in educational psychology to explicate how instructors in English language studies classrooms can create activity settings that facilitate the development of students' self-regulated learning skills in those classrooms. The focus of the discussion is on the importance of goals in self-regulation and how goal-setting can be integrated into the English language studies classroom activity setting. In addition, the characteristics of activities that can be used to help develop self-regulated learning skills will be presented. Finally, the process of facilitating self-regulated learning in students will be discussed as it relates to classroom management issues. The hope is that by combining research in
edcuational psychology with what we do in English language studies classrooms we will foster a mutually beneficial interdisciplinary relationship that will better serve our students and what we do as instructors.

Laurel LaPorte-Grimes (University of Connecticut)
Causativity & finiteness in early child English

Children learning English have been observed to produce bare stem verbs with third-person singular (3ps) subjects where adults require the inflectional ending -s (e.g. Cazden 1968, Brown 1973, Phillips 1995), demonstrated in (1).

(1) a. Mommy read (EVE01, CHILDES)
If these utterances result from an omitted or underspecified clausal head (Wexler 1994 or Hoekstra & Hyams 1996), they should occur

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with a wide range of meanings, both realis and irrealis. In contrast, it is proposed here that these bare verbs are complements to a null matrix causative verb. This means that these utterances should occur primarily in the context of future actions (consistent with the semantics of will, can, etc.), or a desire for an action/event to occur (consistent with the semantics of want/make). To test these predictions, longitudinal data were collected from a child learning English (Ben). A representative sample was transcribed from 19.8 to 23.6 months, including detailed contextual information (Cl). The data include 168 verbal utterances (out of 552 total declarative utterances), 93 of which occur with 3ps subjects. Of these 93 verbs, 26 are bare stems. The results show that Ben overwhelmingly produced bare verbs in 'causative' contexts (22/26). Examples and interpretations are given below.

(2) a. doggie eat
   b. walk
   'Make the doggie eat the ball'  'Make him walk'

These results are difficult to reconcile with the view that bare verbs are fully compatible with realis interpretations, since they rarely occurred in such contexts (4 out of 93 total bare and inflected 3ps verbs). Instead, it is proposed that these bare verbs are embedded under a null causative verb, with the following structure: \(0_{\text{caus}} \llbracket_{\text{sc}} \text{doggie eat}\rrbracket\). In addition, the causee is optionally omitted in these utterances (2b), suggesting that the syntax/semantics of \(0_{\text{caus}}\) is like Italian fare.

Donna Lardiere (Georgetown University)
Agreement & optionality in a fossilized L2 grammar

Several recent second language acquisition studies have sought to investigate a hypothesized link between the development of verbal agreement morpholgy and knowledge about whether or not verbs undergo raising in the language being acquired. Some of these studies have concluded that learners who have not yet acquired the verbal agreement paradigm have either an unspecified value for inflectional feature strength or an impairment to the strength feature determining verb raising; such learners are thus predicted to exhibit 'optional' verb raising. Other studies have argued, however, that knowledge of syntactic verb raising (or nonraising) develops independently of verb morphology and in some cases may occur long before the acquisition of the morphological paradigms associated with finiteness. This paper examines longitudinal production data collected over an eight-and-a-half-year period from Patty, a native Chinese speaker whose L2 English grammar has demonstrably fossilized with regard to verbal agreement morphology, i.e. agreement affixation on lexical main verbs is omitted in nearly all (96%) obligatory contexts. However, the data show that main verbs are never raised in Patty's English—in other words, the data exhibit no optionality for verb raising. This finding supports the latter 'autonomy' approach listed above, showing that even in cases where verbal morphology is never acquired, it is still possible for the learner to determine the status of verb raising in the target language.

Richard K. Larson (State University of new York-Stony Brook)
Event descriptions in Haitian & Fon

Many languages show a systematic correlation between quantificational determiners and frequency adverbs; compare All/Some/Most/Few men brought pets and Always/Sometimes/Mostly/Rarely, men brought pets. Russell analyzes definite determiners as quantificationa; however determiner the seems to lack a counterpart adverb serving to create a definite event-description (cf. The men brought pets? ly men brought pets). I propose that certain definiteness markers in Haitian Creole and Fon realize the missing
item. In Haitian, the form serving as a definite determiner (-an/-nan) also occurs in construction with a clause; when it does, the event described by the sentence is informally described as 'expected' (la,b). I argue that sentences with adverb -an/-nan have a logical form wherein the sentence event is part of the restrictor in a definite event description (2); the restrictor is presupposed/expected:

(l) a. Moun nan detwi yon manchin nan man the destroy a car
   b. Moun nan detwi yon manchin nan the
   'The man destroyed a car'

(2) [THE e: destroying(e) & Agent/man,e & Theme(car,e)] occur(e)

This analysis explains the reported properties of -an/-nan, including ambiguities of presupposition reported by Lefebvre (1992, 1995). I show that this can be understood as a scopal effect, with differing attachments of -an/-nan determining different contents in the event restriction. The analysis also neatly explains why -an/-nan can be used to indicate focus, under the theory of Herburger (1997), wherein focus corresponds precisely to the formation of event descriptions. Finally, this account provides direct evidence for the separation of events and thematic roles in the semantic representation of a sentence.

**Kiri Lee** (Lehigh University)

*The information status of NP in nominative-case marker deletion in Japanese*

The deletion of the nominative-case marker in informal speech in Japanese has been studied previously. For instance, Kuno (1972, 1973) claimed that the nominative-case marker can never be deleted, and Saito (1987) attempted to give a structural account for the phenomenon based on Kuno's observation. Masunaga (1988) challenged Kuno's claim and showed that the nominative-case marker ga can be deleted when it has a neutral description interpretation and the pertinent NP is defocused. I agree with Masunaga's observation about the deletability of ga with a neutral description interpretation, but I feel that she relies too heavily on sentence-final particles to demonstrate the environment for an NP to be defocused. In this study, I examine nominative-case marker deletion through the information status of the NP in an NP-ga. The information status of an NP is examined within the matrix proposed by Prince (1992), i.e. discourse-old/discourse-new and hearer -old/hearer-new. I first look at sentences with NP-ga of the neutral description interpretation, and point out that some NPs in the NP-ga represent discourse-new information, while others represent discourse-old information. Then I claim that it is this distinction that makes the environment for nominative-case marker deletion. When the NP of an NP-ga represents discourse-old information, the nominative-case marker ga is deletable. On the other hand, when the NP of an NP-ga represents discourse-new information, the nominative-case marker ga cannot be deleted. Furthermore, this is in accordance with the observation that the ga of the exhaustive listing interpretation cannot be deleted, since the NP of an NP-ga of the exhaustive listing interpretation always represents discourse-new information.

**Claire Lefebvre** (Université du Québec à Montreal)

*The field of pidgin & creole linguistics in the 21st century*

The paper will begin with a short review of the progress achieved in the field of pidgin and creole linguistics over the last century. The first section will summarize the questions that have been addressed and the types of answers that have been given to these questions. The second part of the paper will identify avenues for further research. I will limit my discussion to two topics: the processes involved in the genesis of pidgin and creole languages, and the problem of the alleged similarity between creole languages. The third part of the paper will address the question of the impact of descriptive and theoretical work on pidgin and creole languages on applied pidgin and creole linguistics.

**Jeffrey Lidz** (University of Pennsylvania)

*Projection vs construction in verb syntax: Experimental evidence*

This paper addresses experimentally two hypotheses about the interface between syntax and lexical semantics. The lexical projection hypothesis (LPH) holds that the systematic regularities between verb
meaning and verb syntax are due to rules which project syntax from the meaning of the verb. The frame semantics hypothesis (FSH) holds that certain meanings are associated directly with syntactic structures and that a verb's ability to occur in such structures is due to a unification operation associating the meaning of a syntactic structure with the meaning of the verb. Since ungrammatical verb-frame pairings are ruled out by pragmatic filtering under FSH, this hypothesis predicts greater freedom of pairings than LPH, which simply does not generate these pairs. Subjects judged ungrammatical sentences constructed of verb-frame pairings from 5 verb classes and 5 frames on a scale of (un)grammaticality. These pairings were classified as 'nearby' or 'distant' on the basis of the semantic similarity between the verb and the verbs which normally occur in the frame. Subjects found semantically nearby verb-frame pairings to be less ungrammatical than semantically distant pairings. These results support LPH over FSH. The fit between a verb and a frame is dependent on the semantic similarity between the verb and frame.

Dominique A. H. Linchet (Birmingham-Southern College)

Historie de la Floride: A study on language & translation at the age of Louis XIV

This paper is a study of Richelet's French translation of Garcilaso de la Vega's La Florida del Inca (1605). I will demonstrate that the work of this influential translator was greatly affected by the linguistic and ideological ambience of the time. The French version of Garcilaso's text participates in the rhetoric of the government and bends the message of the Spanish author both to conform to the rules prescribed by the French Academy and to promote the government's encouragements to colonize the New World.

Jeffrey Loewenstein, Pablo Gomez, & Gregory Ward (Northwestern University)

Word order as a pragmatic cue for sentence processing

Previous accounts of preposing (a.k.a. 'topicalization') have argued that its felicitous use requires that the preposed element constitute a LINK between the current utterance and the prior discourse (Vallduví 1992, Birner & Ward forthcoming; see also Prince 1981). Links are related to the previous discourse by means of linking relations defined over partially-ordered sets, or 'posets' (Ward 1988, Hirschberg 1991). Birner & Ward claim that preposing, unlike canonical word order, explicitly marks the relevant constituent as a poset-related link, as in (1), where basketball is the link, baseball the trigger, and {sports} the inferred poset:

(1) Baseball's okay. Basketball I like a lot better.

To test this hypothesis, a recognition experiment was conducted in which participants were shown sets of dialogs, half in preposed word order and half in canonical word order. Following the dialogs, participants were presented with either the link, trigger, poset, or some unrelated word and asked whether or not the word appeared in the dialogs. Our results support Birner & Ward's account: Response times to posets inferred from preposed links were significantly longer (1330 ms) than response times to posets inferred from canonical word order links (1206 ms); r(10) = 3.22, p < 0.01. These results provide evidence for the crucial role of the link in the processing of preposing constructions.

Linda Lombardi (University of Maryland-College Park)

Evidence for MaxFeature constraints in Japanese

This paper presents an analysis of an interesting conspiracy in Japanese phonology and gives an argument that correspondence theory (McCarthy & Prince 1995) within optimality theory (Prince & Smolensky 1993) must recognize the existence of MaxFeature constraints. In McCarthy and Prince and subsequent work, featural faithfulness is instantiated with Ident constraints which check correspondent segments for featural identity. But arguments in later work (Causely 1996, LaMontagne & Rice 1995, Lombardi 1995, Walker 1997) show that this is insufficient for some phonological phenomena which require direct featural correspondence in the form of MaxFeature constraints. I will provide an argument for MaxVoice from the Japanese intensified adverb and verbal paradigm and will also show how this analysis eliminates the apparent need for rule ordering for certain cases in the verbal paradigm.

Luis López (University of Missouri-Columbia)

Merge, move/attract, & VP structure

After the work of Chomsky (1995) and Collins (1997), it seems clear that merge and move/attract are almost identical operations: Merge copies an element from the lexicon and merges it with another element
Horatio developed a project, from the pronouns, This 1-handshape variation in American Sign Language Ceil Lucas & Mary Rose among the Angolares as the result of (2).

The diachronic relevance of affixation in two Afro-Portuguese creoles Gerardo Lorenzino (Yale University)

The affixes -ru in Angolar and -du in Santomense (Portuguese past participle -ado/-ido) represent a unique case of a derivational ending in these two Afro-Portuguese creoles. They are used in participial constructions with the copula (AN □ a, ST sa) in a construction similar to Portuguese. In ST -du is attached only to verbs derived from the lexifier (PT amarrar 'to tie' > PT amarrado > ST maladu 'tied'). On the contrary, AN -ru has some extended formal and semantic uses vis-à-vis the more restricted Portuguese-like participial du-construction in ST. Thus, AN -ru undergoes affixation to: (1) adjectives derived from nonverbs in Portuguese (AN ngairu 'big', ST nglanji, PT grande), (2) the adverb m nci 'much, many' (AN m nciru, PT muito), and (3) African-derived words (AN katuru 'dry'; cf. Kimbundu kuluta, ST sEku, PT seco). Finally, Maurer (1995:50-1) shows that AN -ru adds emphasis and predominates in comparative constructions, e.g. masi diouru 'stronger' (masi diou is less common). A comparative analysis of AN -ru/ST -du will throw light on the creole history since affixation is likely to be the outcome of different linguistic inputs and processes: (1) a closer ST-PI contact on the plantations; (2) a closer AN-African languages contact in the maroon communities of the Angolares; and (3) further restructuring of ST among the Angolares as the result of (2).

Ceil Lucas & Mary Rose (Gallaudet University)

1-handshape variation in American Sign Language

This paper will focus on variation in American Sign Language (ASL) signs produced with a 1-handshape (= index finger extended, all other fingers and thumb closed). This handshape occurs in lexical signs, pronouns, and classifier signs. Variation may include an extended thumb, an extended pinky, relaxation of the middle, ring, and pinky fingers, in addition to the production of handshapes phonologically dissimilar to the 1-handshape and which seem to occur as a result of assimilation to the handshape of the preceding or following sign. This paper is part of an on-going study of variation in ASL funded by NSF. Data come from videotapes of conversational ASL collected in 7 sites in the U.S. Following an overview of the project, this paper will focus on data from African American and White signers from Boston, New Orleans, and Fremont, CA. Factors being considered in 1-handshape variation include the lexical category and grammatical function of the 1-handshape sign and the status of the handshape of the preceding and following signs. The result of a Varbrul analysis of 1-handshape variation will show clear evidence of assimilation at work, more with pronouns than with lexical signs. Correlation of 1-handshape variation with social factors will also be discussed.

Michael Mackert (West Virginia University)

Franz Boas' early Northwest Coast alphabet

During his work for the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Franz Boas (1858-1942) developed a phonetic alphabet for the native languages of British Columbia in his correspondence with Horatio Hale (1817-1896). The correspondence is of importance because (1) it provides a record of the
formation of Boas's first alphabet for Native American languages, and (2) it documents Hale's role in the formation of this system. This preliminary study discusses the practical and theoretical considerations entering into the design of Boas's early Northwest Coast alphabet, his indebtedness to Horatio Hale, and his views on already existing systems (XKeinschmidt 1851, F. M. Müller 1854, Lepsius 1863, Powell 1880, Techmer 1884, and Rink 1887-1891). Examples of the application of Boas's system will be given from his early grammatical sketches of Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian (Boas 1890, 1891a, 1891b).

**Terry Malone** (Summer Institute of Linguistics)

*Canonically long & geminate vowels in Chimila (Chibchan)*

In current phonological theory the possibility that a language could include both geminate multisyllabic vowels and canonically long monosyllabic vowels within its phonological inventory has not been often entertained; it has, however, been reported for the language Mayo (Athabaskan) in Hagberg 1990. Here it is claimed that Chimila has both canonically long and geminate vowels in its lexicon, on the basis of differences in phonetic lengths, pitch patterns, accentual patterns, vowel shortening processes, distributional evidence, and certain morphological processes. On the basis of distributional, morphological, and comparative evidence, a plausible hypothesis is proposed accounting for the occurrence of both kinds of bimoraic vowels. The Chimila data indicate that the representation of these vowels must parallel that proposed in Hagberg 1990 and that pitch does not associate with the moraic tier but instead with the skeletal or syllabic tier.

**Terry Malone** (Summer Institute of Linguistics)

*Pitch-accent in Chimila (Chibchan)*

While a number of brief phonological descriptions have been published of languages of the Chibchan family spoken in northern Colombia, no investigator has reported the existence of pitch-accent or tonal systems in any of these languages. Here I describe in detail the pitch-accent system of Chimila, an endangered language belonging to this linguistic subgroup. The Chimila pitch-accent system includes lexical high and low pitch, which interact with segmental phonology, nasalization, and metrical structure. Primary accent is predictable, and operates independently of lexical pitch; the only exceptions are cases where it shifts one more to the right to indicate the presence of lexical high pitch. Secondary accent is predictable and is indicated by high pitch.

**Robert Malouf** (Stanford University)

*Coherent nominalizations*

It has long been noted that certain types of nominalizations are quite common in the world's languages, while other types are rare or nonexistent. Most generative treatments of verbal gerunds assume that they involve some kind of mixed phrasal projection (i.e. an NP headed by a V). Under this view, the cross-linguistic variation can be derived from a phrasal coherence constraint: Mixed projections must have a single point of articulation between their nominal and verbal parts. Others have argued that verbal gerunds are better viewed as mixed lexical categories: Gerunds are Ns and project NPs but have the subcategorization properties of verbs. Under this view, the cross-linguistic pattern must follow from local markedness constraints on lexical entries. For languages like English, the phrasal coherence hypothesis (PCH) and the lexical coherence hypothesis (LCH) make more or less the same predictions. However, this is not the case when we look at more typologically diverse languages. Standard Arabic and Fijian each have a nominalization construction that is comparable to the English verbal gerund. However, Standard Arabic's VSO word order requires that the possessive subject come immediately after the nominalized verb, violating the PCH. And in Fijian, the gerund construction takes a possessive subject but shows tense marking just like a finite clause. By standard assumptions, tense is associated with some verbal projection higher than the subject, and this construction violates the PCH. On the other hand, the LCH assumes a constraint on lexical entries, and there is no evidence that Fijian verbs are lexically specified for tense. So, for VSO languages and languages with analytic tense marking, the LCH and the PCH make divergent
predictions. Any change to the PCH to account for these construction would greatly weaken any predictive power that the PCH might have. However, both constructions are completely consistent with the LCH as it stands, lending further support to a lexicalist treatment of verbal gerunds.

Danilla Marcondes de Souza Filho (Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro)  
Skepticism & the philosophy of language in early modern thought

My main contention in this paper is that skeptical arguments in early modern philosophy, which were mainly arguments purporting to establish limits to knowledge, opened the way to the consideration of language as an alternative to mind's intuitive powers in man's access to reality. Linguistic representation became important as a way of avoiding some of the main problems affecting mental representation. I intend to concentrate here on one specific skeptic argument known as the 'maker knowledge argument, maintaining that we can only know what we create. My hypothesis is that the philosophical interest in language can be understood in many cases as a result of an interpretation of language as man's creation and, therefore, as part of the 'maker knowledge tradition'.

Bruce T. Martin (Francis Marion University)  
(Session 11)  
A simple method for limiting structural ambiguity using underspecification

One major problem in the parsing of texts has always been the combinatorial explosion in numbers of possible interpretations associated with individual sentences. The major contributors to the numbers of structural ambiguities in texts are: (1) lexical ambiguity (polysemy), (2) different bracketings of compound nouns, (3) different bracketings of conjoined terms, (4) multiple attachment sites for PPs and APs, and (5) quantifier scoping. In short, most of these are the structures consisting of series of constituents which may be bracketed in several ways. For example, (1) below would be at least 48 ways ambiguous, counting 2 meanings of bank x 2 bracketings of bank alignment parameters x 2 bracketings of the conjoined structure x 3 ways to attach the PPs x 2 scopings for some.

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(1) Some of the bank alignment parameters surprised the official at the table by the secretary and treasurer and client.

This paper describes the approach taken in an implemented system which creates a single bracketed representation as in (2) with flat structures for the constituents in question, which embodies all of the possible ambiguous interpretations, and from which the interpretations can easily be extracted on an as-needed basis.

(2) S[NP[Q[some] NP[the Nbar[bank alignment parameters]] VP[V[surprised] NP[the [official] PP[at NP[the Nbar[tab]]] PP[by P[the Nbar[CONJ[and Nbar[secretary treasurer client]}}}]

Each kind of constituent can then be evaluated in terms of various bracketings and attachments as needed by the system in which they are being parsed. This approach differs from both the structure-sharing packed forests of Tomita (1986) and the underspecification of semantic representations taken by Poesio (1994). This paper will describe how this strategy has been implemented in a reference resolution system and give examples of highly ambiguous texts which have been successfully interpreted by the system. The system was developed to interpret the MUC-3 corpus of texts.

Hirokuni Masuda (University of Hawaii-Hilo)  
(Session 45)  
Narrative representation theory & creolistics

The mission of narrative representation theory is to describe narrative structures of pidgins and creoles as well as to provide insights into the general principles that operate in the formation of suprasentential structures in all natural languages. Narrative representations, which function as part of the underlying language faculty, are direct projections of the speakers' mental images being realized as five external levels of units: interpretation units; coherency units; episode units; juncture units; and apex units. Each of these levels consists of the essential sequence of the internal representations that are manifested by two outer subcategorized components and another two inner subcategorized components: exposition and development; and complication and denouement, respectively. There is a fundamental difference in the organization of narrative structures in Standard English (SE) and Hawaii Creole English (HCE). First, the cycle of the internal components tends to be multiple in SE but single in HCE. Second, while SE presents
a variety of numbering preference in the external components, HCE shows a specific numbering preference. Third, although interpretation units in SE tend to be clauses, those in HCE are often times smaller. These HCE features appear to derive from the creolization process when the core part of HCE narrative grammar was being established.

**Akemi Matsuya** (University of Maryland-College Park)

*Passivization & scrambling*

Are A-chains always triggered by only case-feature checking, as proposed in Chomsky (1992, 1995), Hornstein (1995, 1996a), and Lasnik (1992, 1995)? Consider a passive sentence in Japanese. (1) including an 'intransitive verb,' fur 'fall,' is passivized. I hypothesize that (1) is derived from (2), which means that this 'intransitive verb' has an internal □ -role (=agent) and an external □ -role (=location) within VP. In addition, I treat a passive morpheme as an □ -role assigner. The active sentence (2) is transformed to the so-called indirect passive by □ -role checking at the multiple Specifiers of AgrSP under overt verb raising (see Koizumi 1995, Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1997). Notice that each argument receives two □ -roles throughout passivization. This is not problematic in the Minimalist Program, which does not assert one-to-one correspondence between an argument and a □ -role (see Hornstein 1996b).

(1) Taroo-ga ame-ni (2) fu-rare-Amel-ga Ta(rī)-nō Amel-nfut-ta
Tarse-ga furare-ta
-Nominitive rain-by fall-passive-past rain-Nom -on fall-past

'Unfortunately Taro was caught in the rain.' 'It rained on Taro.'

This theory can account for the fact that (3) and (4b) are illicit. Scrambling of the internal argument in (3) is prohibited because all □ -roles are exhausted in passivization. (4b) shows that reconstruction of the scrambled NP after checking a □ -role at the higher Spec of AgrSP is disallowed. In short, not only A-scrambling but also passivization are triggered by Greed (□ -role checking).

(4) a. Karera-o otagai- sensei-ga hihansi-ta
   them-Accusative each other-Genitive teachers-Nom criticize-past
   'Each other's teachers criticized them.'

**Martha McGinnis** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

*Case & equidistance in locality*

This paper draws attention to a set of facts bearing on A-movement locality, which concern verbs with two internal arguments. Some Georgian unaccusatives allow either internal argument to raise to subject position. Cross-linguistically there are also SubjExp and ObjExp verbs that allow only one of the two arguments to raise to subject. By Attract (Chomsky 1995), the target attracts the closest eligible constituent. The experiencer argument is merged higher, so raises straightforwardly to subject position. Raising the theme argument over it poses a question for locality. I attribute this possibility to (a) nonquirky inherent case making the higher object ineligible for attraction, and/or (b) movement of the lower argument to a position equidistant from the target. For Chomsky (1986), inherent genitive case in English is 'realized' in complement or specifier position. One possibility is that there are two kinds of inherent case (quirky and nonquirky), with only one attractive. The evidence supports this view. The embedded subject in a raising construction obligatorily skips past an indirect object to become matrix subject, showing that the IO is ineligible for attraction. The IO has nonquirky inherent case, unlike the structurally case-marked object of to in a pseudopassive, which raises to subject. The higher argument in and ObjExp construction also has nonquirky inherent case, making it ineligible for attraction so that the lower argument skips past it to subject position. The higher argument in a SubjExp construction has quirky case, so raises to subject. Equidistance likewise permits a lower argument to raise past a higher one. Such cases are identifiable from the fact that they give rise to the chain-condition effects discussed by Rizzi (1986).

**John H. McWhorter** (University of California-Berkeley)

*Motivations for the Afrogenesis hypothesis: The striking anomaly of mainland Spanish America*

Creolists have occasionally addressed the bizarre scarcity of Spanish-based creoles but have generally addressed only the Spanish Caribbean islands, rather than mainland colonies such as Mexico, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador. While the absence of creoles on the islands can be explained via the gradualness of the introduction of slaves, Africans were imported quickly in large numbers to the mainland
colonies, and yet creoles failed to emerge. The consistent failure of creoles to appear under one particular colonizer suggests a unified explanation rather than a random conglomeration of local ones. As it happens, the Spanish were the one power who lacked trade settlements on the West African coast. Given that many creolists have suggested that English and French creoles arose on the West African coast, the facts suggest that such settlements were the ultimate source of New World creoles, and that the absence of Spanish creoles is due to the Spanish lacking any such settlements where a parent contact language could have emerged. The Spanish situation is central to the Afrogenesis hypothesis of creole origin and is crucial to the evaluation of recent work tracing English creoles to Cormantin and French creoles to Senegal.

**Raimundo Medina** (University of Zulia-Venezuela)

*The inflectional complex in Yukpa (Cariban)*

The aim in this paper is to explore the behavior of the INFL complex proposed by Pollock (1989), Chomsky (1992), and others. The Yukpa copulative verb which appears in the underlying representation is deleted in the phonetic form of some expressions by full interpretation when the INFL complex is realized within the V complement. The theory of movement is violated if the INFL complex is adjoined to X'. Therefore, the parameterization of the INFL complex is suggested.

**Sérgio Meira** (Rice University)

*Constituency, quasi-constituency, & no constituency in Tiriyó (Cariban)*

In Tiriyó (Cariban) an analysis of constituency relations with the usual criteria (contiguity, 'movement', and 'insertion' possibilities, particle placement and scope, etc.) reveals three solid constituents: a possessor-possessed ('genitive') phrase, an object-verb phrase, and a noun-Pstposition phrase. Aside from these, there are groups of coreferential nouns that have constituent properties in certain environments (e.g. when followed by a postposition), but not elsewhere; and also groups of words that appear to have no constituency properties whatsoever (e.g. subject and verb). In this work, I argue that these phenomena are best understood as a constituency continuum, with actual instances ranging from 'solid' phrases to 'structureless' word groups. As a consequence, although some Tiriyó sentences do have a 'tight' syntactic structure, not all do; in fact, most of them do not.

**Melissa Melinger** (State University of New York-Buffalo)

*Resolving conflicting syllabifications in Seneca*

In Seneca (Iroquoian) three processes are sensitive to an open/closed syllable distinction: accent, penultimate lengthening (PL), and even penultimate lengthening (EPL) (Chafe 1967, Michelson 1988). However, each of these three processes has a different definition of closed (Chafe 1967, Stowell 1979, Prince 1983, Michelson 1988, Hayes 1995). Previous analyses have relied on processes of resyllabification to accommodate the different definitions of closed (cf. Michelson 1988), but this option is not available to nonderivational theories of phonology. This paper presents a unified analysis of Seneca syllable structure by (1) proposing an optimality analysis that generates closed syllables for accent and EPL, and (2) arguing that PL is not sensitive to syllable structure, contrary to previous analyses. According to the analysis presented in this paper, the adoption of position-specific constraints allows the diverse definitions of closed to be realized without the need for cyclic syllabification. Thus, a system which previously seemed incompatible with nonderivational theories can be accounted for with a single input-output mapping.

**Heliana Mello** (Alexandria, VA)

*On the genesis of Brazilian vernacular Portuguese*

In this paper the linguistic factors that led to the genesis of Brazilian vernacular Portuguese (BVP) are discussed in light of the grammatical and lexical features in that language variety that make it diverge from standard Brazilian and European Portuguese. Through the analysis of data from BVP, theoretical conclusions will be drawn from the interaction of processes such as language contact, dialect leveling, and drift.

**Norma Mendoza-Denton** (Ohio State University)

*English grammaticalization from verb to preposition: The case of concerning NP*
In this paper I trace the historical development of the *concerning* NP construction from a clause-internal verbal construction to a topicalized prepositional construction. Using data from the Helsinki On-Line Corpus, this paper develops a syntactic and pragmatic explanation of the expansion and generalization in the usage of *concerning* constructions from the period of 1420-1710. I rely on ideas developed by Aissen (1992) on external topics and show that *concerning* constructions undergo a four-step change:

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(1) Initially, these constructions occur in S-internal position as [NP1 *concerning* NP2], where *concerning* NP2 serves to restrict the denotation of NP1.
(2) Later, NP1 in topic position becomes optional and *concerning* NP is pragmatically understood to restrict the null topic of the sentence.
(3) Once it has acquired some topic properties, the construction *concerning* NP can be pragmatically fronted to topic position but still must bind a pronoun in the lower clause.
(4) Finally, this topic-delimiting *concerning* NP is reanalyzed as a separate prepositional constituent, no longer required to bind a pronoun, and can occur sentence-initially in external topic position. *Concerning is* part of a semantic set of constructions (*touching, considering*) that originated S-internally and have developed an additional function of topic-restrictors in external topic position in Modern English. I will argue that the development of these changes in semantically related constructions has pragmatic roots.

Corey A. Miller (Motorola, Inc./University of Pennsylvania)
Orhan Karaali & Noel Massey (Motorola, Inc.)
Learning postlexical variation in an individual

We describe machine learning of postlexical variation in the speech of one individual and provide a practical and effective means by which postlexical variation can be realized in synthetic speech, resulting in increased naturalness and acceptability. Postlexical pronunciations from a phonetically, syntactically, and prosodically labeled speech corpus of one American English speaking individual are aligned with lexical pronunciations from a pronunciation lexicon. These pronunciations are submitted to a neural network, along with featural information about the phones and contextual information about the distance and adjacency of the phones to different prosodic and syntactic boundaries. The network then learns to generalize from the knowledge gained in this training process so that it can alter lexical pronunciations based on context in order to generate postlexical pronunciations. We will present data indicating various learned postlexical phenomena including flapping, glottalization, vowel reduction, contextual schwa coloring, and consonant cluster simplification. Support for different phonological and prosodic representations can be assessed by comparing their effect on neural network performance. Current results indicate that 86% correct postlexical phones were predicted by the network on novel test data, indicating substantial learning given that there was only a 66% match of lexical and postlexical phones in that data.

Margaret Mishoe & Boyd Davis (University of North Carolina- Charlotte)
'So I says, says I': Quotatives in Southern White discourse

Quotatives are constructed dialogue (Tanner 1989, Schiffrin 1995); they purport to be obvious but can be indirect, involved with implicature at multiple levels. The speaker of the quotative can represent single- or doubly-voiced discourse for a variety of purposes (Goodwin 1990), including imitation and mimicry. 'Tellin' on' is a special case of quotatives, the performance (Bakhtin 1952, 1986; Saussure 1881, 1922) of which produces a continuum of intimacy keyed to cultural norms for class and gender, and specified situational roles. The speaker often includes self-deprecation, may present self as comic, and suggests an intent to reveal self by 'tellin on' another. The performance, usually a code-switch, has several functions. It presents different overtones of sincerity, politeness, and quantity depending on the situation and the degree of intimacy owned, obtained, or conferred on the auditors, and the auditors infer their status and the intentions of the speaker by whether quotatives are employed. In this study we examine the impact of public and private details of information embedded in quotatives from a continuum of interviews and conversations by white working-, middle- and upper class speakers from the Charlotte interview corpus and the Cedar Falls conversation corpus.

Marianne Mithun (University of California-Santa Barbara)
The reordering of morphemes

Several kinds of proposals have been put forth to explain the relative sequencing of morphemes we find in languages. Some are purely synchronic, such as Baker's 1985 'mirror principle', Rice's 1991 consideration of relative semantic scope, and Bybee's 1985 comparisons of relevance. Yet we know that morpheme order is not usually the result of spontaneous on-line decisions at the moment of speech. Morphological structures are built up over time, the product of successive processes of grammaticization and reanalyses. Morpheme order thus often reflects the sequence of grammaticization of categories, though this may not be at odds with synchronic accounts. Once built up, however, morphological structures are not immune to further change. A number of processes may alter morpheme order after attachment has occurred. Here it will be shown that some shifts in order can be triggered by an evolving mismatch between form and function, as original derivational affixes develop into inflectional ones and shift their positions to the edges of words. Examples will be given of such developments within both layered and templatic structures, with the evolution of certain mood suffixes in Central Alaskan Yup'ik (Eskimo-Aleut) and infinitives in Cherokee (Iroquoian). Finally, precise mechanisms by which the shifts could have occurred will be discussed.

Michael Montgomery (University of South Carolina)

'It'll kill ye or cure ye, one': The history & function of alternative one

Most recent research on regional variation in American English, especially that pursued within the linguistic atlas tradition, has focused on lexical and phonological variation. Except for verb principal parts and verbal auxiliaries (esp. Atwood 1953), little systematic attention has been given to the regional dimensions of grammatical features or to what such variation can tell us about language change. Among the most interesting are grammatical features whose occurrence is regional are those that are 'camouflaged' or 'disguised', involving forms identical to the language as generally used but differing in syntax or in certain functions, often in subtle ways. An example is what may be termed 'alternative one', the postponing of the indefinite pronoun one (meaning 'one or the other') after two conjoined alternatives, as in (1-4):

(1) He was in Tennessee or Kentucky, one.
(2) I'll bring back the doctor or his instruments, one.
(3) I will see you or send word, one.
(4) Boneset is bitterer than quinine and hit'll kill ye or cure ye, one.

The origin of this distinctive feature of Southern American speech is obscure. Undocumented in the British Isles historically and unknown by contemporary speakers there today, it may well have arisen in the American South. This paper analyzes the detailed patterning of alternative one using both citations from DARE and from observed and recorded conversations in South Carolina and Tennessee, and the results a series of elicitations examining the acceptability of alternative one in a range of syntactic environments. From this analysis, three distinct hypotheses for the development of this construction will be identified and explored.

Timothy Montler (University of North Texas)

Klallam vowels

Klallam, a Central Salishan language of northwestern Washington, has basically four distinctive vowels: /i, u, a/. Each occurs on the surface both stressed and unstressed. The stressed vowels represent underived forms. All of the unstressed forms are products of general and superficial phonological processes. Unstressed [i] and [u] are underlying glides syllabified intervocally as a result of a process deleting unstressed [ ]. All cases of surface unstressed [ ] are excrecent in a very limited environment. Unstressed [a] derives from [ ] through a general process of retraction before laryngeals. This vowel retraction is unusual in being triggered by a following /h/ or /ʔ/ and also affects stressed /i/, which becomes [ ], and stressed /a/, which becomes [o]. Another process may delete this following laryngeal making the [i]/[i ] and [u]/[o] quality difference carry the distinction. The stressed /a/ becomes long in this retracting environment so that the a/ opposition becomes a/ a under stress and preceding a laryngeal. The combined effects of these processes make Klallam phonetically different from its closest relative, Northern Straits,
which typically has no more than one non-schwa vowel per word and has few cases of unstressed [i] and [u] and none of unstressed [a]. A process deleting any unstressed / / not affected by retraction gives Klallam both longer consonant clusters and more instances of unstressed [i] and [u]. This is amplified by the fact that Klallam historically has merged /l/ into the glide /j/, thus providing more input to the vocalization process.

Frida Morelli (University of Maryland-College Park)
A factorial typology of onset obstruent clusters

Complex onsets consisting of two obstruents violate the sonority sequencing principle; nevertheless a significant number of languages allows them as part of their inventories. I show that a cross-linguistic study reveals that the occurrence of the four possible obstruent clusters (i.e. FS, SF, FF, and SS - F [fricative] and S[stop]) strictly obeys certain implicational universals. It is observed that the presence of FF implies the presence of FS, and that the presence of SS implies SF which in turn implies FS. Based on these implications, there are only six ways in which inventories of obstruent clusters can be constructed, and consequently only six possible grammars. Assuming implications as a means to determine markedness, the following markedness relations are established among the obstruent clusters: FF > SF and SS > SF > FS (‘>’ is more marked than’). I argue that an inviolable sonority scale that assigns a higher sonority rank to fricatives cannot account for the generalizations which are observed in the typology. Following Clements (1990), I assume that the two classes of sounds differ only in terms of the feature [continuant], which is not relevant for sonority. I propose an analysis of obstruent clusters based on optimality theory (Prince & Smolensky 1993). The relative harmony (i.e markedness) of these clusters is formally derived by evaluating them against a set of structural constraints. I propose two OCP constraints, one for each value of the feature [continuant] and a constraint that disallows a stop as first member of the cluster (*SO). Interaction of these constraints with Faithfulness allows to construct the six different constraint hierarchies, which account for the six different typological classes of languages. The implicational universals follow from entailment considerations on the rankings established to admit the relevant structures in the typological grammars.

Yukiko Morimoto (Stanford University)
A lexical account of phrasal nominalization in Japanese

Previous research on Japanese -sa nominalization has analyzed -sa as a phrasal affix based on data like (1), where the verbal inner part appears to be transparent in the syntax and able to assign ‘verbal’ (e.g. nominative, accusative) case rather than the expected ‘nominal’ (genitive) case to its arguments (Sugioka 1986, 1992; Urushibara 1994).

(1) taro -wa tesuto-de ii ten-no/q tori-ta-sa-ni yoku benkyoo sita.

TOP test-LOC good score-GEN/ACC get-want-NML-COP well study do.PAST
'Taroo studied hard out of the desire to get a good score on the exam.'

In this talk, I argue for the lexical attachment of -sa and assume that the internal structure of a nominalized element is opaque in the syntax. Furthermore, I show that the verbal case marking is not due to nominalization by -sa, but to verbalization by the following

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suffix (-ni), which I analyze as a verb-derived copula (Sells 1996a, 1996b). Crucially, data like (1) exhibit the case marking patterns expected for verbalization (verbal outer part, nominal inner part) rather than nominalization (nominal outer part, verbal inner part). The verbalization analysis not only captures the ordering of projections (VP-over-NP) but also rules out the NP-over-VP structure and shows that the part internal to the nominalization is opaque.

Regina Morin (Georgetown University)
Then nonproductivity of apparent morphophonological alternations in Spanish

In the only existing large-scale study of consonantal alternation in Spanish (Harris 1969), all voicing and nasal place assimilation, phonological deletion, depalatalization, stem-final devoicing, and velar and coronal softening, are considered phonological. Later studies (e.g. Hooper 1976) suggest that these alternations in Spanish are morphophonological. The present study argues that with the exception of
diminutive suffixation, determined by the shape of the base, plural formation, based on syllable structure, and devoicing in prefixation with sub- Spanish exhibits no synchronic morphophonological alternations. All the voicing and nasal place assimilation, phonological deletion, and depalatalization data can apparently be accounted for with synchronic constraint rankings; however, we argue that such alternations are relevant in the synchronic grammar only if, in addition to being predictable on some phonological or morphological basis, they are productive. This is not the case in Spanish, as evidenced by the fact that the alternations are found only in the closed nonproductive second and third conjugation classes, and by historical considerations. Likewise, devoicing and softening alternations are impossible to account for in any theoretical framework and are difficult to represent as synchronic assimilation processes with no stipulated intermediate stages in any of the existing feature geometries. Like the other alternations examined in this study, devoicing and softening are largely a historical reflex of the evolution from Latin to Spanish and have no synchronic relevance in the grammar of Spanish.

M. Lynne Murphy (Baylor University)

Acquisition of antonymy: Evidence from child input & output

Co-occurrence theories of antonym acquisition predict that children will only use antonymic pairings after they have received sufficient exposure to co-occurrences of the words in appropriate contexts to determine that they co-occur more frequently than other pairs. However, co-occurrence theories have only been tested on adult-oriented communication. This study's examination of actual child-adult interactions reveals that: (1) Children spontaneously use certain antonym pairings from the earliest recordings. (2) Children use far more antonymic pairings than the adults do and at far higher deviations from chance co-occurrence than their parents and other interlocutors. (3) Some of the pairings used by children are not evident in the input they have received. (4) Children creatively pair antonyms and make metalinguistic commentary on antonyms that seems to indicate awareness of a systematic means for pairing antonyms on the basis of semantic opposition, rather than learning those pairings through exposure. Thus, the evidence strongly suggests that children don't need to determine that some words co-occur at greater than chance rate before understanding that they are antonyms, and they have access to semantic rules that allow them to expect and derive antonymic pairings.

Ilana Mushin (State University of New York-Buffalo)

Choice of n(o) da variant in Japanese oral narrative: An epistemological status analysis

This paper contributes to the vast literature analyzing the pragmatically complex Japanese sentence final construction n(o)da (e.g. Kuno 1972, Iwasaki 1985, Aoki 1986, Cook 1990). N(o) da has a number of formal variants in actual language use, including no (lacking the predicate component) and the reduced nominalizer form -nda. Choice of variant has been attributed primarily to social factors such as gender, genre, and formality (Cook 1990, Maynard 1992). This paper challenges a simple sociolinguistic analysis by demonstrating that choice between variants no and -nda is also related to the speaker's epistemological state. The hypothesis presented in this paper is that the da component of n(o)da was less likely to occur in discourse contexts where the speaker's own voice was self-evident, such as in personal narratives. It was also hypothesized that da was more likely to occur in contexts where speakers were motivated to emphasize their involvement as a speaker (cf. Maynard 1992). A corpus of 17 oral personal experience narratives and retellings of these narratives by other people was used test this hypothesis, which was strongly supported by the two results presented in this paper.

Julien Musolin (University of Maryland-College Park)

The use of some in the acquisition of English

In this paper, we use data from child language to argue that some and any in English are related by a morphologically suppletive rule, as originally proposed by Klima (1964) and that some, contrary to what is commonly assumed (in particular Progovac 1994) should not be classified as a polarity sensitive item (Krifka 1994). We base our claim on results from a recent experiment where young children's comprehension of sentences of type (1) was tested using a truth value judgment task (Crain & McKee 1985).

(1) John didn't see some students.

Half these children, between the ages of 3;10 and 6;6 (mean 5;1), understood the types of sentence in (1) as though they meant (2), thus incorrectly interpreting some in the scope of negation.
(2) John didn't see any students.
In order to explain what drives children to make this incorrect initial hypothesis we explore the operation of two principles which would yield the observed result: the semantic subset principle (Crain 1995) whose application would rely on the fact that (2) entails (1)

but not vice-versa (thus creating a semantic subset/superset configuration) and a version of the rigidity hypothesis (Jackendoff 1972) according to which the relative scope of two elements (negation and some in the case of (1)) is read off their surface syntactic position. We also argue that to explain how children will eventually expunge this incorrect initial hypothesis from their grammar, the assumptions we make above about the status of some and any must be on the right track. We take our study and its results to cast some light on the role of learnability constraints on the development of grammatical competence as well as on the role of child language data in the formulation of grammatical theory.

Julien Musolino & Stephen Crain (University of Maryland-College Park)

All sentences are not interpreted the same by children & adults

In the paper, we address the question of how the meaning of sentences containing both the universal quantifier every and negation is acquired by children. It has long been observed that unlike other quantifiers, when an NP in the subject position of a negated sentence contains the universal quantifier every, the NP can be interpreted both outside the scope of negation (wide scope) and also within the scope of negation (narrow scope) (Jespersen 1917, Horn 1972, Jackendoff 1972). That is (1) can be paraphrased as 'no horse jumped over the fence' or as 'not every horse jumped over the fence' whereas (2) can only be paraphrased as 'There exists a horse such that he didn't jump over the fence' and not as 'no horse jumped over the fence'.

(1) Every horse didn't jump over the fence.
(2) Some horse jumped over the fence.

In a recent experiment we tested children's comprehension of sentences of type (1) using a truth value judgment task (Crain & McKee 1985). The subjects were 20 monolingual English speaking children between the ages of 4 and 7;4 (mean 6;1). The main finding is that the child subjects rejected the narrow scope interpretation 90% of the time, whereas all subjects in a control group of adults accepted these same sentences under the narrow scope interpretation 100% of the time. In contrast to adults then, it appears that many children only have access to one interpretation of such sentences such as (1). The observed effect is consistent with two principles of interpretation: the semantic subset principle (Crain 1995) and Jackendoff's (1972) 'rigidity' hypothesis. On either account, simple positive evidence would indicate to children that sentences like (1) can be assigned the narrow scope interpretation.

Toshihide Nakayama (Montclair State University)

Argument choice in Nuu-chah-nulth possessive expressions

In Nuu-chah-nulth when an argument, either subject or object, is possessed, possession is marked morphologically either on the argument or on the predicate. When expressed on the argument, the possessive suffix is attached to the possessee along with a suffix indicating the person of the possessor. In Nootka when an argument, either subject or object, is possessed, possession is marked morphologically either on the argument or on the predicate. When expressed on the argument, the possessive suffix is attached to the possessee along with a suffix indicating the person of the possessor. When possession is expressed on the predicate, the possessive suffix is attached to the predicate, and the possessor is indicated by the subject pronominal suffix. Thus, the argument structure, as indicated by morphology, is affected in such a way that the possessor becomes the subject. In this paper I will show that this choice between the two strategies of marking possession of an argument is based on discourse dynamics. The choice of a grammatical argument is neither random nor interchangeable, and the factor that affects the decision is the discourse salience of the possessor and the possessee.

Mine Nakipoglu (University of Minnesota-Minneapolis)

An event structural analysis of Turkish split intransitives

Ozkaragöz (1980) identifies an unaccusative diagnostic for Turkish, based on Equi in the gerund construction marked by -arak, and argues that a sentence containing the -arak suffix is grammatical only if
the verbs in the embedded and the matrix clauses are both unaccusatives or unergatives. This paper looks at a further dimension of the behavior of split intransitives in the -arak construction and argues that sentences containing the -arak suffix convey different meanings based on their having unaccusatives or unergatives in both clauses. Specifically, I argue that if a sentence has unaccusative verbs in both its embedded and matrix clauses, it exhibits a consecutive action (CA) reading, as in (1); if it has unergative verbs, it exhibits a simultaneous action (SA) reading as in (2).

(1) Adam bogul-arak öl-dü.  (2) Adam agra-y-arak yürü-dü
        man drown-arak die-PAST.3sg  man cry-GL-arak walk-PAST.3sg
        'The man died by drowning.'  'The man walked crying.'

To account for what motivates these different readings, I develop an event structural analysis which proposes that the delimited/non-delimited behavior of the intransitive of the main clause (MC) determines whether a sentence exhibits a (CA) or an (SA) reading. Specifically, I assume that if the intransitive of the (MC) is delimited, hence an unaccusative, it denotes a resultant state (RS) and further implies the presence of some instigating event bringing about the (RS), thereby conveying a (CA) reading. If the intransitive of the (MC) is non-delimited, i.e., an unergative, it does not imply the presence of a subevent; hence the activity of the (MC) and that of the embedded clause occur independently of each other, thereby conveying an (SA) reading. Under this account, the event structure (ES) of an unaccusative consists of one main event which denotes an (RS) and a subevent instigating this (RS) as in (3); the ES of an unergative consists of only one event equated with an activity denoting verb as in (4).

(3) Unaccusative: [Instigating Event [Resultant State]]
(4) Unergative: [Activity]

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Ingrid Neumann-Holzschuh (University of Regensburg-Germany)

Today's Cadien: An important step on the interlingual continuum

Within French creole studies the genesis/development of creole languages has always been one of the most hotly debated questions. According to Robert Chaudenson, the so-called français marginaux 'marginal French' are an important link between the lexifier language and the French creoles. These varieties permit insights into the evolutionary potential which lies in the lexifier itself and may thus contribute to a better understanding of the phenomenon of creolization. In this paper I will test this hypothesis with data from Cadien, the variety of marginal French spoken in southwestern Louisiana. On the basis of two recent studies of Cadien as well as a number of older texts I will show that Cadien has recently undergone a series of considerable internal changes which may be indicators of the evolutionary directions which French itself may take under certain extralinguistic conditions. These changes seem to follow four major tendencies--trends towards invariability, expressivity, analysis/predetermination, and simplification. It will be pointed out that the acceleration of these developments, which can partly be described as (albeit incomplete) processes of grammaticalization and analogical extension, must have taken place within the last decades. Thus, a closer examination of these overseas varieties of French may indeed help to gain an improved understanding of the kind of evolutionary potential that lies within the lexifier itself.

Nancy Niedzielski (Panasonic Speech Technology Laboratory)

The rearticulation of consonants in Polish

Although Polish has been described as having geminates, it actually shows the more interesting phenomenon of doubly articulated consonants. Duration, which is most often used to distinguish geminates from nongeminates, is not adequate for describing these sequences in Polish since acoustic analysis performed on these segments provides clear evidence for the rearticulation of these segments. Spectrographic analysis shows that in a voiceless rearticulated stop sequence, there are two bursts. There is also evidence of a semivowel between a sequence of two voiced segments, such as /dd/ or /nn/. This suggests that the phonetic categorization of geminates needs to be divided into long consonants and rearticulated segments rather than collapsing them into a single phonetic category.

Kiyoshi Noguchi (Sophia University)

On the structures of the Japanese verb suru: Applying the linguistic concept of specificity

The verb suru differs from other verbs in the Japanese language (Grimshaw & Mester 1988; Kageyama
1976, 1977, 1993; Uchida & Nakayama 1993 among others). One of the characteristics of suru is that the appearance of the accusative case marker o is optional for some nouns as in (1).

(1) a. John-wa ima benkyo o siteiru.  
John-TOP now study doing  
'John is studying now.'

b. John-wa ima benkyyoo-o siteiru.  
John-TOP now study-ACC doing

I challenge the commonly accepted assumption that the two sentences in (1) are synonymous (Grimshaw & Mester 1988; Kageyama 1976, 1977). This study will demonstrate the subtle differences between the meanings of the two examples, whether the noun is nonspecific or specific, and then will propose alternate structures which reflect the difference in meaning.

Tohru Noguchi (Tokyo Institute of Technology)  
An economy-based approach to local anaphora  

As is well-known, the referential properties of personal pronouns in local domains are rather elusive. Thus, in Japanese sentences such as John-ga kare-o eran da 'John chose himself,' and English sentences such as John-- saw a snake near him, local coreference is allowed, whereas in Japanese sentences such as *John-ga kare-o nogut-ta 'John hit himself,' and English sentences such as *John wrote a letter to him, coreference is disallowed. The purpose of this paper is to propose a condition of economy minimizing redundancies to account for local anaphora facts which cannot be dealt with adequately in previous approaches. This will be achieved, based on the independently motivated notion of inherent reflexivity. The approach will be empirically supported further by the behavior of a reflexive prefix in Japanese and English sentences such as John-i brought an umbrella with him, and The box has books in it.'

Mario P. Nunes  
Malay lexical items in Kristang, as contributory factors in the formation of Papiam of Macao  

No abstract submitted.

Richard T. Oehrle (University of Arizona)  
Noun after noun  

English noun phrases of the form n[sg] after n[sg] called here 'iteration phrases', have a number of interesting grammatical properties.

Postnominal modifiers and relative clauses cannot be associated with the nominal arguments of an iteration phrase but can be associated with the structure as a whole ( mayor of this great city after mayor of this great city, but ok mayor after mayor of this great city; ok student after student who has come into my office, but *student who has come into my office after student who has come into my office). Like conjunction, the binary form can be extended to longer sequences: student after student after student appeared. Modifiers aside, it is challenging to characterize the syntax of this construction in a way that enforces the identity condition on the nouns it contains. Semantically, simple sentences of the form P(n after n) are satisfied by a temporal sequence \( e_1 < \ldots < e_n \) of events satisfying \( P(x) \), where \( x \) is an individual variable ranging over the denotation of the noun \( n \) (together with its modifiers, if any). The binding behavior of iteration phrases has affinities with quantifiers: They can anchor reflexives, but they do not introduce a referent accessible in subsequent discourse. Like plurals, iteration phrases need not have fixed scope with respect to each other: The sentence student after student wrote paper after paper can be satisfied by a sequence of events in which each student involved wrote only one paper and in which each paper involved was written by only one student; in particular, it does not require that each student involved wrote paper after paper. I offer a semantics for iteration phrases modeled on the behavior of branching readings for plurals that accounts for all these properties.

Shigeko Okamoto (California State University-Fresno)  
The construction of communicative contexts: Strategic coordination of honorific & nonhonorific expressions in Japanese conversations  

(Se:...
In contrast to volitional politeness strategies in many languages such as English, the use of Japanese honorifics as expressions of politeness is said to be governed by rigorous situation-based rules. Given certain situations, it is argued, honorifics are obligatory or expected. Thus honorifics are regarded as direct indexes of contextual features, in particular social distance (e.g. status difference) (Ike 1989, Niyekawa 1991, etc.). However, my examination of actual conversations in diverse social situations indicates that it is far from clear when honorifics are obligatory or expected. Analyzing how the same speakers mix honorific and nonhonorific expressions for the same individuals both intra- and inter-sententially within the same conversations, I argue that the use of (non-)honorifics ultimately depends on the speaker's interactional strategy rather than merely being a matter of conventions dictated by social situations. Speakers may mix honorific and nonhonorific expressions to create the desired degrees of (in)formality for a given context. The use of (non-)honorific forms is thus managed both locally and globally. I conclude that honorifics do not directly encode contextual information such as status difference, as is commonly assumed. Rather, the (pragmatic) meanings directly expressed by honorific and nonhonorific forms are, respectively, formality and its absence, and each of these pragmatic meanings is linked to specific social contexts by way of speakers' strategies which are influenced by their beliefs about honorific use (cf. Irvine 1992, Ochs 1993). Honorific and nonhonorific forms thus not only indirectly index contextual features but also serve to negotiate and construct communicative contexts. In sum, this study illustrates both indirect and creative aspects of linguistic indexicality.

Mari Broman Olsen, Amy Weinberg,
Jeffrey P. Lilly, & John E. Drury (University of Maryland-College Park)
Acquiring grammatical aspect in lexical aspect: The continuity hypothesis

Previous research in child language acquisition identifies discrepancies between child and adult use of verbal inflectional morphology (e.g. Antinucci & Miller 1976; Behrend 1990, 1995; Bloom et al. 1980; Brown 1973; van Hout 1996). Children's performance has been attributed variously to lack of tense, confusion of tense with aspect, and skewed distribution in the adult language. These fail to cover the asymmetries in the CHILDES (MacWhinney 1991) data we examine. In a study of conversational tiers of four CHILDES file sets (Bloom, Brown, Suppes, and Clark), representing 9 children, age 1.4 to 5.1, MLUs 1.055 to 6.007, we find that children assign perfective morphology (-ed in English) only to [+telic] (bounded, result) verbs, whereas adults assign -ed and -ing to verbs without reference to categories of lexical aspect. A rigorous application of the aspect/tense model in Olsen ([1994] 1997) and the continuity hypothesis provides a superior account of the developmental stages in morphological acquisition and of cross-linguistic variation in the emergence of adult competence.

John O'Meara (Lakehead University)
Agentic nominalization in Severn Ojibwe

In the Severn dialect of Ojibwe (Algonquian), agentive nouns may be formed from verbs. Formation of agent nouns is productive. Any intransitive verb with a grammatically animate subject is a candidate, subject to pragmatic limitations. Deverbative agent nouns are morphologically marked in two ways. First, a prefix homophonous with the third-person possessive noun prefix is added to the verb stem. The appropriate allomorph of this prefix is selected: o for consonant-initial stems and ot for vowel-initial stems. Second, verb stems that end in a short vowel lengthen the stem-final vowel, while verb stems that end in a consonant are realized as ending in oo. Consonant-final stems are analyzed as being followed by underlying w. The addition of vowel length results in surface oo. Agent nouns formed in this way display all the usual syntactic behavior of nouns: They may be marked for number, obviation, possession, diminution, and other categories.

Natalie Operstein (University of British Columbia)
Italian-based pidgins, interlanguages, & foreigner talk
This paper presents a detailed comparison of the morphosyntax of Italian-based pidgins (Lingua Franca, language of the lanzi, and the Italian of Eritrea), Italian interlanguages, and Italian foreigner talk. We distinguish between characteristics common to the three speech modes and the innovations developed by the pidgins at later stages. We also examine the features of the learners' varieties and foreigner talk that do not survive in the pidgins.

**Luis Oquendo** (University of Zulia-Venezuela)

*Is Japreria a Yukpa dialect?*

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that Japreria (Cariban) and Yukpa (also Cariban) are different languages even though they are closely related within the Cariban family. This finding is opposed to what Mosonyi (1987) and Migliazza & Campbell (1988), based on work by Durbin & Seijas (1977), have suggested, namely that Japreria is a divergent dialect of Yukpa. A sample of a thousand pairs of lexical items showed a very low correlation.

**Orhan Orgun** (University of California-Davis)

*OT vs two-level phonology: Handling opacity in nonderivational theories*

McCarthy (1995) argues that two level phonology (TLP) (Koskenniemi 1983, Karttunen 1993) cannot handle certain types of opacity and shows how optimality theory (Prince & Smolensky 1993) can handle the relevant facts by introducing a new type of 'target-defining' constraint that refers to both the input and output phonological strings. I show that TLP can successfully handle the phenomena McCarthy discusses. Furthermore, some phenomena require a two-level treatment that the faithfulness-based OT approach cannot handle—OT too needs two-level rules. Thus, we must critically evaluate mechanisms that have been introduced to OT with the express goal of saving faithfulness, including McCarthy's target-defining constraints.

**Carol Padden** (University of California-San Diego)

*Fingerspelling & the grammar of sign languages*

Few grammars of sign languages include reference to fingerspelling largely because they are believed to be codes for representing written languages. The fingerspelling system used by ASL signers employs an inventory of handshapes, each corresponding to a letter-of the alphabet. Signers execute handshapes in rapid sequence, constructing manual representations of a word in print. This paper examines two views of fingerspelling: (1) Fingerspelled items represent a special language activity to be accounted for separately from natural sign languages, or (2) fingerspelled items are included as foreign vocabulary in a sign language lexicon. Analyses of 3000 fingerspelled items used by 15 native signers in natural conversation show no correlation between fingerspelled item frequency and frequency of the same word in print. Nearly 70% of all items were nouns, almost evenly divided between proper and common nouns, with articles and prepositions appearing least frequently. This pattern of category frequency held constant for all signers regardless of class and educational level; however, signers with fewer years of school had fewer fingerspelled items overall. The data suggest that fingerspelled words behave not as mere correlates of words in print, but as foreign vocabulary with distinct phonological content. These findings have implications for sign language grammars and models of diverse lexicons in natural language.

**Arthur L. Palacas** (University of Akron)

*Plurals in the English compositions of African-American freshmen*

In Labov's view (Labov forthcoming), AAVE is the product of an umbrella GE (General English) component coexisting in a heterogeneous grammar with a radically other AA (African American) component focused on the behavior of preverbs; in this view, when an AA form is not available, AAVE evidences a default GE value. Evidence from African American student compositions, while supporting the radical difference between conflicting grammars, suggests that (1) GE is not a default umbrella; (2) the AA component is the more basic; and (3) the AA component is more pervasive than the verb system. Among other similar evidences (tenses, possessives), sometimes random plural absences do not follow the phonological prescriptions that support an underlying {-z}. Examples like the following are not uncommon and cannot be relegated to typos:
As for me, I'm committed to complete one of my highest goal, which is finishing college.

So I was really speaking Standard English around adult and Black English among my friends.

The controversy between the critics and supporters of the AfrAm language is an ongoing argument and will continue to be this way, for the simple fact that everybody has different view on everything. Writing maximizes linguistic insecurities and uncovers the basic value of BE forms, or of decreolized forms that evidence the same. The most effective pedagogy assumes an inflectionless AA component requiring a complete pedagogy of inflection and agreement. Implementing such a pedagogy is an uphill battle in the face of rhetoric and composition programs turning out PhD's without a linguistics course in their portfolio. Linguists have a major responsibility to help bring 'grammar' back to the schools for the sake of the speakers of other dialects, most especially those African Americans who are insecure about the standard.

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Haihua Pan (City University of Hong Kong)

Generalized passivization on complex predicates

It is argued that unlike English, Chinese bei passivization does not suppress the accusative case assignment ability of the verb, since (1) there is an object left behind after passivization, and (2) at least one of the objects in a complex predicate can stay in-situ (Goodall 1990, Feng 1996, etc.). It is also debatable whether bei is a preposition or a verb-like element with an IP complement. In this paper I argue that the accusative case is indeed suppressed in passive sentences, and in this respect Chinese does not differ from English, if we recognize the existence of a maleficiary insertion rule (MI) which adds a maleficiary role to the argument structure of the verb (cf. Tan 1992) and that passive operation applies to complex predicates in Chinese. Thus, under my account bei is a preposition just like its English counterpart by. My analysis is supported by the following: Once MI is recognized, (1) will not be a counterexample to the accusative case suppression (CAS) in bei passive. If we hypothesize a generalized passivization (GP) rule on complex predicates, then (2) will not present any challenge to CAS either. Finally, complex predicates like the resultative construction and resultative verb compounds all support the existence of GP. Furthermore, my analysis can be extended to Chinese ba construction if we assume a detransitivization operation on complex predicates which suppresses the accusative case of the verb in question.

Haihua Pan & Po Lun Peppina Lee (City University of Hong Kong)

Chinese negation marker bu 'not' is analyzed as a clitic-like element in the literature (Huang 1988, Ernst 1995, etc.) in order to explain why it cannot co-occur with (a) perfective marker -le and (b) manner phrases. In this paper we argue that bu is not a clitic-like element but a focus sensitive operator, and it introduces a tripartite structure if there is a focus; otherwise it negates the adjacent word. Our analysis is supported by: (1) With appropriate focus, bu can actually co-occur with manner phrases, and focus can be placed on verbs, adjective/adverb, etc. and also sentence meaning varies with focus.; (2) Time and location adverbials can separate bu from verbs, which makes the clitic theory very difficult to obtain, cf. Ta bu mingtian lai, jintian lai, ni jian bu jian 'If he does not come tomorrow, and he comes today, will you see him?', and Ta bu zai jia li kan shu 'He does not read books at home.' (3) A more general presupposition constraint on modification (CM), i.e. if X modifies P, then the set denoted by P is presupposed to be not empty, can deal with semantic incompatibility better than Huang's. (4) By assuming perfective -le has clausal scope, following Pan (1993), we can explain (a) above, since -le has scope over bu, which leads to violation of CM. However, with the help of focus, bu could co-occur with -le. Negative sentences with preverbal adverbials and resultative verb compounds can be dealt with similarly in our account.

David Parkinson (Cornell University)

Knowledge of verbal projections in the acquisition of causatives in Inuktitut

This paper addresses the interrelation of morphology and syntax via an examination of the acquisition of causative constructions in Inuktitut, which have received both lexical and syntactic treatments in previous literature (Grimshaw & Mester 1985, Woodbury & Sadock 1986, and others). We report results of an experiment examining the first-language acquisition of the Eskimo language Inuktitut by 30 children in 3
developmental groups between the ages of 4;1 and 6;10 in Arviat, NWT, Canada, using an elicited imitation task to investigate developing knowledge of the interaction of causative verbal morphology and syntactic structure. The experimental design contrasted complex verb formation (CVF) sentences with simple transitive (non-CVF) sentences which yield different anaphora interpretations with regard to possessive morphology. The hypothesis that children acquiring Inuktitut know that CVF involves an additional verbal projection above the lexical verb is supported by the results. Although both CVF and non-CVF sentences involve movement, and are of comparable surface complexity, differences in responses and error types made on contrasting sentence types, in particular the patterns of omissions, inflection errors, and changes in word order, suggest differences in children's knowledge of the underlying structures, since other factors (length, word order) were controlled for. One main result is that omission of material is more common in the CVF sentences, suggesting that underlying syntactic structure and not merely superficial morphological structure is a factor in processing these sentences. Qualitative and quantitative results from error analyses will be compared with initial results from a comprehension task to provide converging evidence of children's knowledge of causatives. These results indicate that children acquiring Inuktitut are aware of the underlying differences between sentences whose underlying syntactic structures are arguably undetermined by the superficial evidence; as such, they address the issue of how morphology and syntax are related, both in acquisition and in linguistic theory.

Frederick Parkinson (Cornell University)

Harmony in Efik & the vowel place constituent

Efik, a Benue-Congo language spoken in Cameroon, exhibits harmony in the 2nd and 3rd person singular prefixes as seen in -t m 's/he cooks,' ò-ta 's/he chews,' -b p 's/he builds,' and 'ó-bom 's/he breaks.' These examples show that the harmonizing prefixes assimilate not only to the frontness and backness of the first root vowel, but also that vowel's [ATR] (or equivalent) specification since it surfaces as [' ] in -b p but as [o] in ò-bom. An interesting characteristic of this harmony is that it is not a complete assimilation as the prefix does not assimilate to all of the features of the root vowel as seen in ò-kpi 's/he chops' and ò-nuk 's/he pushes.' Here, the prefixes do agree with the root vowel in terms of frontness and backness but do not agree in terms of height since the root vowels are high but the prefix vowels are mid. The data from Efik show that harmony involves frontness, backness, and [ATR] but not the feature that distinguishes high vowels from mid. Harmony in Efik can be accounted for only in a model of feature organization where vowel place and vowel height form separate constituents since it involves backness and roundness, but not height. Among models that do separate place and height features for vowels, the feature [ATR] is usually considered a member of the height constituent (e.g. Odden 1991, Goad 1993). The Efik facts provide the first evidence from a multiple-feature assimilation that [ATR] is, in fact, a member of the place constituent since the prefix assimilates to the root vowel's specification for this feature—as well as its backness and roundness—but not to its height. The analysis of Efik bears on recent work on transparency. The Efik facts are problematic for the approach to long distance assimilations advocated in Padgett (1995) and Ní Chiosáin and Padgett (1997).

Mikael Parkvall (Stockholm University)

Demographic disproportion & language restructuring

The role of demographic disproportion in language restructuring has been increasingly questioned in recent years. Although still considered by most a necessary prerequisite for pidginization, it is striking that no thorough comparison between the radicalness of pidgins/creoles and the proportions between the super- and substrate populations still has been made. Therefore, I examine demographic and historical evidence from a large number of contact situations in the Atlantic area, comparing this to the linguistic outcome. A list of diagnostic features will be used in an attempt to quantify the typological distance between a number of creoles and their respective lexifiers. When correlating this with the slave-to-white ratios of the colonies in question, I will also discuss other presumably relevant factors, since, if demographic disproportion is indeed relevant, others such as timing, substratal homogeneity, migration, and many others complicate the picture enormously.

David M. Perlmutter (University of California-San Diego)

Possible vs impossible types of C/V allomorphy
The allomorphy of the English indefinite article (orthographic *a/an*) illustrates what I call 'C/V allomorphy': a grammar provides two allomorphs that do not differ in morphosyntactic features, where one has a consonant and the other a vowel at the connecting edge (the V of *a* vs the C of *an*). This paper addresses a cross-linguistic asymmetry in types of C/V allomorphy, arguing that all cases of C/V allomorphy have two properties: complementarity and segment adjacency.

**Complementarity:** The C-edge allomorph will be used in a V-edge environment, the V-edge allomorph in a C-edge environment.

**Segment Adjacency:** The relevant environment is always the adjacent segment at the relevant edge. If another modifier intervenes between the article and the head, the relevant environment is the adjacent segment, not the initial segment of the head: The universality of complementarity and segment adjacency in C/V allomorphy is illustrated both for cases where the allomorphs are separate words and cases where they are word-internal.

Following recent analyses of allomorphy in French, we propose that the allomorphy results from two universal syllable structure constraints in optimality theory: ONSET and NO-CODA, the 'margin constraints'. We reject the allomorphy theory, which allows arbitrary allomorphy rules in grammars and thus falsely predicts the existence of C/V allomorphy systems that violate complementarity and segment adjacency, in favor of the margin theory, which correctly predicts that all C/V allomorphy systems will have these two properties.

**David A. Peterson** (University of California-Berkeley)

*The Lai instrumental applicative & applicative grammaticalization*

Lai (Sino-Tibetan, Burma) has an instrumental applicative construction. Morphology identical to that marking the applicative construction also marks essentially isofunctional instrument nominalization and relativization. The grammaticalization of such applicatives has sometimes been attributed to a reanalysis of nominalizations/relativizations as main clause forms (e.g. Starosta, Pawley, & Reid 1982, Ross 1995 for Austronesian). In the Lai case, however, there is evidence that the applicative construction did not develop in this way. First, there is an asymmetry in terms of the thematic roles that the morphology refers to: As an applicative marker, it refers only to instruments; in its nominalization/relativization use, on the other hand, it also refers to locations or may simply form abstract nominals. If the instrumental applicative construction developed from nominalization/relativization, the absence of locative applicatives is anomalous. Second, the applicative use of the morphology occurs immediately after a verb root, but the morphology which indicates relativization/nominalization occurs last in a string of post-root morphology. No such order difference should occur on the nominalized-to-main reanalysis account. Thus, while the morphology used in the applicative construction and the nominalizations/relativizations is historically from the same source, one construction did not come from the other: They arose independently. **Implication:** In the absence of firm evidence to the contrary, in cases of applicable/nominalizer bifunctionality, independent development is always the preferred explanation.

**Colin Phillips** (University of Delaware)

*Linear order & constituency*

This paper argues that syntactic structures are incrementally built from left-to-right, rather than being generated as complete structures or built from bottom-to-top, as is standardly assumed, and that this explains why different constituency tests often yield conflicting results, plus a series of constraints on such discrepancies. In an incremental left-to-right derivation of an otherwise standard phrase marker, there are many strings which are constituents at intermediate points in the derivation, but not in the final structure, because addition of new material often destroys existing constituents. For example, an English subject-verb string is a constituent until an object NP is added to create a V+NP constituent. Also, in the derivation of a right-branching complex VP structure, the verb and direct object form a constituent until any following arguments or adverbials are added on the right, destroying the V+NP constituent. Incremental left-to-right syntactic derivations offer an explanation for conflicts between the results of different constituency tests: Two tests may pick out different constituents if they apply to different stages in an incremental derivation. Moreover, it becomes possible to predict the range of constituents that a given test will identify, based on the linear order properties of that test. For
example, coordination, in which a pair of matching constituents are placed immediately one after the other, is predicted to be able to apply to all constituents, temporary and final. Ellipsis, on the other hand, is predicted to identify a rather narrower range of constituents, because it requires that a gap in one clause be licensed by a string from an earlier clause that is still a constituent. Thus, ellipsis will only identify final constituents. Further evidence for the incremental approach to structure building is provided from interactions between a number of different diagnostics, including leftward and rightward movement, scope, right node raising, binding, and pseudogapping.

Colin Phillips (University of Delaware), Alec Marantz (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
David Poeppel (University of California-San Francisco/University of Maryland-College Park)
Tim Roberts (University of California-San Francisco), & Krishna Govindarajan (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
A brain potential that indexes vowel height

This paper reports the results of a series of experiments which use MEG recordings to characterize the response of human auditory cortex to synthetic vowel and pseudovowel stimuli. Our principal finding is that there is a close correlation between the timing of the evoked M100 response and the value of the first formant (F1) of the vowel presented, F1 being the primary acoustic correlate of vowel height. In a series of experiments we presented three-formant vowels, single-formant vowels, and pseudovowels consisting of pure tones matching F0 and F1 values of the single-formant vowels. In each experiment we independently varied the frequency values of F0 and F1, in order to isolate the contribution of the fundamental and the formants to the evoked responses. Results showed that the latency of the evoked M100 response tracked the frequency of F1 in both the synthetic vowels and in the tone-complex pseudovowels, which were not perceived as speechlike. However, an ERP study by Ragot and Lepaul-Ercole (1996) has shown N100 latency variation due to F0, using tone complexes consisting of a series of harmonics of a fundamental frequency, but not matching the overall amplitude envelope characteristic of speech. Therefore we conclude that the sensitivity of the latency of the auditory cortex M100 response to energy in the F1 range is specific to stimuli which have a speechlike amplitude envelope but not necessarily speechlike formant structure. This is consistent with the behavioral finding that people are able to understand speech stimuli in which formants have been replaced by sine waves (Remez et al. 1981).

Ingo Plag (Philipps University-Marburg)
On the role of grammaticalization in creolization

In the recent past, creole studies have seen a growing interest in the phenomenon of grammaticalization and its role in creolization (e.g. Plag 1993, Bruyn 1995, Baker & Syeà 1996). In this paper I will review existing accounts of some proposed grammaticalization phenomena in creole and discuss their significance for a theory of creole genesis. I will argue against the commonly held assumption that grammaticalization is an important factor in creole formation. Crucially, however, the absence of grammaticalization as a driving force in creolization constitutes independent evidence for alternative explanations, for example borrowing. Viewed from this angle, the search for grammaticalization phenomena in creolization, or rather the absence thereof, remains a very important task for future studies.

Kati Pletsch de Garcia (Texas A&M International University)
Linguistic behavior of three south Texas border communities: Same or different?

The border communities of Laredo, McAllen, and Brownsville, Texas, are noted for their conservative nature and for guarding and maintaining their Hispanic customs and Spanish language in spite of their location within the United States and their increased contact with the Anglo-American population. In this paper, I present data encapsulating actual language use patterns and subjects' self-reported language use patterns along with their attitudes toward language mixing, Spanish proficiency, societal identity, bilingualism, and viability of Spanish in their community. Observations and conclusions concerning the role of Spanish, English, or TexMex usage and the nonlinguistic factors affecting language choice will be offered. Also, similarities and differences observed in the data provided by the university community and the community at-large will be discussed. The data in this study come from (1) personal interviews conducted with 150 adult students at Texas A&M International University in Laredo, University of Texas-Pan American in McAllen, and University of Texas at Brownsville; (2) questionnaires administered to 450
adult subjects randomly chosen from the three communities at-large; and (3) transcriptions of audiotapes of 30 of the subjects.

Livia Polanyi (FX Palo Alto Laboratories)

Retelling the American story

In this paper, we re-examine a text from Polanyi's *Telling the American story* (1991) in light of recent developments in the formal analysis of discourse (Hill & Zapeda 1993; Prust, Scha, & van den Berg 1994; Polanyi 1996; Polanyi & van den Berg 1996). The goal of the present analysis is to show how constructing a summary of the plot of an interactively constructed conversational story as discussed in Polanyi 1991 can be done computationally on an utterance by utterance basis by a left to right discourse parsing of text surface structure. In the paper, the linguistic discourse model (LDM) is applied to a conversational storytelling text characterized by backtracking, question and answer sequences, and off-line commentary. After the parsing of the text is complete, the most highly ranked storyworld propositions are combined into a story summary. The work to be presented here corrects important problems with

Polanyi's original work that failed to provide a procedure for going from text surface structure to story representations and did not offer a psychologically plausible mechanism for building the plot summaries proposed. In addition, as an approach to the problem of automatic text summarization, the paper also shows how, when taken together, sentential syntax and semantics, discourse structure and interpretation, and an understanding of interactional pragmatics—all areas of active research in theoretical linguistics—can offer powerful alternatives to the purely quantitative models of computational language analysis now currently being pursued.

William J. Poser (University of Northern British Columbia)

Constrains on source/goal co-occurrence in Carrier

In most languages it is possible to express the source and goal of motion in the same clause, as in the English sentence 'I walked from home to school' or its Japanese counterpart *Uti kara gakkoo e aru* itta. In Carrier, an Athabaskan language of the central interior of British Columbia, this is not the case. For example, 'I walked from Tache to Binche' is literally 'While I walked from Tache I walked to Binche'. The same phenomenon is observed in verbs such as 'fell' that mark the source or goal with a variety of 'adverbial' prefixes. There are verbs meaning 'he fell to the ground' (*talts)* t, 'he fell into the water' (*talts* t), and 'he fell out of' (*behalts* t), but there is no verb meaning 'he fell out of (e.g. a nest) into the water'. That this cannot be attributed to morphological restrictions on the co-occurrence of affixes with 'adverbial' meaning is shown by sentences like 'She dragged her over to their camp', literally, 'While she began to drag her she dragged her to a terminus at their camp'. The verb 'she began to drag her' contains no adverbial prefix; the source in the situation results from the interaction of the meaning of the verb 'drag' and the inceptive. The constraint is therefore on lexical semantics not on morpheme co-occurrence. This is reminiscent of the restrictions on the expression of motion and path and motion and manner noted by Talmy (1985).

Eric Potsdam (University of Iowa)

The structural distribution of s- and VP-adverbs in English

In many recent works, adverb position has been widely used as a diagnostic for a range of syntactic phenomena, with adverbs serving as positional landmarks for a variety of clausal elements. Such diagnostics, however, are misleading and occasionally inaccurate because a comprehensive theory of adverb position is not yet available (as suggested by Iatridou 1990 and Collins & Thráinsson 1996, among others). This paper makes a small but important contribution in this domain by arguing for explicit structural distributions of two classes of English adverbs which such a theory must account for. The paper gives phrase structure realizations for Jackendoff's (1972) s- and VP-adverb classes and argues for their correctness with evidence from word order, the interpretation of adverbs in VP ellipsis structures, topicalization, and coordination restrictions. It is then suggested that the proposed distributions reasonably follow from a theory of adverb placement in which adverbs are licensed in their base positions by individual heads, as first proposed in Travis 1988.
Thomas Purnell (University of Delaware), William Idsardi (University of Delaware)

Perceptual & phonetic experiments on American English dialect identification

The ability to discern that a speaker uses a nonstandard American English dialect is often enough information to also determine the speaker's ethnicity, and speakers may consequently suffer discrimination based on their speech. Pilot experiments show (1) housing discrimination based solely on telephone conversations occurs, (2) dialect identification is possible based on as little as a single word, 'hello', and (3) phonetic correlates of dialect can be discovered. A series of telephone surveys in the San Francisco Bay area was conducted; housing was requested from the same landlord over a short period of time by the same caller using three different dialect guises: African American English (AAVE), Chicano English (ChE), and mainstream American English (SAE). The results demonstrate that landlords discriminate against prospective tenants based on the sound of their voice during telephone conversations. An experiment was conducted with untrained subjects to confirm this ability. Subjects were presented with the single word 'hello' extracted from a phrase recorded in each of the three dialect guises. Listeners were able to identify the dialect 70% of the time and were able to discriminate standard versus nonstandard dialects 79% of the time, both significantly better than chance (p<.001). Phonetic analysis reveals several phonetic variables that can potentially distinguish the dialects. For example, fundamental frequency (F0) and harmonic noise ratio (HNR) separate AAVE from both SAE and ChE but do not discriminate SAE from ChE. The perceptual and phonetic experiments are reviewed, relations to previous research are discussed, and further research directions in perceptual and phonetic experiments are considered.

Clifton Pye (University of Kansas)

Constraining Zoque verb compounds

Copainalá Zoque is one of the western varieties of Zoque spoken in the region around the town of Copainalá in the state of Chiapas, Mexico (Wichman 1993). Despite having one of the most productive morphologies of any Mixe-Zoquean language, Copainalá Zoque allows verbs to alter transitivity with no overt morphological changes. The zero-marked alternation takes one of two forms. Compounding provides Copainalá Zoque with yet another means for altering verb argument structure. Zoque verb compounds challenge linguistic theory on two levels. On the purely descriptive level it is difficult to predict the alternation type for compounds. The unaccusative hypothesis (Perlmuter 1978) may provide part of the solution. On the theoretical level, the participation of the verb compounds in the two types of argument structure alternations poses a problem in that the compounds contain elaborated manner specifications that rule out such alternations in English (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995).

Paula Radetzky (University of California-Berkeley)

The history of wa in Japanese narrative

In Classical Japanese, wa was a relatively infrequent particle which signalled contrastive shifts between given elements in a discourse. In Modern Japanese, however, wa functions primarily as a high-frequency, generic topic marker. There has been no diachronic treatment of wa which fully characterizes and motivates this development. Using extensive text material, I present such an account. Over the past millennium, givenness has persisted as a prerequisite for wa-marking. An understanding of how wa developed into a generic topic marker relies on recognition of a number of factors which allowed the loss of its essentially contrastive nature, including long-distance contrast, mismatch between the morphosyntax of wa and its scope marks nontopical subjects. This division of labor has resulted in a grammaticized distinction between categorical and thematic judgments, i.e. those sentences which have a topic-comment discourse structure (wa-marked) and those which have no such structure (ga-marked). In modern discourse, this distinction naturally shows how familiar speakers appear to be with the information they are conveying, and modern writers exploit this as a badge of narrator omniscience.

Renate Raffelsiefen (Freie University-Berlin)

Stability effects in historical phonology

I argue that systematic exceptions to historical sound changes can be explained as 'stability effects', which are best described by a system of ranked constraints rather than context-sensitive rules. Examples of such effects discussed in this paper include the failure of w to delete before round vowels in word-initial position.
in some Middle English dialects, the failure of metathesis to apply to word-initial CV sequences in some Old English dialects, and the failure of final schwa to delete after voiced obstruents in German. I will argue that a constraint-based, but not a rule-based, approach allows one to predict the range of possible stability effects.

**Robert L. Rankin** (University of Kansas)

*Siouan, Yuchi, & the question of grammatical evidence for genetic relationship*

Sapir's Macro-Siouan proposal included Siouan, Yuchi, Iroquoian, and Caddoan. Much of this putative stock remains controversial, but many linguists have assumed a closer relationship between Siouan (including Catawba) and Yuchi, an isolate once spoken in eastern Tennessee. Attempts to demonstrate this relationship have concentrated on comparisons of vocabulary. While there are many vaguely similar words, the results of such comparisons thus far have been generally disappointing, failing to produce systematic sound correspondences over long enough stretches with the requisite semantic cohesion. Concentrating almost exclusively on morphology, the author discusses a partial noun classification system and sets of pronominals shared by Siouan, Catawban, and Yuchi. These display a certain amount of paradigmaticity, and the classificatory system shows interestingly arbitrary subcategories that match across the three groups. Although the use of grammatical correspondences, especially among pronouns, may be controversial, and great care must be taken in making historical claims, linguists must not give up the search for deeper genetic relationships in the Americas.

**Jeffrey Rasch** (Rice University)

*Vowel reduction, vowel loss, & syllable structure alternation in Yaitpec Chatino*

Yaitpec Chatino is a Zapotecan language spoken in the highlands of Oaxaca. In several Chatino dialects, regular final stress across the family has resulted in severe reduction of vowels in the first syllable of bisyllabic words. In Yaitpec Chatino, where permitted by sonority hierarchy constraints, deletion of first-syllable vowels results in word-initial consonant clusters; in other environments vowels are reduced to voiceless transitional spaces with only two-way contrastiveness. In a very few words, they remain as full-length, voiced vowels. Vowel reduction (i.e. the second pattern above) results in words of problematic status with regard to their syllable constituency. Glottal stop distribution and feature co-occurrence restrictions in such words suggest they might be more straightforwardly analyzed as monosyllabic. Cross-linguistic sonority hierarchy patterns and minimal contrastiveness in reduced vowels argue for analysis of such words as monosyllabic. Free-variation data reinforce the notion that such words are of ambiguous syllabic status. Ultimately, a historical analysis based on comparative data provides the simplest and most straightforward understanding of these words: They are in transition and thus appear monosyllabic with respect to some patterns and bisyllabic with respect to others.

**Odile Renault-Lescure** (ORSTOM-Paris)

*Tense & aspect in Carib (Oriental dialect spoken in French Guiana): A textual approach*

The Carib verb has been recently analyzed (see Hoff 1986, 1990, 1996) as expressing evidentiality and its interaction with tense, aspect, mode, and person. The different markers used by this language, evidential affixes; evidential particles; tense, mode, and aspect affixes have been examined in their semantic and syntactic values. The present paper attempts a textual approach, within the theory of enunciation as stated by Desclès (1994). A main distinction, static vs evolutive, allows the speaker to explicit predicative relations in terms of aspectual values such as accomplishment, perfectivity, durativity etc. The various grammatical and lexical markers (derivation and inflectional affixes, particles) will be presented with data extracted from narrative historical texts, where their contextual use makes clear their aspectual meaning.

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**Richard A. Rhodes** (University of California-Berkeley)

*The loss of passive in Sayula Popoluca*

In Sayola Popoluca (Mixe-Zoquean) morphologically regular passivization has been largely supplanted by two other strategies for suppressing agents: (1) the development of an indefinite subject form based on the morphology of first person inclusive plural and (2) the extension of a participle that refers to the resultant state of an event or process. The historical passive remains only in a few fixed phrases and embedded
under the causative. This paper will document this state of affairs, examine the fate of the old passive morphology, and raise the question: Why should a language replace a morphologically regular pattern with a series of overlapping strategies?

**Catherine Ringen** (University of Iowa) & **Orvokki Heinämäki** (University of Helsinki)

*Variation in Finnish vowel harmony: An OT account*

In Finnish, although suffix vowel choice is categorically back or front with most roots (*pouta-na*, 'fine weather' ess., *pöytä-nä*, 'table, ess.'), there is variation in suffix vowel choice with some, but not all disharmonic roots. In almost all cases when the last harmonic vowel in a disharmonic root is back, the only possible harmonic suffix vowel is back (*följetöngi-na* 'feuilleton, ess.'). When the last harmonic root vowel is front, however, most forms exhibit variation that seems to be influenced by the quality of the vowel with primary stress, the quality of the vowel with secondary stress, the quality of the most sonorous vowel, as well as the quality of the last vowel in the root (*ánalyysi* 'analysis' 58% front; *ámatoöri* 'amateur' 87% front). These data, which cannot easily be accounted for in rule based theories, can be accounted for in optimality theory (McCarthy & Prince 1993, 1995; Prince & Smolensky 1993) if it is assumed that constraints are partially ranked. A highly ranked constraint requiring that the feature [+back] be aligned with the right edge of the word accounts for harmony with native roots which contain a back vowel and disharmonic roots in which the last harmonic vowel is back. Unranked constraints which require that suffix vowels agree with the backness of the vowel which is most sonorous, the vowel with primary stress, the vowel with secondary stress, and with the closest root vowel determine suffix vowel quality for the remainder of forms. For native roots in which the last harmonic vowel is front, any of these unranked constraints will give the correct result (front suffix vowels) because all the root vowels will be front. For disharmonic roots in which the last harmonic vowel is front, different results are possible. According to this model, the variation is a function of the relative frequency that a back or front suffix vowel is designated as optimal by the different possible rankings of the unranked constraints. The correlation, r (Pearson product moment correlation coefficient), between the predicted and observed frequencies is +.9903 indicating very strong linear relationship.

**Sarah Julianne Roberts** (Stanford University)

*Olla podrida: Language mixing, pidgins, & creolization*

In 19th and early 20th century Hawai‘i, Pidgin Hawaiian (PH) existed alongside Hawai‘i Pidgin English (HPE), and eventually a mixed pidgin came into existence. Three phases of development are revealed by textual data: (1) 1790-1875, when contact was mainly bilingual between Hawaiians and Anglophones and code-switching was common; (2) 1876-1910, when massive immigration and the rise of English as the predominant lexifier led to the adoption of both PH and HPE on plantations by substrate speakers, which were recognized as distinct codes; (3) 1910-1960, when speakers switched to HPE as their only medium but retained a substantial PH lexicon. Newer arrivals were not aware of the former existence of PH and identified their language simply as 'English', though it was heavily mixed with Hawaiian. The mixed pidgin, unlike HPE found in urban areas, exhibited strong Japanese substratal influence. The minuscule PH lexical content of the early creole suggests that creolization was more vigorous in urban areas than plantations, where the mixed pidgin flourished.

**Taylor Roberts** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

*Evidence for the optional tense hypothesis: Tense in subordinate clauses in the acquisition of English*

Two proposals have recently been put forth to explain the optional infinitive stage of language acquisition, during which children produce uninflected main clauses, e.g., *He bite me*. Rizzi's (1994) truncation hypothesis suggests that children produce clauses exhaustively dominated by a node lower than CP; since tense is absent, the root node for an optional infinitive would crucially be a projection below tense (TP), such as VP. A more adult-like representation of optional infinitives is suggested by Wexler's (1994) optional tense hypothesis, according to which the child omits only the TP projection while retaining higher functional projections; with respect to other functional projections, then, the child is thought to have full competence. While both theories permit the absence of tense in main clauses, the strongest version of the truncation hypothesis additionally predicts that the tense only of main clauses may be omitted; subordinate clauses--because their maximal projections (CPs) are selected by a predicate in the matrix clause--should show adult-like tense properties. An examination of embedded-clause tense marking in the speech of th3
children reveals that tense is in fact omitted across the board, and that children do not merely truncate the initial projections of their main clauses. The optional tense hypothesis thus offers the best account of embedded optional infinitives.

Maribel Romero (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

Sluicing with sprouting

Sluicing is the ellipsis of a whole embedded interrogative clause except for the wh-phrase. It has been observed that sluicing does not obey strong islands nor ECP when the wh-phrase has an overt correlate in the antecedent clause—‘a certain problem’ in (1)—but that sluicing obeys both strong islands and ECP when the correlate is implicit, as in (2):

(1) Sandy was trying to work out which students would be able to solve a certain problem, but she wouldn’t tell us which one.
(2) * Sandy was trying to work out which students would speak, but she refused to say to who(m).

Chung et al. derive the first case from unselective binding of the variable in the indefinite correlate by the Q-operator in C°, relation that is not subject to islands or ECP. In the second case, instead, an empty category is ‘sprouted’, and the A’-chain to whom’s *[pp e* ] is built for (2). This A’-chain is subject to islands and ECP, as in any nonelliptical question. The aim of this paper is to show that sluicing with sprouting is much more limited than what Chung et al. predict. It is blocked not only by strong islands and ECP effects but also by the intervention of a quantifier—(3)—or a weak island—(4):

(3) *No / Few kid(s) ate, but I don’t know what.
(4) * My aunt asked whether Pat had already eaten, but I don’t remember what.

We propose the following analysis. In the lack of overt correlate, we sprout not an empty category but an indefinite XP. Implicit indefinites XPs, though, always have narrower scope than any other surrounding operator. Given that the antecedent clause and the sluiced clause must be semantically parallel with respect to the scope of their quantifiers—in the spirit of Rooth (1992)—the wh-phrase can only have the required widest scope if no operator intervenes. Apparent counterexamples involve accommodation of a uniqueness presupposition, which suffices to yield semantic parallelism with wh-phrase intervening operator.

Claudia Roncarati & Maria Cecilia Mollica (Rio de Janeiro)

Features of pidginization on a contact Portuguese sample

The main goal of this paper is to present some reflections based on recent research on a Portuguese-speaking community of Xingu Indians in the northeast of Brazil. This modality has been developed as L2, and it originated from a special pidgin which hadn’t decreolized, but it left a few features well marked from its first stage of interaction between white and red people. We can observe, for example, the double interpretation of phonetic features (Paiva 1997), absence of gender agreement (Dante 1996), and archaic negative structures (Roncarati 1997). In contrast with the whole grammar which doesn't have any pidgin features, this modality of spoken Portuguese is similar to the nonstandard native Brazilian Portuguese. Thus, we can prove that a process of decreolization leaves residues or it disappears completely so that some phenomena emerge as CV patterns (Mollica 1997), absence of prepositions (Gomes 1997), strategies of impersonal reference (Duarte 1997), as well as the emergence of discourse markers (Macedo 1997).

Maggie Ronkin & Helen Karn (Georgetown University)

Mock Ebonics: Linguistic racism in parodies of Ebonics on the Internet

This study presents evidence of linguistic racism in parodies of Ebonics (‘Mock Ebonics’) which appeared on the Internet in the wake of the 1996 Oakland School Board Resolution. Drawing on Hill’s (1995) characterization of Mock Spanish, we show that Mock Ebonics is a system of semantic, phonological, grammatical, and orthographic strategies for representing the imperfections of an outgroup, namely, users of Ebonics. Moreover, we show how producers of Mock Ebonics employ these strategies, which are common in speech stereotypes, to justify attributing the blame for poor academic performance to learners and the community from which they come.

Catherine Rudin (Wayne State College)

Clauses & other DPs in Omaha-Ponca
NP-final definite articles and clause-final complementizer- or aux-like particles are overlapping sets of morphemes in Omaha-Ponca. For example, the forms *the, ikhe, and akha* are both articles and clause-final particles. I propose to treat this as more than coincidental, analyzing both articles and clause-final particles as D (Determiner), which can take either a clausal or a nominal complement. Instead of a series of homophonous pairs we have in each case a single lexical item. Clauses and noun phrases in Omaha-Ponca both share the structure [[XP ] D ] where XP = IP or NP. This blurring of the structural distinctions between clauses and NPs accords well with fundamental aspects of Omaha-Ponca grammar since many types of nominals, including internally-headed relative clauses and deverbal nouns, are identical in form to simple verbal clauses. On a theoretical level, the D analysis also provides support for the cross-linguistic analysis of noun phrases as DP and indirectly supports the general concept of functional heads.

**Ivan A. Sag** (Stanford University)  
*(Session 22)*

*Explaining the conjunct constraint*

Since Ross (1967) it has been known that conjuncts cannot be gaps (Grosu's 'Conjunct Constraint'), even if the extraction in question obeys the 'across-the-board' constraint:

(1)  
   a. *What did you compare [my account of _____ ] and [_____]?
   b. *What did you compare [_____] and [my account of _____]?
   c. *What did you compare [_____] and [_____]?

Such examples have resisted satisfactory theoretical treatment in the principles-and-parameters framework. Nor can the examples in (1) be adequately explained by appeal to Principle C, as suggested by Goodall (1987). The effects of Principle C are sufficiently labile that many have questioned its existence. In addition, there are reasonably clear examples where conjuncts are coindexed with (elements within) coconjunctions: (A disagreement arose between Clinton's bodyguard and him) over White House security. The winners of the 5 awards were: Jones, Smith, Parker, and Jones.) Yet the data in (1) find a simple explanation within any of the traceless theories of

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extraction that have been developed in the literature (Steedman 1988, 1997; Kaplan & Zaenen 1989; Pollard & Sag 1994). These accounts provide an immediate account of the data in (1) under the uncontroversial assumption that only linguistic expressions can be coordinated. The failure of principles- and-parameters approaches to provide a satisfactory account of the conjunct constraints can be traced directly to the supposition of *wh*-trace.

**Wendy Sandler** (University of Haifa) & **Marina Nespor** (University of Amsterdam) *(Session 22)*

*Prosodic phonology in sign language*

While quite a substantial amount of work on sign language concerns the internal 'phonological' structure of signs (see e.g. Corina & Sandler 1993, Brentari 1995 for overviews), much less attention has been paid to the phonological organization of the sentence, that is, to the way in which phonology interprets syntactic and informational structure in sign languages. In this paper we concentrate mainly on two phrasal levels of the prosodic hierarchy, that of the phonological phrase and that of the intonational phrase (cf. Selkirk 1984, Nespor & Vogel 1986) and show that Israeli Sign Language (ISL) has a phrasal phonological structure at these two levels that resembles that of oral languages, both in the analysis into constituents and in the location of main prominence within them. We propose that the physical realization of rhythmic prominence in ISL consists of duration, repetition, amplitude of gesture, and muscular tension. We also suggest that different facial expressions are in some ways comparable to the melodies of oral languages. Our findings indicate that the phonological phrase in ISL constitutes the domain of what may be considered an external sandhi rule, which we describe here. We also show that ISL behaves like oral languages as far as relative prominence within a phonological phrase is concerned: ISL appears to be a head-complement language, and a sign which is at the right edge of its phonological phrase is strong with respect to other signs within the same phonological phrase, which are weak.

**Uli Sauerland & Edward Gibson** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) *(Session 22)*

*Case matching in relative clause attachment*
The ambiguity of relative clause attachment in phrases like (1) presents the following puzzle for language processing:

(1) the daughter of the woman who saw the accident

In English, low attachment of the relative clause to 'the woman' is preferred, but in Spanish, German, and other languages high attachment to 'the daughter' is preferred (Cuetos & Mitchell 1988). We present a new solution to this puzzle which links the attachment preference to properties of the case morphology. This makes several novel predictions for which experimental evidence is shown.

Ronald P. Schaefer
(Southern Illinois University-Edwardsville)

On tone & mood in Emai

This paper examines the relation between tone and mood in Emai, a previously undescibed Benue-Congo language of Nigeria's Edoid group. Tonal melodies realized on head elements within an inflectional phrase, incorporating auxiliaries, adverbial preverbs, verbs and their complement particles, appear determined in large measure by the mood categories indicative and subjunctive. Inflectional phrases in the indicative manifest strong and weak melodic patterns correlating with the aspectual categories perfective and imperfective. For the strong pattern, illustrated by the perfective, a verb, or a verb and its initial monosyllabic auxiliary or preverb, exhibit high tone. Inflectional phrases with multiple monosyllabic auxiliaries or preverbs show alternating high low in the preverbal phrase but high on the verb. Indicative's weak pattern, found in imperfective aspect and sentence negation, reveals a low tone verb and monosyllabic auxiliary or preverb elements, irrespective of their number, with alternating high and downstepped high. Inflectional phrases in the subjunctive likewise manifest weak and strong melodic patterns. The strong form allows verb tone to vary in line with its position in the inflectional phrase. When alone in imperative or subjunctive complements or when preceded by a deontic auxiliary or the conative preverb, verb tone is low. When a subjunctive inflectional phrase incorporates a single nondeontic modality auxiliary or preverb, the latter's tone is low, while verb tone is high. Multiple nondeontic auxiliaries or preverbs in strong subjunctive inflectional phrases low high alternating, with high tone on the verb. Subjunctive's weak tonal melody is characterized by a high tone verb, regardless of the subjunctive particles position, and low tones throughout the auxiliary and preverb phrase. Absent any preverbal, the subjunctive prohibitive particle exhibits low tone and its verb high tone. Inclusion of preverbal leads to low tone on the latter, while retaining high on the verb.

Amy J. Schafer & Shari R. Speer
(University of Kansas)

Prosodic influences on the resolution of lexical ambiguity

A classic finding in research on prosody is that of Lehiste (1973), who showed that prosody could reliably disambiguate surface structure ambiguities but not lexical ambiguities. Numerous studies have confirmed the syntactic effects of prosodic phrasing information. We will present results from two experiments, using cross-modal naming and end-of-sentence tasks, which show that prosodic phrasing can also affect lexical disambiguation and that phonological phrase (PPh) and intonational phrase (IPh) boundaries have separable effects on processing, with IPh boundaries leading to further interpretive processing than PPh boundaries. We presented spoken sentence fragments with strongly-biased ambiguous words (e.g. anchor) in sentence-initial subordinate clauses that were weakly biased toward the subordinate meaning and ended with either a PPh or IPh boundary. Immediately following the fragments, subjects named a visually-presented associate of either the dominant or subordinate meaning of the ambiguous word. Naming times were significantly shorter for the subordinate associate after the IPh boundary than for the other three conditions, demonstrating semantic priming and suggesting that further interpretive processing and further use of context took place at the IPh boundary than at the PPh boundary. These on-line results converge with results of an end-of-sentence task which suggested that reanalysis is more difficult for material preceding an IPh boundary than material preceding a PPh boundary. Although IPhs are associated with longer boundary durations than PPhs, we will argue that the results cannot be attributed simply to durational differences. The results suggest that IPhs define interpretive processing domains, delimiting the relevant linguistic context for semantic/pragmatic decisions. In conjunction with previous research demonstrating effects of PPh boundaries on syntactic processing, the results support the view that the processor builds a prosodic
representation and is guided by it during multiple stages of linguistic analysis. Implications of these findings for psycholinguistic research will be discussed.

**Natalie Schilling-Estes** (Stanford University/Old Dominion University)

*Redrawing ethnic dialect lines: A synchronic & diachronic analysis of /ay/ in Lumbee Native American Vernacular English*

In investigating language and ethnicity, it is often assumed that ethnic groups are relatively linguistically homogeneous, particularly when they have existed in historical isolation from other ethnic groups. In addition, it is frequently assumed that there are straightforward linguistic correlates of ethnic boundaries and that these correlates—or ‘ethnic’ language features—serve as ready measures of the degree to which ethnic groups accommodate to outside varieties as they emerge from historic insularity. Results of the present study challenge these assumptions, based on synchronic and diachronic analysis of the variable patterning of /ay/ in a relatively isolated rural Native American (Lumbee) variety in Robeson County, NC. Analysis reveals surprising heterogeneity within the Lumbee community.

**Natalie Schilling-Estes** (Stanford University/Old Dominion University)  
**Walt Wolfram** (North Carolina State University-Raleigh)

*(Session 24)*

*Directionality in language death: Dissipation vs concentration*

Despite growing concern for the endangered status of many of the world’s languages, there has been little concern for dialects threatened by the encroachment of healthy varieties of the same language. We argue that the examination of endangered language varieties of safe languages is vital to an understanding of the possible ways in which language features may recede in moribund language communities. Our comparison of the moribund dialects of Ocracoke Island, NC, and Smith Island, MD, shows that some cases of dialect recession are characterized by the DISSIPATION or replacement of dialect features while others are characterized by the CONCENTRATION or intensification of features as the dialect loses speakers. Our investigation focuses on the quantitative variationist and acoustic phonetic analysis of the variable patterning of two features of each dialect: the production of /ay/ with a raised nucleus and the production of /aw/ with a fronted glide. In Ocracoke, the two variants are receding as islanders come into increasing contact with outsiders as the traditional marine economy is replaced by tourism. In Smith Island, the variants are being used with increasing frequency, but the number of speakers is decreasing as islanders relocate to the mainland in search of employment. In addition, the two variants show different synchronic patterning. For example, raised /ay/ is favored in prevoiced contexts in Ocracoke but in prevoiceless environments in Smith Island. The differential patterning of /ay/ and /aw/ in Ocracoke and Smith Island can be explained in terms of (1) the sociohistorical circumstances surrounding endangerment, (2) the linguistic status of dissipated or concentrated features (e.g. the nucleus of raised /ay/ is backed, or peripheral, in Ocracoke but non-peripheral in Smith Island), and (3) the social meaning of endangered language features (e.g. raised /ay/ is a stereotype of Ocracoke speech but is little noticed in Smith Island, where glide-fronted /aw/ is frequently commented upon). We argue that convergent linguistic and sociolinguistic factors play a central role in guiding directionality in dialect death and must be considered in the formulation of a generalized model for language loss as well.

**Armin Schwegler** (University of California-Irvine)

*Creolistics in Latin America: A past, present, & future*

Dialectologists and general linguists with an interest in Latin America (both the Spanish- and the Portuguese-speaking territories) have essentially ignored pidgin or creole languages (e.g. bozal Spanish, Palenquero, Papiamentu, São Tomense creole, etc.), several of which are key for an understanding of the evolution of (Black) Latin American Spanish, especially as regards informal, relaxed registers (including popular Brazilian Portuguese and popular Caribbean Spanish). It should come as no surprise, therefore, that with a few noticeable exceptions, major Hispanists on either side of the Atlantic have also been slow or downright reluctant to express interest in the renewed focus on putative African influences in areas where Blacks have constituted an important, often dominant segment of the population. The first portion of this paper will examine why Latin Americanists have essentially ignored the study of pidgin and creole languages. Thereafter, it will offer a short review of the progress that has been achieved thanks to the pioneering works of a few noticeable exceptions (e.g. Germán de Granda, John Lipski). The paper then goes on to suggest how to advance the integration of creolistics into Latin American studies. In doing so, it
will submit a list of urgent tasks that scholars of the 21st century should undertake. The final portion of the paper will address whether creole languages such as Palenquero can be expected to survive past the 21st century and how the possible threat of extinction of this language should influence the descriptive and theoretical investigations scholars intend to carry out in the years to come.

Scott Schwenter (Stanford University)
*The scalar link between exclusivity & additivity*

Beginning with Horn's classic paper on *only* and *even* (1969), the notions of exclusivity and additivity have been the topic of much pragmatic research during the last three decades. This research has resulted in major works like König (1991), whose cross-linguistic study of focus particle meaning draws a sharp distinction between particles expressing exclusivity (e.g. *only*) and those expressing additivity (e.g. *even*). My goal in this paper is to show that the seemingly discrete concepts of exclusivity and additivity are actually gradient, and indeed overlap. In particular, my claim is that the relationship between exclusive and additive uses of particular discourse markers (DMs), e.g. *in fact*, is mediated by scalability, as manifested in lexical (Horn 1989), pragmatic, and argumentative (Anscombe & Ducrot 1994) scales. The results of this analysis highlight the crucial role that scalar phenomena play in linking notions like exclusivity and additivity, and also in unifying the diverse functions of DMs. The analysis has further implications for other key issues in pragmatics, e.g. for distinguishing among different types of 'reformulation' (Rossari 1994), and for modeling the gradient nature of interlocutor agreement/disagreement.

Steve Seegmiller (Montclair State University)
*Signed languages in linguistics before the advent of sign language linguistics*

This paper discusses the views of signed languages found in linguistic works of the 19th and 20th centuries. It will show that the two main contexts in which signed languages are mentioned are discussions of the nature of language and the origin of language. In the former case, signed languages provide mostly negative evidence: These are what language *is not* like. In the latter case, signed languages are presumed to be either derivative of spoken languages or primitive forms of communication based on natural gestures. The evidence for these conclusions will be analyzed. The paper will also discuss views of the structure, the origin, and the acquisition of signed languages.

Lucy Seki (Unicamp-Brazil)
*Particles in Kamaiurá, a Tupí-Guaraní language*

Kamaiurá has numerous elements which I call particles. Syntactically they occupy different positions in the sentence and semantically they express a variety of distinctions, such as aspect, deixis, quantification focus, modality, including gender and speaker's attitude. In the present paper I first provide an operational definition, which permits the identification of the class 'particle' as distinct from other syntactic categories, as well as from both clitics and affixes. Then I survey the particles, characterizing them by their position in the sentence (initial, second position, final, floating) and by their meaning. Finally, I focus on one semantically determined group of modal particles--the so called 'evidentials'. It will be shown that in Kamaiurá the source of information (the speaker or others) and the nature of the evidence (visual, inferential, speculative) are expressed by separate particles, rather than being linked together in single particles.

Martha Baird Senturia (University of California-San Diego)
*Stress & vocalic sequences in Hawaiian: A paradox resolved*

The interaction of stress and syllabification in sequences of vocalic segments often poses problems for theories of phonology. Linear theories usually posit separate processes for syllabification (with moras) and stress assignment, with the second process dependent on the first; yet if this method is used in Hawaiian, a paradox in the stress pattern emerges. I present an analysis of the Hawaiian facts in optimality theory that resolves this paradox by evaluating candidate outputs using ranked constraints that reward both optimal stress and syllable structure simultaneously. The analysis I propose here follows the intuition that primary
stress in Hawaiian generally falls on the penultimate mora, moving only one mora to the left in cases where the intended stress location ends up as the weaker right mora of a bimoraic diphthong. This is captured by the low ranking of ALIGN-R and its interaction with SONORITY/FALL, FOOT-FORM, PEAK/PROM, and ONSET. Every instance of vocalic adjacency in Hawaiian can be handled with the same constraints and rankings, and primary stress is in fact regular and predictable under the optimality analysis.

**Amy Leuchtmann Sexton** (Rice University)

*ASL & English: Comparing spatial descriptions*

The present study explores the form of an apartment layout description in American Sign Language, comparing the properties of the ASL description with those outlined in Linde & Labov (1975) for spoken English descriptions. Differences arise in the ASL description which are in violation of the rules set forth by Linde & Labov for apartment layout descriptions but which are explainable in light of ASL’s formal properties and its occurrence in the visual/gestural mode. As the illustrations of several test subjects shown a video of the ASL description verify, ASL’s ability to discuss physical space through the manipulation of physical space itself allows it to produce much more iconic, precise descriptions than spoken language—all subjects produced nearly exact illustrations of the apartment described, all of which lacked many of the ambiguities often found in illustrations of oral descriptions. The ASL layout description used in this study is actually incorrect with respect to physical reality, thus, in a final step which moves beyond the initial research of Linde & Labov, the semantic structure of the ASL layout is analyzed, using Polanyi’s (i.e., 1995) linguistic discourse model, in order to pinpoint the exact location in the discourse at which its semantics differ from physical reality.

**David L. Shaul** (University of Arizona)

*Perspectives in Hopi linguistic prehistory*

Hopi linguistic prehistory is examined using Hopi dialectology and pan-Uto-Aztecan perspectives. Diagnostic changes in sounds and core inflectional categories are examined. Major events in Hopi (pre)history are then discussed: (1) agricultural adaptation, (2) aggregation and the Kachina cult, (3) the arrival of the southern Athapaskans, and (4) historic period (contact with Spanish and Tewa). The findings are then compared to Hopi archaeology and ethnohistory.

**Kathryn Shields-Broder** (University of the West Indies-Mona)

*Gender, culture, & conversation: A Caribbean perspective*

This paper assesses the relevance of current ideas about the impact of gender on interruption, simultaneous speech, and silence in mixed-sex conversation from the perspective of a primarily oral Caribbean community, in which verbal duelling is deemed a highly valued art and manipulation of power by verbal means is not confined to men. Drawing on a database of recordings of radio conversation and interviews aired in Jamaica, it explains the organization and cultural significance of a performance floor and discusses the role of gender in determining the power relations which govern its turntaking procedures. The argument is that (1) turn-taking models derived from primarily literate societies are not necessarily applicable to oral contexts in which the floor is the major platform for negotiating power, and (2) generally accepted notions about asymmetry in power relationships between men and women, assumed to be reflected in conversation between them cannot be taken for granted in societies governed by a performance floor.

**Mark Sicol** (University of Pittsburgh)

*Glottalization & categories of possession in Lachizio Zapotec*

This paper is a descriptive report on categories of possession in Santa Maria Lachixio Zapotec, an Oto-Manguean language of Southern Mexico for which no published sources exist. Two major patterns are present in the data on possessed nouns. The first pattern illustrates two categories of possession: inherent possession, which undergoes no morphological marking, and ownership, which is marked by glottalization at the end of the possessed noun. The second pattern shows a marked difference between first person possession and non-first-person possession (2nd, 3rd).
Category 1: (1) bela 'sister of female' bela lo 'your sister' bela nxo 'her sister' bela maria 'Maria's sister'
(2) zxoana7 'tail' zxoana7 a 'my tail' zxoana7 lo 'your tail' zxoana7 nani 'animal's tail'
Category 2: (3) becho 'turkey' becho a 'my turkey' becho7 lo 'your turkey' becho7 zxoa 'Juan's turkey'
(4) endo7 'child' endo a 'my child' endo7 lo 'your child' endo7 i 'his child'

In nouns of Category 2 glottalization is not found in the first person possessed forms but is in the second and third person (3). In addition, if the unpossessed noun ends with a glottalized vowel or glottal stop, the laryngeal feature is lost in the first person possessed form (4). This is not the case in (2). The data presented in this paper were collected by the author during the summer of 1997. The work contributes to the descriptive literature on Zapotecan languages and to the more general literature on possession and categories of relationships between noun phrases.

Jeff Siegel (University of New England-Australia)

Applied creolistics in the 21st century

Many speakers of pidgins, creoles, semicreoles, and other nonstandard varieties remain disadvantaged in education, employment, and dealings with the law. Yet despite periodic calls for creolists to do more to help speakers of the languages they study, very little has been happening. This paper is a call for a greater role for ‘applied creolistics’ in the 21st century. The paper starts off by outlining some of the modest efforts that have taken place in various parts of the world in applied areas such as legal contexts, translating and interpreting, and education. With regard to education, the paper describes three types of programs which use individual pidgins/creoles/semicreoles in different ways: as a medium of instruction, as a topic of study, or as a language of literature. Research on the effectiveness of such programs is then presented. The paper goes on to suggest a plan of action and research agenda for applied creolistics in the 21st century. Three steps are described: documentation, establishment of pilot programs, and systematic evaluation of these programs. The importance of publicity and public awareness is also discussed. In conclusion, the paper illustrates how research in applied areas can throw light onto some important theoretical issues as well.

Caroline L. Smith (Eloquent Technology, Inc.)

High vowel laxing in Québécois French

High vowels in French are less sonorous than low vowels: They are more like approximants and more prone to shortening and devoicing. This pattern is shared by many languages (Maddieson 1997). If high vowels are inherently less 'vowel-like' than low vowels, it might be expected that when shortened or reduced, they would become even less vocalic. In Standard French, vowels shorten in most closed syllables. However, data recorded from speakers of Québec French show that in some closed syllables the vowels become, if anything, more 'vowel-like'. This change results from the process known as vowel laxing. Québec French differs from Standard French in that the three high vowels [i], [y], and [u] become 'lax' in final closed syllables. This process has been analyzed by various researchers as a change in tenseness, in length, or in +/- ATR (Picard 1987). The present study examined the acoustic properties of this process in order to determine which of these descriptions is most apt and whether this process constitutes a

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form of vowel reduction. In order to compare the tense and lax high vowels, utterances were constructed so that the pairs of vowels occurred in similar environments. For example, one pair of utterances was 'C'est une pie pour elle' (with a tense [i]) and 'C'est une pipe pour elle' (with lax [ ]). Eight female speakers of Québec French were recorded reading 12 such sentences. Durational measurements were made from the waveforms; vowel qualities were compared using FPT spectra averaged across 6 repetitions of each utterance. The lax vowels had higher F1 and more energy in the region between F1 and F2 than the tense vowels, suggesting that they are more central. More surprisingly, these lax vowels were not consistently shorter than their tense counterparts. These results suggest that the lax vowels of Québec French are less peripheral than their tense counterparts and are thus best described as lax, rather than [-ATR]. However, the process of laxing is not necessarily accompanied by shortening.

Marlene Socorro & José Alvarez (University of Zulia-Venezuela)
Denominal verbs in Kari'ña (Cariban)

The purpose of this paper is to describe the formation of verbal themes from nominal stems in the Kari'ña language. Similar processes have been described in other Cariban languages: Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1985), Makushi (Abbott 1991), and Pemon (Alvarez 1996, Armellada & Olza 1994). Hoff (1968) discusses this process in the closely related Carib of Surinam, but in Kari'ña it had not received any attention. Until now five such verbalizers have been identified: -ma, -ka, -to, -ta, and -pa. The semantic contribution of each verbalizer, the different types of transitivity of the resulting verbs, as well as the various phonological processes that take place when adding such suffixes to the nominal stems are also described.

Shamitha Somashekar (Cornell University), Claire Foley (Morehead State University)

Tulu relative clause acquisition in a cross-linguistic perspective

Earlier acquisition work has suggested that free relative clauses may be developmental precursors to lexically headed forms (English, Chinese, French, Korean, and Japanese). In this paper, we investigate this trend in a study of Tulu structures like those in (1) and (2).

(1) Verbal Adjective
[\(\text{y}i\ \text{t}\ \text{kor-\(n\)a}\)]
\[\text{kaaji\ porlu-uNDu}\]
\[\text{tikkuN\(Du\)}\]
you\ t gave-rel\ bangle\ beautiful-be
who\(\text{ever}\)\ early\ come-PA-3sm-Q\ he-DAT
prize\ get-be\(\text{will}\)

'The bangle you gave is beautiful.'

Sixty children acquiring Tulu as a first language were tested in a controlled production study. Results show that despite the surface 'transparency' of forms like (2), children show an early preference for structures like (1); children productively convert forms like (2) to forms like (1). Results lead us to propose a new notion of transparency: Children more quickly assemble structures that are more transparent not in surface form, but in their reflection of UG principles.

Grace Song (University of South Carolina) & Beth Levin (Northwestern University)

A compositional approach to the expression of motion events

Talmy (1975) drew attention to cross-linguistic differences in the expression of motion events. Specifically, in Manner languages like English, events of directed motion to a goal can be expressed using manner of motion verbs (\(\text{He ran to school}\)). In Path languages like French, such expressions are unavaiable; directed motion events to a goal can only be expressed with directed motion verbs (\(\text{Il est allé à l'école}\ 'He went to school'\). Recent proposals (Bouchard 1995, Pustejovsky & Busa 1995, Cummins 1996) account for this difference compositionally. In this paper, we extend the most explicit of these accounts---Cummins' proposal---in two ways. We show that the compositional device in English that Cummins identifies as allowing the use of manner verbs in expressions of motion to a goal has analogues in other Manner languages; moreover, it is one of several devices with this function. Cummins proposes that English allows the compositional expression of directed motion events with goals because it has a preposition, to, that marks the goal of motion as distinct from the location. French lacks such a preposition. Generalizing, we propose that the use of manner verbs in descriptions of directed motion events with goals is possible in languages that have a means for unambiguously expressing a goal outside a manner verb. Prepositions and case markers are such devices, and so, we propose, are verb compounding and verb serialization, in which a manner and a path verb combine to express such events. Thus, a compositional approach allows a unified analysis of the cross-linguistic options for expressing motion events.

Ronald Sprouse (University of California-Berkeley)

Enriched input sets: A new approach to opacity in OT

This paper proposes a new approach to the difficult problem of opacity in optimality theory (Prince & Smolensky 1993), a subject which has attracted attention in recent years (McCarthy 1995, Cole & Kisseberth 1996). In this paper I examine a number of cases of the type of opacity which seems to require intermediate representations, a seemingly impossible situation in nonderivational OT. McCarthy (1997) has recently introduced sympathy theory (ST), which effectively allows designated output candidates to
function as intermediate representations, to handle cases of this kind. In this paper I develop an alternative, more restrictive model, the enriched input model (EIM). The basic insight of the EIM developed in this paper is that the grammar can consider a range of inputs in parallel, extending in a natural manner the OT notion of parallel evaluation. The optimal output is the one in which the best EI-output mapping is most harmonic. An important consequence of evaluating EI-output mappings instead of surface representations is that one EI-output mapping taken as a whole may outperform another with a better-formed surface representation as determined by the ranking of output constraints alone.

**Kelly Stack** (University of California-Los Angeles)

*Child-induced 'repair' in the acquisition of artificial language*

This paper examines the language acquisition of Jamie, a deaf child exposed exclusively to SEE by both parents from the age of 11 months, permitting the effects of the input to be disentangled from critical period effects. Because Jamie's developing grammar diverges from SEE in just those areas in which SEE is most unlike natural human languages, I argue that children bring substantial innate resources to the task of language acquisition in the form of unconscious expectations about linguistic principles. Jamie's pronominal system diverges from the target system both in gaps and innovations. Jamie's developing system reflects for person agreement, making sensible use of a phonological feature (location) which is almost ignored by the target language, SEE. Jamie is beginning to use phonological location as a morpheme for verb agreement, especially when an argument is required by context but is not lexically present. The use of location for agreement marking is common in signed languages but is absent in SEE. Jamie makes subtle changes in hand configuration and palm orientation to SEE signs which violate ASL phonotactics, bringing the signs into compliance with ASL phonotactics. It is an open question whether these modifications are in response to phonotactic universals or constitute an attempt to bring SEE phonotactic 'outliers' in line with the majority of the lexicon which reflects ASL phonotactics. Jamie has acquired almost none of the grammatical and bound morphology of SEE, instead creating a variety of bound morphemes not present in SEE but similar in form and function to those found in natural signed languages. As a result, Jamie's signing is prosodically similar to that of children acquiring natural signed languages and is prosodically different from that of her primary language models, her parents. This pattern of rejection and invention of linguistic systems is unattested in research on natural first language acquisition under normal circumstances. This suggests that Jamie's innovations and gaps arose as a result of the profoundly deviant character of the target language. That Jamie innovated a repaired system supports the view that acquisition is to a fair extent internally driven.

**Lynne M. Stallings** (University of Southern California)

*Relative weight in the production of heavy-NP shift*

The grammatical literature fails to provide a descriptively adequate account of what constitutes a syntactically complex of 'heavy' NP in heavy-NP shift sentences, where the NP appears in clause-final position. This paper turns to a performance account of the data (Hawkins 1994) in an attempt to provide a complete explanation for heavy-NP shift. The presence of NP length effects in one production experiment (with the PP held constant) and PP lengths in another (with the NP held constant) supports research that it is not the heaviness of the NP alone that motivates heavy-NP shift but rather the weight of the NP relative to that of the PP, such that the length of the NP is heavier relative to the weight of the PP, and thus shifting of the NP is more likely to occur than when the two are similar or equal in weight.

**Peter Stein** (Alteglofsheim, Germany)

*The Dresden Edition project of the complete manuscript of C. G. A. Oldendorp's Mission History*

As is generally now known, Oldendorp's *Missionsgeschichte* from 1777, which was translated into English by Highfield and Barac in 1985, represents a substantially condensed version of the original manuscript. A historical and critical edition of the complete manuscripts (there are two diverging copies) is being produced at the *Voelkerkundemuseum* (Museum of Ethnology) in Dresden. As a member of the editorial board I would like to present the project, show the problems involved with producing the edition, and give a report of the present state of the work. Special attention will be given to the linguistic aspects of the manuscript. In this respect I will also draw attention to Oldendorp's creole dictionary which I published last year.
The existence of lexical conservatism in phonology is documented by considering split-base phenomena, in which the morphosyntactic and phonological base of affixation of some form diverge: e.g. remédiable (whose morphosyntactic base is the verb rémedy and whose phonological base appears to be the allomorph in remédial, remédiate) or French masculine liaison forms such as bel homme (whose morphosyntactic base is the masculine beau, and whose phonological base is the feminine belle). In all such cases, a listed allomorph possessing some phonological property that is desirable in the complex expression lends this property to the target form: The feminine belle lends its final C to the masculine adjective, to avoid hiatus within the NP. This happens despite the fact that the morphosyntactic properties of belle should render it ineligible for the context. We argue that the analysis of all such cases must include two classes of conditions: (1) general constraints requiring that some phonological property P of affixed forms possess a lexical precedent in some (nonspecific) listed allomorph of the same morpheme; and (2) more specific constraints requiring that the presence of morphosyntactic features be encoded through phonological identity with listed allomorphs endowed with those features. Split base phenomena reduce to the following constraint schema, in which the last two constraints conflict: Type (1) constraint requiring a lexical precedent for property P (>>) Phonological constraint referring to P >> Type (2) constraint requiring that morphosyntactic identity be encoded by phonological identity wrt P. The phenomenon of base identity reduces to the joint effect of multiple type (2) constraints.

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William A. Stewart (City University of New York Graduate Center)  
What a letter of 1883 in Pidgin Hawaiian has to say

In The Carrier Pidgin 24:2/3:3 (1996), Julian Roberts published the text and his own translation of a letter written in Pidgin Hawaiian and dated 1883. It was sent by a Chinese shopkeeper living on Maui to the manager of a plantation on the neighboring island of Hawaii. Roberts proffers the letter as evidence that Pidgin Hawaiian was still functioning as a major medium of interethnic communication in Hawaii as late as the mid-1880s. Against this conclusion, reasons are given why the use of Pidgin Hawaiian for such a purpose this late would have been anachronistic, and a more plausible explanation is offered. But the letter does have something else of potential importance to tell students of Hawaiian sociolinguistic history, a message encrypted in the structural details of the Pidgin Hawaiian it attests. For, unnoticed by Roberts, these show evidence of its having been created, at least in part, by the process of reflexifying Chinese Pidgin English. No other attestation of Pidgin Hawaiian is known to have such characteristics, and the letter may be in Reinecke's long-lost 'Sinicized Hawaiian'.

Cristel U. Stolz (University of Bielefeld)  
Couplet parallelism in informal text genre: Evidence from Yucatec Maya

The existence of couplet parallelism (CP, in the Jacobsonean sense of 'repetition with variation') is a pervasive feature of Middle and South American oral literatures: Two sequential units express a similar idea by inserting antonymous or synonymous expressions into a roughly similar syntactic frame. The discussion of CP has been mostly restricted to formal speech genres, such as prayers, songs, myths, prophecies, traditional narratives, etc. What these text genres have in common is that they are instantiations of planned or even formulaic, generally highly predictable, speech. In contrast, I will discuss the occurrence of CP in spontaneous discourse in Yucatec Maya. Most of the data come from descriptions of spatial arrangements, a communicative task completely new to most of the informants. Speech under these circumstances is highly spontaneous and unplanned, sometimes even labored and tentative: Explanatory strategies are tested and sometimes abandoned again in case they are found inefficient. Nevertheless, in the informal speech genre of expository texts, CP is quite prominent. Apparently, CP occurs frequently in Yucatec Maya, even outside of formal speech genres. Therefore, CP has to be regarded as something more than just a poetic feature whose occurrence is restricted to certain formal text genres. Rather, the packaging of information into dyadic units appears to be a more basic feature of discourse in Yucatec Maya.
Thomas H. Stolz (University of Bremen)
Grammatical borrowing in Amerindian & sundry languages: Recurrent patterns of socially induced grammatical borrowing

Endangered languages display a high percentage of grammatical borrowings from the dominant language. What strikes the eye most is the fact that cross-linguistically there is a marked preference for certain grammemes, e.g. translation equivalents of English but, to be borrowed irrespective of which donor language and which borrowing language are in contact with one another. The resulting patterns recur all over the place in function-word borrowing from Spanish into Amerindian and Austronesian languages. However, the recurrence is in no way restricted to cases of Hispanicization. Rather, it is also characteristic of many other language contact situations worldwide in which an endangered language is involved. By way of synoptically comparing the characteristic traits of overt grammatical Hispanicization especially of Amerindian languages with those of Lusitanization, Arabicization, and Russianization of mostly non-Amerindian languages, the paper seeks to demonstrate that there is no purely structural motivation for the borrowings. Rather, it is argued that it is the similarity of social conditions shared by the situations of language endangerment under scrutiny that determine which grammemes are borrowed from the dominant language. In the case of massive borrowing of function words, the speakers of the borrowing language submit to the ways of expressing oneself imposed by the speakers of the dominant language. In a way, this acceptance of a foreign discourse norm of speaking prepares the ground for further linguistic assimilation.

Elizabeth A. Strand (Ohio State University)
Gender stereotypes affect speech perception

It is widely understood that visual information has an influence on speech perception (e.g. McGurk & MacDonald 1976). Strand and Johnson (1996), however, showed that beyond just visual information about the segments produced, information about the gender of a talker (e.g. spectral characteristics of the voice, characteristics of the face) also influences speech perception. Further, information about the gender of the talker seems to gradiently influence speech perception, in this case meaning that a talker whom listeners believe to be more 'prototypically feminine or masculine' will induce a stronger perceptual effect than the effect induced by a talker believed to be less feminine or masculine (i.e. 'nonprototypical'). These results raise interesting new questions regarding how expectations of gender prototypicality and stereotypes might be influencing listeners' perception of speech. These questions are examined in the present paper. The research presented here tests the hypothesis that some socially-constructed beliefs or expectations (i.e. stereotypes) about how a speaker 'should' sound are in action, that is, that some higher-level nonlinguistic information related to a gender ideal of some sort is affecting speech perception. Results from several audiovisual speech perception experiments are discussed in this light. These results suggest that an interaction between bottom-up processing of acoustic information and top-down information related to people's socially-constructed stereotypes about gender occurs in speech perception.

Susan Strauss (University of California-Los Angeles)
Distinctions in compleitives: Japanese -te shimau, Korean -a/e pelita & -ko malta

This paper will examine the use of the Japanese auxiliary construction -te shimau as a marker of completive aspect and will suggest its pragmatic overlap with two Korean auxiliaries -a/e pelita and -ko malta. In addition to encoding aspect, these constructions also encode such speaker stances as the accidental/spontaneous occurrence of an event, counter to expectation, regret, disappointment, relief, etc. -A/e pelita will be shown to emphasize the totality or absoluteness of the event itself; -ko malta will be shown to encode resistance, struggle, or determination to avoid that undesirable outcome: As such, it encodes the stronger negative stance toward the outcome. -Te shimau will be shown as expressing a broader pragmatic scope, encompassing both Korean auxiliaries, in addition to other uses not covered by either. It will be shown that while typologically very similar, Japanese and Korean pattern quite differently, particularly with respect to the perception and encoding of the various processes and circumstances leading up to an outcome or completed event. That is, the resistance and/or effort to avoid a
certain undesirable outcome just prior to the event completion seems to distinguish one auxiliary in Korean from the other, while not a relevant distinction in Japanese. This paper will also add to the current body of literature linking complective aspect with human emotion and speaker stance.

David Sutcliffe (Barcelona, Spain)

_Gone with the wind? What 19th century AAVE can tell us about a prior creole_

There has been increasing interest in 19th century African American speech (in the USA) and the question of whether there was a 'prior creole' which shaped the emergence of African American English. Careful examination of the ex-slave recordings in particular has finally revealed that there almost certainly was such a creole, spoken alongside English in many different locations in the South. Taped evidence and statistical evidence will be presented to support this assertion.

Susan M. Suzman (University of the Witwatersrand)

_Morphology as a diagnostic of language impairment in +/- pro-drop languages_

Leonard (1993) proposes that morphology in language impairment is most affected in languages with sparse, nonsalient morphology and least affected in languages with elaborate morphologies. Specific language impairment (SLI) in English is characterized by particular problems with morphology which he attributes to the paucity and nonsalient nature of grammatical morphemes in English. Children learning languages with elaborate morphology do not display the same difficulties. Leonard proposes 3 hypotheses to probe these issues: (1) the sparse morphology hypothesis, (2) the surface hypothesis, and (3) the missing features hypothesis. Data from Italian and Hebrew support hypotheses (1) and (2), as do data from Zulu, the language investigated in this paper. Zulu is a pro-drop language with an extensive noun class and agreement system. Naturalistic, developmental data from a Zulu SLI child at 2;7 and 3;5 years contribute more cross-linguistic evidence in support of Leonard's observation above. Similar findings in [+pro-drop] languages like Zulu and Italian suggest the possibility of using morphology as a diagnostic of language impairment in typologically similar languages.

Anand Syea (University of Westminster)

_Future grammatical developments in creoles: Some predictions_

The main aim of this work will be to try and predict on the basis of past historical developments in creoles and noncreoles the types of grammatical and morphological development that might take place in 21st century creoles. A few grammatical phenomena will be selected and their historical developments in other languages will be discussed with a view to establishing whether these same developments might be replicated in the creoles. Some of the questions which will be raised are: Are creoles likely to develop inflectional morphology to identify subject verb agreement? Are TMA markers likely to develop into inflectional markers on verbs? Are creoles likely to develop passive morphology? What kinds of internal and external pressure will there be to force these changes and in which direction? A working assumption here will be that a small set of principles exist which guide grammatical changes and will apply in the development of creoles.

Alice Taff & Jacob Wegelin (University of Washington)

_Intonation contours in Unangan (Eastern Aleut): Phonetic description_

Previous work has described language specific intonation patterns in many languages, e. g. English (Pike 1945, Pierrehumbert 1980), Japanese (Pierrehumbert & Beckman 1988), Bengali (Hayes & Lahiri 1991), and Cup'ik (Central Alaskan Yupik) (Woodbury 1993), and suggested universal characteristics of intonation, e. g. (Bolinger 1978, Ladd 1996). This paper reports on the first detailed study of intonation patterns in Unangan, an endangered member of the Eskimo-Aleut language family. We ask whether sentences and content words in sentences have characteristic contours and whether yes/no questions have different contours than declaratives. Instrumental phonetic analysis and statistical methods we employ provide evidence that Unangan patterns differ from those found in other language families while they are similar to patterns found in Cup'ik, a distant relative in the same family. In addition, some universals are not supported. Data for this study are taken from recordings made in Alaska in 1996 (under NSF grant 911113 to Peter Ladefoged and Ian Maddieson) of 12 fluent speakers each providing around 20 sentences in Unangan elicited by English stimuli. Numerical results of entire pitch tracks generated on the Kay CSL
I develop Saito's (1994) account of the contrast in (l) and argue for the following propositions:  

1. There was/puckle houses ... there were a puckle thatched houses like that. (Buckie English JB/337)  

We compare and contrast varieties across a number of extra-linguistic dimensions including American vs British, enclave vs nonenclave, rural vs urban, African vs non-African as well as the traditional factors of age, sex, class, education, and generation, i.e. patterns in apparent time. Preliminary analyses of nearly 6000 instances of was/were reveal that in every community, the rate of standard was contexts realized by were amounts to 1-3%. In contrast, the rate of standard were contexts realized by was ranges from 42-89%, lending support to the notion of 'analogical levelling' across varieties. However, what explains the broad range of frequencies? When constraints on the variability are examined in more detail, it can be seen that a general explanation of analogical levelling does not provide an adequate account of the observed patterns. Instead, some patterns are consistent across all communities, some are unique to each, and others exhibit gradient effects across features of the sociolinguistic context. Existential NP's highly favor nonstandard was, regardless of community. But in nonexistential constructions, the patterning of nonstandard was appears in most cases, to result from longitudinal, though differential, continuity of diachronic patterns of the verb to be.

Maggie Tallerman (University of Durham)  
Case-licensing in Brythonic infinitival clauses

Chomsky (1993) proposes that the abstract case of subjects is checked in the specifier position of the subject agreement projection, AgrS, when tense raises to AgrS. This proposal crucially connects the property of tense with the appearance of overt subjects. In the Brythonic Celtic languages Welsh and Breton, however, overt subjects are found not only in tensed clauses but also in embedded infinitival clauses. Some of these are demonstrably finite, others nonfinite, but none have tense. How, then, are their subjects case-licensed? I argue that, cross-linguistically, the T0 projection participates in case-licensing when it has some realizable verbal feature. Ordinary tensed verbs meet this requirement, but other realizable features include finiteness, aspect, and modality. This proposal accounts not only for the Brythonic data but also languages like Chinese, where verbs are marked for neither tense nor agreement.

Hidekazu Tanaka (McGill University)  
Adjunction, specifier, & wh-licensing

Saito (1994) and examines in detail the contrast in (l). An argument wh- phrase in (1a) precedes an adjunct wh- phrase, but the ungrammatical (lb) has an adjunct phrase preceding an argument wh- phrase.  

\[
\begin{align*}
(1) & \quad \text{a. John-ga nani-o naze naosita-no?} & \quad \text{b. *John-ga naze nani-o naosita-no?} \\
& \quad \text{Nom what Acc why fixed Q} & \quad \text{Nom why what Acc fixed Q} \\
& \quad 'Q John fixed what why?' & \quad 'Q John fixed what why?'
\end{align*}
\]

I develop Saito's (1994) account of the contrast in (l) and argue for the following propositions:  

2. A specifier is a case of an adjunct that agrees with a head (Fukui & Saito 1996).
b. A single functional category can have at most one specifier.
c. Adjunction to an A'-adjunct is prohibited.
d. An adjunct can only be moved when it becomes a specifier.
e. Specifiers are on the right in Japanese.

Given (2), the adjunct wh- phrase in (la) adjoins to the preceding wh- phrase and becomes a specifier of it. The two wh- phrases in (la) jointly move to the CP-Spec at LF. This derivation is not available to (lb) since the adjunct wh- phrase cannot lower to the lower wh- phrase. Thus, the two wh- phrases in (lb) cannot move to the CP-Spec, resulting in a crash at LF. I show how this set of assumptions accounts for a number of facts about wh- questions in Japanese and English.

**Marie-Lucie Tarpent** (Mount St. Vincent University) & **Daythal Kendall** (Unitis Corp.)

On the relationship between Takelma & Kalapuyan: Another look at 'Takelman'

Sapir (1921) was first led to expand the original 'Penutian' grouping outside of California by resemblances he noticed between Takelma and Yokuts. Yet, later linguists (Swadesh 1965, Shipley 1969) have followed Frachtenberg (1918) in linking Takelma with Kalapuyan on the basis of lexical resemblances, even though Frachtenberg advised caution due to their structural differences. Recent research suggests that Swadesh's Takelman hypothesis was premature: Structural and lexical resemblances with Yokuts on the one hand, with the Plateau languages on the other, suggest rather that Takelma and Kalapuyan may belong to different subgroups within the 'Penutian phylum'. This case also illustrates some of the pitfalls of relying on limited criteria for linguistic classification.

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**Karl V. Teeter** (Harvard University)

The linguistic research of Frank T. Siebert, Jr.

Frank T. Siebert, Jr., M.D., who studied with Boas and Sapir and has been a colleague of the writer's for nearly 40 years, has no academic credential, but has, nevertheless, been engaged in original field work on the Penobscot language since 1931 and may be called the leading scholar in the field of Algonquian linguistics. He has many important publications in descriptive, comparative, and historical linguistics, with more in press, including a completed volume of Penobscot legends. He continues his research daily, even though now, at the age of 85, he is resident in a nursing home with inoperable cancer. It is high time Siebert's work received wider recognition, and this paper will characterize the body of his scientific work, which has concerned not only Penobscot, but has also included research with the last speakers of the extinct Siouan language Catawba and several other endangered native American languages, over a period of more than 60 years. The writer deems it a privilege to be allowed to present this summary analysis and report of Siebert's life's research.

**Lucy Thomason** (University of Texas-Austin) & **Sarah Thomason** (University of Pittsburgh)

Stem class & pluralization in Montana Salish

This paper is a preliminary investigation of the interaction of reduplicative pluralization with stem class in Montana Salish. One type (marked by a reduplicative infix) normally indicates plurality of agents only and hence has a limited distribution. The other type (marked by a reduplicative prefix) indicates plurality of a nonagent, or iteration of the event. This latter type proves interesting for several reasons. Its use is determined by considerations that cut across syntactic categories, and it is regularly used to indicate plurality of arguments which have no syntactic status. Its susceptibility to two interpretations, as an iterative marker or as a plural marker for nonagents, neatly reflects the crucial identification of objects with event boundaries that provides the basis for the Montana Salish stem classification. And finally, its behavior with respect to ambivalent stems sheds further light on the conceptualization of that stem class.

**Ellen Thompson** (University of Puerto Rico)

The syntax & semantics of reduced relatives

This paper argues that the temporal dependency holding between a gerundive relative in subject position and the main clause determines VP-internal or VP-external LF site of subjects.

(1) A man waiting for Joe left the room.
The event of a gerundive relative--waiting in (1) takes place at the time of leaving, E(vent) (time reading), or at the time of Speech (S time reading).

(2) a. A man waiting for Joe stormed into the lab.
   b. There stormed into the lab a man waiting for Joe.

I assume the E time is represented in VP and S time in IP, and temporal dependency between times requires them to be in the same checking domain (Thompson 1996). Assuming the VP-internal subject hypothesis, I claim that the E time reading correlates with Spec, VP position of the subject, and S time reading with Spec, IP position. (2a) permits E or S time readings; waiting can occur at the time of storming into the lab or at the speech time, but the existential version in (2b) allows only the E time reading. Assuming interpretation of the associate of the expletive occurs within VP (denDikken 1995) this is predicted, since VP-internal position derives the E reading.

(3) a. Which claim that Joe made did he really like?
   b. Which student reading Joe's book did he really like?

Gerundive relatives, unlike tensed relatives, show reconstruction effects with wh- movement; in (3a), he and John can corefer, but in (3b), this is not possible. Lebeaux (1988) argues that the relative clause of (3b) is adjoined after wh- movement and hence does not show reconstruction effects. I claim that gerundive relatives cannot be adjoined after wh- movement since in Spec, CP, it is not in the checking domain of E or S time of the main clause and cannot get a temporal interpretation.

Timothy J. Thornes (University of Oregon)

Transitivity operators in Northern Paiute: Their function & development

There are numerous operators on the relative transitivity of verbs in the Northern Paiute language. One class of morphemes, commonly referred to as instrumental prefixes, operates at a lexical-derivational level to derive transitive verb stems. As a natural extension, at least one member of this class is partially grammaticalized as a morphological causative. Another operator on transitivity is an applicative suffix. This suffix works syntactically to signal the addition of a causee or benefactive. Finally, there is sporadic stem ablaut in the language which also patterns with transitivity. The study contributes to our understanding of the historical significance of stem ablaut in a Numinic language, both with respect to Uto-Aztecan and by providing a parameter for studying the phenomenon in other languages and language families of North America where ablaut has been noted. Another contribution of this study is to our understanding of the various dimensions of transitivity by looking at the relationship of the notions 'instrument' and 'manner' to transitivity and the semantic distinction between direct and indirect causation.

Ida Toivonen (Concordia University/Stanford University)

Morphological variation in Inari Sami

Inari Sami is spoken in Lapland, Finland, by approximately 400 speakers, all of whom are also fluent in Finnish. There are two published dictionaries but no full grammars of the language. The data in this paper come from my fieldwork in the summer of 1997. Despite the small number of speakers, there is significant dialect variation within the Inari Sami community. This paper focuses on the variation found in word-final unstressed morphemes. In addition to discussing these theoretical issues, I will describe speaker attitudes to the standardizing effects of the more recent of the published dictionaries (Sammallahti & Morottaja 1994).

Jany Tomba (City University of New York Graduate Center) (Session 36)

The early Haitian Creole in Ducoeurjoly (1802)

This paper contrasts the early Haitian Creole in Ducoeurjoly (1802) with the modern variety, the present author's first language. Ducoeurjoly's detailed knowledge of the creole is demonstrated in the 37 pages of conversations in early Haitian in his Manuel des habitants de Saint-Domingue as well as the 400 entries in the accompanying creole-French wordlist. This paper traces the numerous changes that have occurred in the lexicon (words having become archaic or obsolete or having undergone semantic shift), as well as in the phonology and morphosyntax. The data show, for example, that the modern system of combining
preverbal TMA markers was already well developed. Ducoeurjoly (1802) provides invaluable insights in charting the development of Haitian Creole's linguistic systems during its first century of use.

**Frank R. Trechsel** (Ball State University)

*A CCG account of Tzotzil pied-piping*

Aissen (1996) notes that possessors in Tzotzil necessarily follow the head of NP which occur in canonical, postverbal positions, but necessarily precede the head of NP in preverbal, focus, or interrogative positions. She attributes these facts to an abstract agreement condition. In order to be interpreted as either focussed or interrogative, possessors and other NP must agree, abstractly, with a functional head (C or I). This ensures obligatory reordering of possessors and heads whenever they appear, together, in preposed, pied-piped NP. The present paper offers an alternative account of these ordering facts within the framework of Combinatory Categorial Grammar (CCG). This account eschews appeal to (abstract) agreement and instead relates the ordering restrictions to the nature of the category of focussed and interrogative expressions. Specifically, these expressions are assigned to a 'raised' or 'lifted' category Q/(S/NP). Members of this category combine with their S/NP arguments on the right. They therefore appear obligatorily preposed. In order to accommodate the reordering that occurs in pied-piped expressions, it is sufficient to assume that focussed and interrogative possessors also belong to an extended category (Q/(S/NP))/(NP/NP). Members of this category combine with NP which lack possessors to yield complex, derived expressions of category Q/(S/NP). The attested possessor-head order in these expressions is an automatic consequence of the fact that members of category (Q/(S/NP))/(NP/NP) necessarily combine with their NP/NP arguments on the right.

**Maria Tsiapera** (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

*The Augustinian & Port Royal*

The Port-Royal community and Jansenist views became a sore spot for the church and the state which were entwined. The Jansenists were a product of the counter-Reformation who preferred to repair the Catholic Church rather than replace it. Of interest to us is the fact that out of this philosophy came a number of grammars and treatises on education. The Port-Royal concern with language was a reflection of its importance in the development of the students' judgment. Judgment or reason lead to salvation. Thus the method of teaching is to develop the ability of the student to think. This led to a series of treatises such as *La Nouvelle Méthode latine* published in 1644 when Lancelot was only 28 years old. The preface to this work is of interest because it sets forth a number of philosophical points that became central to the *Gammaire générale et raisonné*. The idea of education at Port-Royal meant a great deal more than preparing students for economic success. Rather, the development of character and the acquisition of Christian virtues were most important. A mastery of language and literary skills was essential in understanding and defending Christianity. A thorough knowledge of Latin was essential, but French had begun to assert itself. In their system, only after the students could read and write French did they start studying Latin. Translations from Latin to French were common. There is no doubt that the Port-Royal grammars were teaching manuals with their philosophical basis extracted from the teachings of St. Augustine. St. Augustine is the bridge between ancient ideas and Christian beliefs on reason and thus Cartesianism.

**Takae Tsujioka** (Georgetown University)

*Compounding, phrasal syntax, & the base rule theory*

This paper presents a new piece of evidence which indicates close interaction of compounding and phrasal syntax. The data come from the Japanese inalienable object (IO) construction, which may best be understood as a phrasal counterpart of the English possessional adjectives (e.g. blue-eyed). The behavior of lexical compounds in the IO construction leads us to the following two possibilities: (1) Compounding in the IO construction operates on a phrase. (2) There is a base which feeds both phrasal derivation and compounding

as proposed in the base rule theory (Botha 1981, Beard 1995). The first possibility provides an immediate objection to the strong lexicalist hypothesis (SLH). The paper pursues the second possibility in detail and
concludes that it too contradicts the SLH. The specific claim is that the IO construction always requires compounding whether it is 'lexical' or 'phrasal'. The resulting phrasal compounds do not render themselves to the quotation analysis of Wiese (1996), thereby constituting evidence against the SLH.

**Martha Tyreone, Judy Kegl, & Howard Poizner** (Rutgers University)

*Interarticulator coordination is impaired in deaf Parkinsonian signers*

We examine motor control deficits in Parkinsonian signers through analysis of their production of ASL fingerspelling. We focus on ASL fingerspelling because it is sequential, rapid, and has theoretical models of its underlying structure. Free conversation of two Deaf ASL signers with Parkinson’s disease and three Deaf ASL control signers was analyzed. In addition, scripted productions of one control signer were analyzed. We used phonological features of ASL (including selected finger constellation, thumb position, hand orientation, and wrist involvement) and frame by frame timing of multiple articulator movements to analyze the fingerspelled productions. On the basis of the featural analysis, the Parkinsonian subjects showed a variety of error patterns. Control subjects coarticulated adjacent segments within fingerspelled utterances such that a given segment influenced the shape of the segments around it. Unlike controls, the Parkinsonian subjects tended to either hold individual segments in a fingerspelling sequence for a long time (segmentation) or blend adjacent segments into a single segment (sequential blending). Parkinsonian subjects would also break handshapes down sequentially into their component features of finger configuration and thumb position (featural unraveling). The frame by frame analysis of the data revealed interarticulator timing deficits in the Parkinsonian signers. The movements of independent articulators (the thumb, the fingers, and the wrist) were markedly farther apart in time and more variable for the Parkinsonian subjects. Finally, controls showed more simultaneously active articulators than the Parkinsonians did. The results of both the error analysis and the frame by frame analysis show that Parkinsonian subjects have difficulty coordinating the movements of independent articulators in complex sequences. Such deficits could occur if Parkinsonians are impaired in their ability to use ongoing sensorimotor information to program multiarticulator movements.

**Keiko Uehara & Dianne C. Bradley** (City University of New York Graduate Center)

*Processing scrambled argument structures in Japanese*

Japanese sentences often begin with an ambiguous sequence of case-marked NPs, and the processing system apparently imposes structure early, without waiting for definitive information. This paper reports a sentence completion experiment investigating the human parser’s preferences in assigning structure to such sequences. Sentence beginnings consisting of three or four NPs marked with -ga (Nom), -ni (Dat), and -o (Acc) (in some of which NP -ga appeared twice) were presented in a paper-and-pencil questionnaire format. The 24 fragments presented included sequences in canonical order, as well as sequences likely to elicit scrambling analyses. The completions provided information about the analyses imposed on the presented fragments. These completions were used to evaluate three plausible hypotheses about where clause boundaries would be imposed, e.g. 'Maintain canonical argument order', 'Open a new clause only when unavoidable'. None of these strategies was found to be a major determinant of the placement of clause boundaries. Rather, two powerful strategies emerged as the primary triggers for clause segmentation, both mentioning only -ga (Nom): The highest clause must contain NP -gd, and ‘Assign each NP -ga to a separate clause’. These principles apparently apply with equal force, whether the resulting structures involve canonical or noncanonical word order. This provides further support for the finding of Yamashita (1997) that scrambling carries no special processing costs in Japanese. Contrary to Yamashita (1994), no preference was observed for packing as many arguments as possible into one clause. An explanation will be offered for this discrepancy in terms of NP animacy.

**J. Marshall Unger** (Ohio State University)

*Reconciling comparative & internal reconstruction: The case of Old Japanese /tr ri ni/*

The distribution of phonograms in Old Japanese documents (8th century) shows that many i-, e-, and o-ending syllables had two phonemically distinct antecedents, commonly designated A and B. Certain verb allomorphs with penult labial or velar consonants show A- or B-type syllables consistently when attested in phonograms; e.g. okia ‘put’ okib ‘arise’. Virtually all internal reconstructions assume that each paradigm reflects a unique root form that accounts for its distinctive allomorphs; therefore, when the penult consonant is not a labial or velar, it has been assumed that its pre-OJ antecedent was of the same type as
that of marked members of its OJ paradigm; e.g. moti- < *moti_A 'hold' (same paradigm as 'put') but oti- < *oti_B 'fall' (same paradigm as 'arise'). But Whitman (1985) has adduced Korean-Japanese matches that require pre-OJ *n > si, *ni and *ni > i, so that all surviving OJ /ti ri ni/ go back to type B. A complete solution to the dilemma this poses for internal reconstruction is presented here. One sets up two pre-OJ stages during the first of which roots of all phonotactically permissible shapes combine freely with all possible endings. No arbitrary constraints are imposed on the form of morphemes, as in previous theories. This yields an array of more form classes than are found in Old Japanese, but the OJ paradigms emerge naturally as a consequence of mergers caused by well-known monophthongization and vowel-deletion rules motivated independently by allomorphic alternations within nouns, vowel reductions in compounds, and additional Korean-Japanese matches. The 'extra' classes predicted by the model correspond to the troublesome verbs like moti- < *moti_B - implied by Whitman's theory and to small groups of OJ roots that appear to share two OJ paradigms for reasons hitherto unexplained. The proposed solution thus resolves more than just the problem created by Whitman's matches; moreover, by supporting Whitman's hypothesis that all OJ /ti ri ni/ go back to pre-OJ type B syllables, it provides a strong criterion for judging doubtful pKJ etymologies and sometimes rules out all but one among two or more proposed matches. In particular, pKJ*sgo 'do' accounts for both the irregular Korean ha- id. and its causative and the *egularOJ su id. under the model presented.

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Gerard Van Herk (University of Ottawa)

Inversion in early AAVE question formation

Proponents of the creole-origins hypothesis observe similarities in question formation between African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and creoles. According to Dillard (1972), contemporary AAVE questions may resemble Standard English (with inversion) or creoles (with no inversion). If the noninverted forms are a creole legacy, they must have been more common in earlier AAVE. We test this hypothesis by examining diaspora varieties of AAVE in Samana (DR) and Nova Scotia. A variationist analysis of diaspora AAVE questions shows noninversion favored by constraints resembling neither creoles (requiring categorical noninversion) nor contemporary English (requiring inversion). They do, however, match constraints on noninversion of lexical verbs (do-support) in Early Modern English. There, processing and semantic factors discourage inversion with negation, yes-no questions, causatives, and transitives. Diaspora AAVE models and copulas also resist inversion, like the lexical verbs they once were. These results suggest the observed variability is a remnant of the system originally acquired along with the remainder of the English language.

Shravan Vasishth (Ohio State University)

Boolean properties of focus particles & NPIs in Japanese

This study examines Japanese NPIs and shows that they conform to van der Wouden's semantic typology for Dutch and English. Further, the boolean algebraic properties of two focus particles de-mo, mo, 'even', are shown to be exact mirror images of each other, in that the former is excluded in strong negative (antithetic) contexts while the latter is excluded in all nonstrong negative (monotone decreasing and anti-additive) contexts. The claim is that there are two constraints on NPIs: (1) If an NPI can be licensed in a nonantithetic context, then only de-mo may host that NPI. (2) Only mo may host a focused NPI in an antithetic context. These constraints entail that although an NPI has no independent existence prior to affixation, it has inherent boolean properties that determine whether de-mo may be affixed to it. In sum, this research advances the study of NPIs by providing support from Japanese for van der Wouden's semantic typology and by accounting for the relationship between boolean constraints on focus particles and on focused NPIs.

Shelley L. Velleman (Elms College) & Lawrence D. Shriberg (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Metrical phonology constraints in disordered children

Several recent studies have demonstrated the applicability of concepts from metrical phonology to normal phonological development. Kehoe & Stoel-Gammon (1997), in a review of the research, propose that a set of constraints--including prominence, edge, and segmental/sonority constraints--can best account for these findings. This proposal had yet to be tested on children with phonological delay or disorder. In this study, productions of multisyllabic words from 15 children with phonological delay and 15 children with phonological disorder (suspected developmental apraxia of speech), matched for severity, were examined.
Findings indicate the relevance of the same types of constraints to our subjects as to very young children who are normally-developing although specific segmental constraints may differ. Thus, metrical constraints are implicated in phonological delay/disorder, especially developmental apraxia of speech.

Laura Wagner (University of Pennsylvania)
*Aspectual shifting in the perfect & progressive*

This paper addresses the question: Why can you have a perfect of a progressive, as in (1), but not a progressive of a perfect, as in (2)?

(1) Anne has been walking to school.
(2) *Anne is having walked to school.*

This paper treats the progressive (PROG) and the perfect (PERF) as operators that constrain the aspectual class (e.g. the Vendler verb classes) of both their input and output. The analysis of PROG largely follows Moens (1987) arguing that PROG sentences are states, and they presuppose they apply to durative activities. The paper argues for a similar analysis of the PERF in which PERF sentences are individual level predicates (ILPs), and the presupposition constraint on PERF's input is that it not apply to an ILP. The paper argues that input sentences are subject to presupposition accommodation but that output conditions may not shift. In this way, the ordering of PROG over PERF is ruled out because PERF's output (an ILP) is not compatible with PROG's input presupposition (a durative activity).

Rachel Walker (University of California-Santa Cruz)
*A comparison of Guaraní voiceless stops in oral vs nasal contexts*

Guaraní (Tupí; Paraguay, Bolivia) is well-known for its nasal harmony, which nasalizes voiced segments and reportedly skips voiceless stops (Gregores & Súárez 1967, Lunt 1973, Rivas 1975, Goldsmith 1976, van der Hulst & Smith 1982, Poser 1982, Piggott 1992, Cohn 1993, Steriade 1993, Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996, Beckman 1996, among others). This study represents one of the first instrumental investigations of Guaraní, examining the acoustics of intervocalic voiceless stops in oral vs nasal contexts. A stressed nasal vowel triggers nasal spread in Guaraní. Six oral/nasal pairs of common words of the form (C)VCV were examined for each voiceless stop—[p, t, k]. In nasal words, both vowels are nasal (by regressive nasalization), and in oral words, both vowels are oral, e.g. [oke] 'door', [oké] 'sleep'. Six repetitions of each word were recorded, read by a native Guaraní speaker. Using waveforms and spectrograms, the following durations were measured: voicing lag into closure, oral closure, voiceless burst, and overall voiceless period. The first finding is that voiceless oral stops do indeed occur in nasal words. In comparison of oral/nasal contexts, the most striking result is that the ratio of closure to burst duration is significantly smaller in nasal words (nasal average 5.60; oral 7.37; F=21.21, P<0.001). This difference is a consequence of greater burst durations in nasal contexts and shorter closures. Another finding is that the ratio of closure to voice lag duration is smaller in nasal words (nasal average 6.66; oral 8.29), partly due to longer voicing lags in nasal contexts. Interestingly, voiceless duration is not significantly different across the sample. A key conclusion is that a fixed property of voiceless stops in the data is the total period of voicelessness—this remains unchanged across oral and nasal contexts. A difference in voice timing is the greater voice lag in nasal words, explained as a postnasal voicing effect (Westbury 1983, Westbury & Keating 1986, Ohala & Ohala 1993, Bell-Berti 1993, Hayes 1995, Hayes & Stivers 1996). In nasal words, the greater voiceless burst occurs because the longer voice lag and the shorter closure shift the voiceless period right, so that it perseveres longer into the following vowel. These results contribute to our understanding of Guaraní nasal harmony and are suggestive of a defining characteristic of voiceless stops. Implications for further research are also discussed.

James A. Walker (University of Ottawa)
*Beyond zero copula: Evidence from African Nova Scotian English*

Zero copula is often used as an argument for the creole origins of AAVE, primarily on the basis of the conditioning of the following grammatical category. However, the inconsistency of the contribution and ranking of the constituents of this factor group raises suspicions about its use as a diagnostic of a creole origin. In this paper, I argue that the apparent effects of the following grammatical category is an
epiphenomenon of its interaction with prosodic factors. A variationist analysis of the copula in African Nova Scotian English reveals a great deal of interaction between the different factors constituting the following grammatical category and the prosodic environment, such that in most cases the two are inextricable. These results suggest that at least part of the explanation for cross-dialectal variability in ranking (e.g. predicate adjectives and locatives) resides in the different prosodies of individual dialects. These findings compel a reexamination of the factor groups traditionally invoked in studies of the copula and call into question the use of zero copula as a metric in the evaluation of the creole-origins hypothesis.

**Natasha Warner** (University of California-Berkeley)

*Spectral transition in the perception of English segments*

There is a long-standing debate on whether speech is perceived through steady states or transitions (Kewley-Port & Pisoni 1983, Strange et al. 1983, Stevens & Keyser 1989, Nearey 1997. Furui (1986), using gated Japanese monomoraic syllables, found listeners identified syllables correctly when they heard the point of maximal spectral transition (maximum D, a measure based on cepstral coefficients). In this paper, this work is extended to English and to a wider variety of transitions. 128 English words, representing transitions between all manners of articulation, were gated at 20 ms intervals. VC, CC, and VV transitions were used in addition to Furui's CV and CJV syllables. The results show that for almost all transitions (diphones), there is a clear point at which listeners' identification of the second segment becomes highly accurate. For many diphones (47%), this point is within 15 ms of the maximum D. However, for other diphones (especially those with far-reaching perceptual cues), the point of recognition is farther from the maximum D. This paper will discuss reasons for the discrepancies between Furui's experiment and the current one, including language specific factors (such as size of vowel system). The results support the dynamic theory of speech perception but show that there are numerous effects of syllable position and segment type, as well as language specific effects.

**Laurel J. Watkins** (Colorado College/University of Colorado)

*The grammaticalization of 'come' and 'carry away' in Kiowa*

The Kiowa verbs of motion 'come' and 'carry away' are the sources of quasicompound auxiliaries that convey deictically anchored motion and by extension temporal progress ('getting higher and higher' or 'getting better and better'). Evidence for their grammaticalized status includes (1) loss of phonological independence (showing tone shifts typical of compounds) and (2) loss of categorial properties. In the rightmost position normally occupied by heads of compounds, they neither condition the allomorphy expected from the transitivity of the verb stem nor exhibit the usual paired perfective and imperfective categories of verbal paradigms. Semantically, the auxiliaries identify an event as overlapping with a deictic center. In its temporal extension 'come' characterizes an event as developing in the past and and overlapping with the present while 'carry away' overlaps with the present and projects into the future. The semantic puzzle of auxiliaries whose inflection is solely perfective can be seen to follow in part from the peculiarities of verbs of motion within the Kiowa aspectual system. Unlike most verbs, the imperfective of basic verbs of motion (come, go) does not permit a progressive reading. The perfective inflection with progressive sense as auxiliaries is consistent with the perfective inflection with progressive sense ('on the way to/from') as main verbs.

**William F. Weigel** (University of California-Berkeley)

*Harbingers of language death: Yowlumne from 1930 to 1996*

Studies of language death have typically failed to identify any particular type of structural language change as a distinctive characteristic of language obsolescence. This paper examines several changes in Yowlumne, also called Yawelmani (Yokuts, central California), that occurred between 1930 and 1996 and argues that while some are indistinguishable from change in healthy languages, others are symptomatic of the functional contraction that is characteristic of impending language death. These changes include the loss of most (including all nonobligatory) forms of the applicative, the loss of the distinctive register associated with a morphologically distinct class of verbs, and several interrelated
changes in the phonological inventory. The paper also argues that contraction in language function is a more useful focus for understanding language death than markedness or convergence/divergence.

Laura Wilbur (Indiana University)  
Convergent sympathy

Recent work on opacity in OT has given rise to sympathy, which describes the faithfulness correspondence between an optimal candidate and a failed ‘\*’ candidate (McCarthy 1997). While the role of sympathy in multiple sources of opacity has been discussed, few actual cases have been documented. The Amerindian language Wintu (Pitkin 1985) provides evidence of two independent phenomena which interact with a third to yield opaque outputs. These phenomena provide crucial support for sympathy by converging on one and the same sympathy constraint. Drawing on Pitkin’s derivational analysis, a rule raises mid vowels before a low vowel /a/ with only one consonant intervening. A second rule in a counterfeeding relation deletes the first consonant in a cluster. Thus, in the example /?ew+bas/ ‘these’, the interaction would yield the opaque form /?ebas/. From a constraint-based perspective, low-ranked MAX would select the faithful [?ewbas] as the candidate. The optimal candidate arises as a result of ranking the sympathy constraint MAXHEIGHT.\* over RAISING, preventing *[?ibas] from surfacing. A second instance of opacity obtains as a result of the fact that some mid vowels do not raise, even when there is no cluster underlyingly. This differential behavior of mid vowels motivates an underlying distinction of [+ATR] where [-ATR] mid vowels raise. A rule of absolute neutralization changes [+ATR] vowels to [+ATR]. In constraint-based terms, MAX[ATR] would choose a candidate with the same [ATR] value as the input. The sympathy constraint MAXHEIGHT.\* would ensure that the vowel height of the ~ candidate is preserved in the output. The significance of this is that, in both cases, it is the same sympathy constraint that defines the relationship between the candidate and the optimal candidate. This evidence demonstrates that different constraints can converge upon the same sympathy constraint, independently supporting the validity and universality of sympathy constraints. [NIH DC01694]

Jeffrey P. Williams (Cleveland State University)  
Miscegenation & the genesis of contact languages

The ‘domestic hypothesis’ is an account of creole genesis in the Atlantic Basin which serves to explain the development and diffusion of the Anglophone creoles from the domestic unions between African women and European men within an Upper Guinea sociohistorical context (Hancock 1971, 1986; Williams 1988). A recent extension of the domestic hypothesis by Samarin (1996) to account for the genesis of the Native American trade language Chinook Jargon prompts further examination of the sociolinguistic and ethnographic assumptions that support a miscegenetic approach to the explanation of pidgin/creole genesis. This approach relies crucially on cultural information regarding marriage, domestic structure, socialization, and social identity which has only been sketchily provided (cf. Williams 1988). Specifically, this paper will examine the role of miscegenation in proposals concerning the genesis of mixed languages (Bakker & Mous 1994), pidgin languages (Samarin 1996), creole languages (Hancock 1971, 1986) as well as dual source contact varieties (Trudgill 1996).

Donald Winford (Ohio State University)  
Creoles in the context of contact linguistics

This paper argues that the process of creole formation has to be understood within the context of various kinds of contact-induced change as influenced by the nature of the contact setting, the linguistic inputs, and various constraints on mixture and restructuring. Creoles are adult creations, involving substantial inputs from both superstrate and substrate sources which can be identified, by and large. The linguistic mechanisms and constraints which operate in creole formation also operate in a wide range of contact situations which have produced outcomes as varied as, for example, bilingual mixed languages, ‘indigenized varieties’, and cases of SLA. For instance, phenomena such as reanalysis, substratum transfer (or retention), simplification, leveling, and so on can be found in all these kinds of contact. The task facing creolists is to explain what processes and mechanisms of change are peculiar to creole formation and how they relate to those which operate in other contact situations. With this objective in mind, this paper examines the tense/aspect system of Sranan and demonstrates that its overall organization as well as the semantics and use of specific categories owes much to influence from languages of the Gbe cluster. In other words, the creole tense/aspect categories can be explained in terms of reanalysis of superstrate forms
in terms of substrate semantic categories. This process is reminiscent of the kinds of 'relexification' that Lefebvre and others have argued for in the case of Haitian Creole. It also has parallels in the kinds of grammatical 'interference' that Weinreich postulated for cases of bilingual mixture. The paper will attempt to compare the processes of change and restructuring involved in these situations and show what distinguishes them.

Elizabeth Winkler (Indiana University)

Limon Creole: A case of contact-induced language change

The lexicon and morphosyntactic structure of Limon Creole English (LC) in Costa Rica have been affected due to contact with Spanish and the resultant borrowing. Borrowing has increased in the LC community due to a variety of sociolinguistic factors, including a shift towards a more positive attitude of LC speakers towards Spanish, a rise in Costa Rican nationalism among the young, and a radical change in demographics favoring Spanish-speaking Costa Ricans, stimulating a rise in LC-Spanish bilingualism in the once monolingual LC community. In domains where LC was once acceptable, one must now use Spanish. Through the Thomason and Kaufman model of contact induced language change (1988) LC is analyzed to determine which lexical items and morphosyntactic structures are being borrowed from Spanish, and which sociolinguistic factors contribute to the type and quantity of borrowing (gender, age, urban/rural, level of bilingualism). The LC community offers us a unique opportunity to ascertain what happens to a creole when the acrolect/lexifier language is no longer available to its speakers, specifically, when extensive borrowing from an entirely different language occurs. With LC, we have a rare opportunity to study change in progress by studying the speech of the last generation of speakers who learned the creole when it was the dominant language of the province.

Walt Wolfram, Erik Thomas, & Elaine Green (North Carolina State University-Raleigh)

Dynamic boundaries in African American Vernacular English: The role of local dialect in the history of AAVE

This paper will present data currently being collected in interviews with African Americans on the coast of Hyde County across from Ocracoke—where the slaves went when they left the Outer Banks. They had a brogue mixed with some core AAVE. At the same time, interviews with different generations (four different generations from the same family lived in the same house) show the leveling of brogue features and broadening of AAVE core grammar.

Anthony C. Woodbury (University of Texas-Austin)

Against multiword intonational units in Central Alaskan Yup’ik

It has been argued (Miyaoka 1985, 1997; Woodbury 1981, 1989) that the minimal pitch contour in Central Alaskan Yup’ik consists of a rise to a peak at or after the final stress in the associated text, followed by level or falling pitch. The associated text may be a word or short phrase. The contour has been analyzed into an initial L(ow) and final H(igh) tone that bracket a multiword phrase, supporting the idea of prosodic hierarchy theorists (Hayes 1989) that prosodic phrases are positive linguistic units and not merely the artifactual stretches occurring between local juncture or boundary phonemes (Harris 1951, Chomsky & Halle 1968). This paper argues that the proper domain of the LH pitch contour is the ordinary morphological word, not a phrase. The data are 16 otherwise similar sentences containing different noun-demonstrative or demonstrative-noun pairs. Each sentence was recorded 9 times by 3 speakers for a total of 432 tokens. The embedded pairs sometimes show one clearly distinct trough-to-peak contour per word; sometimes a single trough-to-peak contour for the two words; but more often intermediate situations where the internal pitches are to varying degrees 'weakened' (i.e. the peak of the first word depressed relative to surrounding peaks or the trough of the second raised). The data show 'weakening' to be influenced by the moraic lightness of a word, by the speaker's being asked to speak loudly, and (marginally) function word status of a given word. I conclude that each word in the pairs bears a complete LH tone sequence (contour) but that the inner tones of the posited LH + LH sequence are gradiently scalable, the limiting case being a weakening to the point where they do not influence the interpolation from the initial (outer) L to the final (outer) H. While it is possible in principle also to allow an LH sequence to align to a multiword phrase, it is unnecessary (and even misleading) to do so since the internal pitches of LH + LH sequences will still
have to be gradiently scalable anyway to allow for the full range of intermediate cases. Therefore, Yup'ik pitch does not offer the clear argument for multiword prosodic units it once seemed to.

**Richard Wright (Indiana University)**

*Lexically motivated hypo- & hyper-articulation in vowels*

Lindblom (1990) among others has proposed that talkers accommodate listeners' communicative needs by controlling the degree of reduction (hyper- and hypo-articulation) in different contextual conditions, thereby maintaining sufficient intelligibility of words across a variety of contexts. Lindblom's proposal predicts that lexical factors that affect intelligibility of a word will affect the hypo- and hyper-articulation of words. Based on factors in lexical competition such as usage frequency and similarity-neighborhood density, previous research has characterized words as 'easy' or 'hard' to identify. This study examines the degree of centralization of vowels (a well known feature of reduction or hypo-articulation) in 38 'easy' and 38 'hard' monosyllabic (CVC) words of equal familiarity spoken in isolation by 10 talkers. Measurements of the first two vowel formants (F1, F2) were made at the point of maximal displacement in the vowel (excluding the initial and final 50 ms of the vowel). Centralization is measured by calculating the Euclidean distance from the center of a talker's F1-F2 vowel space. Three results emerge: (1) Overall 'easy' words were significantly more centralized than 'hard' words. (2) Peripheral vowels, such as /u, /a, /o/, showed the greatest effect. (3) There was considerable between talker variability both in overall vowel centralization and in the magnitude of the difference between vowels in 'easy' and 'hard' words. The results are interesting because they demonstrate that the talker takes into account a wider variety of sources of possible noise and information than previously thought. These results have implications for both diachronic and synchronic processes that involve reduction. [Work supported by NIH Grant No. DC00012]

**Susi Wurmbrand (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)**

*Deconstructing restructuring*

Many languages distinguish between restructuring infinitives (RIs) and nonrestructuring infinitives (NRIs): NRIs represent an independent clausal domain for properties like *Clitic Climbing or Long Distance Scrambling* (LDS); RIs do not show clause-boundedness effects of this sort. While most previous approaches refer to restructuring as merely a lexical property that is assigned arbitrarily to certain verbs, we claim that restructuring is defined by the lack of an internal tense specification in the infinitive. We argue further that there is a correlation between the semantic nature of an infinitival complement and its syntactic size: Infinitives that do not contain tense features (i.e. RIs) only project to a VP and are not universally represented as CPs (cf. Piccallo 1990, Haider 1994). First, it can be observed that the core of RVs (i.e. models, motion, and aspatial verbs) is the same across languages. Furthermore, verbs like *try* or *begin*—i.e. typical RIs—show special behavior across languages. Second, under an unmarked reading, RIs receive a simultaneous interpretation with the tense of the matrix clause. Third, properties associated with RIs like LDS in German are only found if the infinitive does not have an independent tense specification. Fourth, RVs in contrast to NRVs do not allow finite complements. The combination of a semantic notion of restructuring with certain simplifications of the phrase structure of RIs allows us not only to derive the notion of restructuring and get rid of an unmotivated lexical feature [arestructuring] but also to dispense with long distance movement processes that are otherwise unmotivated in the languages under consideration.

**Li-Chiung Yang (University of California-Santa Barbara)**

*Intonational structures & topic coherence*

Recent research on intonation and discourse structure has pointed out that pitch range variations and final lowerings are key elements in signaling topic breaks and topic hierarchy (Brown et al. 1980, Hirschberg & Pierrehumbert 1986, Silverman 1987, Ayers 1992, Swerts & Geluykens 1994). In this study, we examine how topic organization and development are manifested in the intonational structure of discourse. The corpus consists of 6 hours of recorded spontaneous speech with subsections of the conversations digitized. By reference to our acoustic data and the constructed pitch peak plots, we show that topics are hierarchically organized and that the overall topic coherence is brought about through the pitch level structuring of each phrase unit relative to other phrases. Within topics, both downstepping and upstepping
between phrases occur, and these signal different cognitive activities, reflecting the different status of uncertainty and certainty, new information, and planning. Our data also show that the intonational structures of a discourse commonly occur as dynamic patterns of climax and resolution, both at the local utterance level and at the global level of extended discourse sequences. A discourse climax is often mutually reached by participants in a conversation when the speaker successfully communicates and fully involves the hearer in the essential moral of the topic, at which point an intonational peak occurs within an overall rise and fall of the pitch level baseline. Our conclusion is that intonational structures reflect both local and global coherence and that topics are delineated and hierarchically organized through intonation. The systematic intonational patterns found in this corpus provide promising models for the representation of spontaneous conversation.
as an influential factor and compare it with other sociolinguistic and phonological factors. Among them, speech style, speech rate, vowel length, word position, and neighboring consonants of the devoiced vowels are some strong factors. Through the comparison, gender is proven to be the second strongest factor after speech style. In addition, I have also ranked those factors by comparing their influence for vowel length and speech rate. In either case, gender is the third strongest factor among all other examined sociolinguistic and phonological factors.

**Valerie Youssef** (University of the West Indies-St. Augustine)

*Decreolization revisited: The case of Tobago*

This paper challenges the concept of decreolization as one which is applicable to whole societies, showing that it is too simplistic to do more than plot a very generalized trend. It uses the speech range of males and females in Tobago in two age groups, 14-20 and 65 and over, to show that competence at both age levels is quite variable and that basilectal competence spans some of the younger generation, just as acrolectal competence is found among some of the aged. Specific social circumstances explain the competence range which is not generalizable across entire speech communities.

**Bushra Adnan Zawaydeh** (Indiana University)

*The nature of uvularization in Ammani Arabic*

We tested the spreading of uvularization and its gradiency. To test if /i, y, u, w/ block it, we used the template CaBa. C is a plain consonant, a secondary uvularized segment, or a /q/. B is a potential blocker. Six speakers read the stimuli. The F2 of the second vowel was measured. It was hypothesized that if the F2 of this vowel in uvular and uvularized environments were low, then the high sound would not be a blocker. We found that none of the high segments block uvularization of uvular and secondary uvularized segments. As for the gradiency of secondary uvularization, the templates we used were CaCaCaC, CaCaCaC, CaCaCaC, and CaCaCaC, where C is a secondary uvularized segment and [a] is the vowel whose F2 was measured. The stimuli test the difference in rightward and leftward spreading and the effect of the distance between the low vowel and the secondary uvularized consonant on the F2 of the vowel. The result was that leftward spreading demonstrated no gradiency, while rightward spreading did. In the latter, the farther away the word is from the trigger, the higher the F2 would be. In comparison, this was not found in leftward spreading.

**Jie Zhang** (University of California-Los Angeles)

*On stem shape diachrony from Proto-Athabaskan to Navajo*

Proto-Athabaskan (PA) has been argued to be the Athabaskan language immediately prior to its separation into different languages including Navajo (Krause 1964, etc). Leer (1979) carefully worked out the stem shape correspondence between PA and Navajo. In this paper, focusing on the Navajo reflexes of PA open stems and stems closed by a nasal and/or a glottal stop, I speculate a series of intermediate stages through which different Navajo stem shapes are derived from stem shapes of PA, aiming at explaining not only *how*, but also *why* the diachronic changes happened. I argue that phonetics, paradigm uniformity, and contrast maintenance are the major driving forces for the diachronic changes of stem shapes from PA to Navajo. When these factors are in conflicting demands, the mechanism of optimality theory can be appealed to for explanation. Some arguments are supported by synchronic phonetic data collected from one native speaker of Navajo.

**Ed Zoerner** (California State University-Dominguez Hills)

*Coordinate structure & coordinator distribution*

In this paper, I present an analysis of coordinate structure that solves previously thorny problems regarding the distribution of coordinators cross-linguistically. I first show that previous analyses of coordination (e.g. Munn 1992, Progovac 1996) cannot readily account for two facts: (1) A coordinator surfaces either between each conjunct or before the final conjunct only. 2) Languages such as Dutch allow for 'peripheral' coordinators, as in en Robin en Kim en Terry, while languages such as English do not (*and Robin and Kim and Terry*). I then give the &P-shell hypothesis, which draws upon the spirit of Larson's (1988, 1990) VP-shell hypothesis. It claims that universally a single coordinator & projects X levels of &P structure, where
X = the number of conjuncts. The following shows the underlying structure of a multitered Dutch coordination under this analysis:

\[ [\&P e_\alpha [\&P Robin g [\&P Kim en Terry]]] \]

Normally, the overt & procrastinates until LF to undergo form-chain; hence Robin, Kim en Terry represents the unmarked word order. I show that when form-chain applies (exceptionally) before LF, the grammatical en Robin en Kim en Terry results. The same analysis holds for English; it turns out that the difference concerning the admissibility of a peripheral coordinator boils down to a parameter regarding the functional head &, namely, that at PF a & does/does not have to stand in a spec-head relation with a conjunct. The &P-shell analysis in this way accounts for all and only the grammatical possibilities of coordinator distribution cross-linguistically.

**Cheryl Zoll** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

*Faithfulness & the onset/coda asymmetry: The case of Hamer*

Recent developments in correspondence theory (McCarthy & Prince 1995) have given rise to the claim that onset/coda asymmetries emerge from onset-specific positional identity constraints (Beckman 1997), ostensibly eliminating the need for explicit coda conditions. This paper presents a case study of consonant distribution in Hamer (S. Omotic) illustrating that, for languages where the phonotactics are satisfied without deletion of marked features, coda conditions do indeed remain a crucial component of the universal constraint set. The analysis demonstrates that onset-specific positional identity constraints not only make the wrong prediction in these cases, but in general are completely unnecessary, since the dispensable coda constraints—together with more general faithfulness—fully subsume their function. Onset-specific positional identity constraints therefore play no essential role and should not be included in the universal set of constraints.

**Elizabeth Zsiga** (Georgetown University)

*Phonetic alignment constraints*

What does the relationship between phonology and phonetics look like under a constraint-based version of phonology? Some linguists (Kirchner 1995, Steriade 1996) have argued that phonological constraints should directly encode quantitative phonetic information. The more traditional view, in which access to quantitative information distinguishes phonetics from phonology (Hayes 1996, Zsiga 1997), will be defended here. Rather than considering phonetic rewrite rules as a continuation of the phonological derivation, I will argue that phonetics and phonology have access to different kinds of constraints. As an example, I propose considering gestural phasing (Browman & Goldstein 1990) as a phonetic alignment constraint, similar in form to phonological alignment constraints, differing only in having access to quantitative information. Evidence from Igbo, Russian, and English will be adduced to argue for this distinction. In Igbo, vowel harmony will be accounted for by a constraint aligning the [ATR] domain with the edges of the phonological word. Crucially, in order to account for the categorical nature of vowel harmony, such alignment constraints must refer only to domain edges. In contrast, vowel assimilation will be accounted for in terms of an alignment that makes reference to internal events such as onset (0 €) and offset (270 €) of vowel gestures. A comparison of English and Russian consonant sequences will further illustrate the concept of phonetic alignment constraints, and the resolution of conflicts among phonetic constraints in terms of weighting will also be considered.
Abstracts of Organized Sessions

Thursday, 8 January

Symposium: Bridging the Gap: Introductory Linguistics and the Nonmajor

Ballroom B
7:00 - 10:00 PM

Organizer: Cari Spring (University of Arizona)

Presenters: Mark Liberman (University of Pennsylvania)
            Brian Joseph (Ohio State University)
            Michael Flynn (Carleton College)
            Charlotte Webb (San Diego State University)
            Jorge Hankamer (University of California-Santa Cruz)
            Rae Moses (Northwestern University)
            Susan Steele (University of Arizona)

At the 1997 LSA presentation entitled, 'Assessing and addressing the needs of undergraduates in linguistics', 39 linguists responded to the question: What one thing should students learn in an introductory survey linguistics course? Beginning with the results of this informal survey, this introduction discusses the importance of introductory linguistics to every linguistics program even those lacking an undergraduate component. Every linguist will likely teach linguistic neophytes. Lacking appropriate models for introductory courses, these linguists will start at our current point, i.e. with the assumption that the basic introductory course should be taught as 'baby' theoretical linguistics. Because introductory courses serve as the 'public relations' of the discipline, it is important to the future of the discipline--both in terms of its growth, and in terms of its understanding by the lay public--that we institute alternatives to the current cycle.

Mark Liberman (University of Pennsylvania)

The market share

Grammar, logic, and rhetoric were the first three of the seven liberal arts. A college education still ought to include a modern version of these 'trivial' pursuits, updated to reflect what our field has learned since the renaissance about the history, structure, development, and use of human speech and language. However, a modest survey of American linguistics programs indicates that this is far from being the case. Among 10 institutions responding, the highest rate achieved for linguistics enrollments was about 1.4% of courses taken. The average of the 10 institutions was less than half a percent. Under optimal assumptions, this would mean that perhaps 4-6% of linguistics enrollments at these institutions ever take a linguistics course. Under more realistic assumptions, we can conclude that perhaps 1-2% do. To reach half of all undergraduates, we will have to increase linguistics enrollments by an order of magnitude, even at institutions with well-established programs.

Brian Joseph (Ohio State University)

The Ohio State University experience

The Linguistics Department at Ohio State University has long enjoyed great success in its lowest-level introductory course e.g. as measured by student enrollments. In recent years, however, we experienced sharp drops in enrollments. Part of the complex set of causes for the drops was a shift in the nature of the
course, from an 'introduction to language' to an 'introduction to linguistic analysis/theory'. A revamping of the course and the creation of several sociolinguistically oriented introductory courses (language and social identity, language and gender, etc.) have had a salutary effect, suggesting that the key to reaching students regarding language is a focus on those aspects of language that they live and experience on a daily basis.

Michael Flynn (Carleton College)

The Carleton College experience

Our Introduction to Linguistics course is offered twice yearly and regularly fills to its capacity of 30 students. There is no core textbook, though we use Steve Pinker's The language instinct for context. The main focus of the course is the reading of a selection of papers or books from the professional literature, chosen in part on the basis of their prominence, clarity, and intrinsic interest. For example, students read Chomsky's 'Rules and representations' (from BBS) and Liberman and Mattingly's 'The motor theory of speech perception revised'. Obviously, introductory students must be prepared to read these things, and the course can be seen as a series of such preparations.

Charlotte Webb (San Diego State University)

The San Diego University experience

SDSU developed a special upper division introductory linguistics course in 1975 to meet the requirements of teacher preparation and credentialing. In the past 10 years the course has undergone substantial changes which have reduced the theoretical content substantially while still preserving the essence of the field. The primary focus today is on those areas of linguistics which are especially relevant for future teachers: the nature of human language, variation, parts of speech, sentence relations, English phonetics and phonology, and Spanish phonology. At every point efforts are made to relate the course content to knowledge teachers will need in the classroom.

Jorge Haukamer (University of California-Santa Cruz)

Introductions to subdomains

The design and development of the UCSC undergraduate program in linguistics is based on four principles: Focus, Professionalism, Rigor, and Fun. They have guided faculty development, curriculum design, the nature of individual courses, and the general atmosphere in which the study of linguistics is pursued at UCSC. A point where our curriculum differs from that of most undergraduate programs is that we do not have an introduction to linguistics course required of majors. We have the course, but it is not a prerequisite to any advanced course. The reasoning behind this is that the usual introduction to linguistics achieves so little in any particular area that most of it has to be done over in the real course on the subject anyway, and the absence of the prerequisite in other courses makes the entry courses to the central sequences all recruitment points for the major.

Rae Moses (Northwestern University)

Introductions through applications

It is possible to teach basic theoretical concepts in courses in which linguistics is applied to professional or social domains. 'Language-and' courses that focus on medicine, law, gender, social policy, and prejudice are used as exemplar. (Other examples might include language and education, the workplace, or aging.) I argue that the basic conceptual framework of our discipline can be presented in a rigorous course, designed as the first and only linguistics course a student may take, that illustrates the application of modern linguistic theory to real world problems. The resulting courses are audience pleasers that do not fudge on the complexity or accuracy of the linguistics principles taught.

Susan Steele (University of Arizona)

An administrative view

The University of Arizona will implement a new university-wide general education structure in fall 1998, replacing a college-based program. An entirely new set of courses must be approved for this program, offering significant opportunities for departments to make a place for themselves in the undergraduate
curriculum. However, the curricular guidelines define the general education courses as distinct from introductory courses in the major, so departments must also undergo some soul-searching about their efforts. The opportunities for the basic introductory linguistics course in this environment are limitless, but success requires strategic curricular decisions that will have to breach the historical insularity of the field.

Friday, 9 January

Linguistic Enterprises Workshop 1998: Employability

Regency Room
12:15 - 1:45 PM

Organizers: Dovie R. Wylie (On-Site English)
Janet Dean Fodor (City University of New York-Graduate Center)

Presenters: Karen Jensen (Microsoft Research)
Dovie R. Wylie (On-Site English)
John D. Choi (AT&T Laboratories-Research)
Suzette Haden Elgin

The Linguistic Enterprises project is one wing of a broad initiative being undertaken by the LSA to strengthen employment prospects for linguists. The academic market is deeply depressed, but linguists can be employed in corporate settings, can set up small businesses, and can freelance as consultants. Our aim is to assist linguists who choose to enter the private sector, to help them prepare for and find work that makes use of their training in linguistics and is both intellectually and financially rewarding. Facilitating the entry of trained linguists into the business world makes an important contribution to another goal of the LSA, which is to inform the nonlinguistic public about what linguistics is and how it can contribute to industry, education, and people's daily lives.
**Karen Jensen** (Microsoft Research)
*Linguistic employability: The view from Microsoft*

Overview of the natural language processing system the group is building; how they each got to Microsoft Research; what contributions they make to Microsoft; what the company finds good and less good about employing academically trained linguists; how linguists could increase their qualifications for this kind of job.

**Dovie R. Wylie** (On-Site English)
*Balancing the books*

If you're thinking about going out on your own as a linguist, you'll need a marketable idea--as well as drive, confidence, and flexibility. You'll also need some practical knowledge. What does it take to get started, in terms of equipment and capital? How can you provide your own health benefits? What kinds of records have to be kept for the IRS? And how much should you charge? We can figure it out. Using a worksheet, we'll choose a target income, and I'll show you how to come up with an hourly rate, taking into account time spent on nonbillable activities such as bookkeeping and staying up to date in your field.

**John D. Choi** (AT&T Laboratories-Research)
*Linguists & the speech technology industry*

What a project R&D manager would look for when hiring someone with a linguistics background; the interdisciplinary nature of speech tech research and development; the need to be able to communicate with managers, computer scientists, programmers, signal processing engineers, etc.; differences between academic research and industry-related research and development.

**Suzette Haden Elgin**
*The freelance linguist*

There is lucrative work for linguists in private practice consulting on communication problems; in freelance teaching at universities, including distance-learning situations with multimedia materials; and in giving seminars (workshops, training) to the general public, especially to those for whom some hours of training per year are obligatory, as for medical professionals. (And they are all listed right there in the yellow pages.) Seminars have been the backbone of my personal finances for the past 17 years, and I recommend them wholeheartedly. Your PhD is the only badge of entry you need. Almost everything linguists know that can be discussed with nonlinguists is a potential seminar topic. I do verbal self-defense seminars; the goal is to teach participants how to avoid, and if necessary cope with, verbal abuse and violence. I will outline how I approach potential clients, inform them of what I will and will not do, plan the seminar, and stock a sales table with books and audiotapes which bring in a substantial extra profit.

**Friday, 9 January**

**Symposium: Practical Fieldwork: Conflicting Constraints on the Ethical Researcher**

*Ballroom A*
*8:00 - 11:00 PM*

**Organizers:** Colleen Cotter (Georgetown University)
Sara Trechter (California State University-Chico)

**Presenters:** Jonathan Bobaljik (Harvard University)
Sara Trechter (California State University-Chico)
Renewed focus on endangered languages has led to increased focus on the responsibility of linguists to the languages and people that they study. Because fieldwork training and experience is more vital than ever to language research and maintenance, we propose to direct attention to the concerns of field linguists by opening a forum on the personal, procedural, and ethical in linguistic fieldwork. The motivation for this symposium stems from discussions with other fieldworkers and consultants which pointed out the need for more candor regarding the fieldwork experience itself and its relation to linguistic work.

Ultimately (and in conjunction with the Committee on Endangered Languages and Their Preservation), we hope to provide an impetus for an increase in public discussion of fieldwork issues that generally are not considered explicitly in most classroom, conference, or even field contexts. While the majority of fieldwork is undertaken outside the academy, many field methods courses are conducted in the classroom and necessarily serve the purpose of teaching elicitation techniques and broadening linguistic judgments about language. The personal conflicts and ethical or cultural concerns that arise for the sophisticated researcher in general have been backgrounded along with the power and position relations s/he brings to and establishes in the field context. Important fieldwork information is consequently often presented as an anecdotal aside rather than integrated into systematic fieldwork preparation.

Therefore, the immediate goal of the session is to decrease the gap between classroom and field and effect improvement in training. By selecting participants working in a variety of cultural, linguistic, and geographic field contexts, the symposium will illustrate a range of important fieldwork issues, including relations with local government, designing projects of value to the community of study, and the personal constraints related to gender, sex, status, religion, cultural difference, and perceived political affiliation.

The participants represent a range of disciplines within linguistics; scholars at different stages in their careers, varying degrees of fieldwork experience; and fieldwork from diverse geographical locations. Each will focus on a matter or challenge related to his or her field context and will address the relevance of the experience to linguistic fieldwork in general. The participants will illustrate their topics through specific incidents from the field. To some extent we wish to exemplify 'ethnographic breakdown' and its consequent resolution and ensure that the forum presents the personal component that anthropologists tend to include rather easily but that linguists often leave out when field methods are discussed. The session provides strategies implemented in dealing with a range of challenges and, where possible, specific recommendations and suggestions for future researchers, as well as bibliographic resources and 'teachable points' for classroom use.

**Jonathan Bobaljik** (Harvard University)

*The political consequences of 'How do you say "salmon"?*'

Recording, description, and the development of pedagogical materials, while of the utmost urgency for endangered languages, are at best stop-gap measures in the effort to arrest language loss in that such measures address the symptoms and not the causes of language shift, decline, and death. The dire situation facing many of the world's languages today is the result of political and social inequality. Linguists involved in fieldwork on endangered languages often therefore enter a charged political arena in which no one can remain apolitical. Even when the linguist is invited into the community to work on a language program, it is rarely by unanimous consent.
A community is not an entity but a group of people, often with different views concerning the appropriate allocation of finite resources (including time and effort), and often with diverging views on the goals and even desirability of language preservation. All decisions have potential ramifications and can rarely fully satisfy all participants. Indeed, just the act of entering a community to do work can be seen as taking sides in regional political conflicts. I will share my experiences and dilemmas arising from more than a year of fieldwork on Russia’s Kamchatka peninsula, with a particular focus on how our linguistic work was co-opted by various factions in the community to serve their own radically diverging interests, including a plea to the UN, and efforts of individuals to secure significant personal gains.

Sara Trechter (California State University-Chico)

Balancing gender & academic roles in the field

As linguistic fieldworkers adjust to a field site and population, inevitably they feel some pressure to take on roles related to their perceptions of native cultural taboos. Gender expectations can be especially difficult to negotiate, and some fieldworkers may opt to neutralize their gender to deal with these pressures, representing themselves as only rigorous academics or genderless scientists. Despite this, tales of female fieldworkers who are harassed verbally or physically abound. In an effort to counteract possible perceptions of myself as a young, sexually available woman or as a cold, exploitive academic in my fieldwork at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, South Dakota, I attempted to conform to community norms. I was advised to demonstrate my humanity and gendered roles as a wife and mother by bringing my family with me on my first fieldwork visits. In this paper, I discuss the (personal and linguistic) ramifications of decisions concerning self-representation while attempting to balance academic rigor and a gendered identity. Because each field situation and the personality of each researcher are different, I do not propose one solution but rather a series of research questions and resources to intellectually prepare fieldworkers.

Rudolf Gaudio (University of Arizona)

Talk about shameful subjects: Sexuality & fieldwork

While the study of indirect and/or coded forms of speech engages issues of theoretical concern to pragmatics and sociolinguists alike, the fact that speakers often use such linguistic strategies to talk about topics that they consider shameful or embarrassing can greatly complicate fieldwork in this area. Using examples drawn from my own fieldwork experiences in northern Nigeria, in this paper I discuss the methodological problems I faced in my investigations of the so-called indirect forms of speech used by 'yan daudu', Hausa-speaking men who are said to talk and act like women. As gender nonconformists in a religiously conservative society 'yan daudu' suffer considerable stigmatization and harassment and are thus understandably wary of outsiders—including academic researchers—asking about their personal affairs. My sociolinguistic research was further complicated by the fact that much of 'yan daudu's 'indirect' banter deals with the taboo themes of prostitution and homosexuality. Although my willingness to talk about my own 'deviant' sexuality eventually allowed me to earn the (partial) trust and cooperation of many 'yan daudu, and thus to complete my research, their profound distrust of direct communication about these and other matters has compelled me to reconsider the values of openness and expressive clarity which I, as an out gay man and an academic linguist, have long taken for granted.

Monica Macaulay (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Training linguistics students for the realities of fieldwork

This paper considers the training that we give—or fail to give—to our graduate students before we send them out to do fieldwork. As a case study, I describe practical and personal aspects of the fieldwork I did in a small village in Mexico in the 1980s. My focus is on my lack of preparation for dealing with culture shock and its various manifestations: concerns for personal safety, gender expectations, difficulties in interpersonal relationships due to cultural differences, and problems resulting from prior contact the people had had with American missionaries. We all know, however, that these experiences do not only occur in remote locations but can also exist as close to home as a university classroom; parallels are drawn here with situations in a field methods course that I taught recently. The linguist-consultant relationship is often idealized and should be replaced with a realistic presentation of the difficulties inherent in such a collaboration. Drawing on anthropological literature which addresses such issues, I suggest strategies for training students to anticipate the positive and negative realities inherent in linguistic fieldwork.
Will Leben (Stanford University)
Creating community-based research in West Africa

This paper describes field research that sought to respond to community needs by employing graduate linguistics students who were accepted as representatives of their community. I describe a 3-year comparative phonology project in Kwa languages now being completed in Côte d'Ivoire, which I codirected with a colleague at the University of Cocody in Abidjan, a team of about 15 graduate students, and 3 other faculty members. For the students, it was a perfect way to put into practice aspects of linguistics that they had previous exposure to only in the classroom. Each of the students on the project has authored a chapter in one of the volumes of research results. This level of participation also provided a ready indication of the value of this research to the community. In a word, participants were helping to develop local human and material resources to strengthen the knowledge of the languages of Côte d'Ivoire. This project involved participation in a long-term project, but the paper also considers ways in which the same kind of organization could apply to much briefer periods of field research.

Colleen Cotter (Georgetown University)
Degrees of distance: Roles and relations in the fieldwork interview

An early step in the fieldwork process is to find informants and to interview them. But this ostensibly straightforward task becomes fraught with complication in real-life contexts for a variety of reasons, either personal, procedural, or linguistic. The fieldworker is seeking data, but with the data--because of the very process of acquisition--comes all sorts of other information that can challenge our sense of self, our research, and our consideration of the methodology as it raises unanticipated sets of decisions that have impact on the outcome. Using examples from my own fieldwork and from situations described by students in classroom fieldsite assignments, I will focus on three issues that can arise in interview contexts and will be familiar to experienced field interviewers: threats to face, negotiating cultural conflicts, and defining and demonstrating competence for interlocutors. In my own situation, I used my dual positions as insider and outsider to create conditions for 'successful' interviews as I occupied a number of roles (such as researcher, language learner, foreign visitor, person with 'roots') during field visits to Ireland. Considering the interview as a discourse genre with its own cultural and linguistic constraints, and expectations for participants, can augment our understanding of the processes and ethics that attend the gathering of data in the field.
Workshop: Paradigms and Problems in Phonetic Research

Uris/Julliard Room
9:00 AM - 12:15 PM

Organizers: John Kingston (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
             Terrance M. Nearey (University of Alberta-Edmonton)

Presenters: Carol Fowler (Haskins Laboratories)
            Keith Johnson & Elizabeth Strand (Ohio State University)
            Peter Jusczyk (Johns Hopkins University)
            John Kingston (University of Massachusetts-Amherst), Randy Diehl (University of Texas-Austin), &
            Neil Macmillan (Brooklyn College-City University of New York)
            Terrance M. Nearey (University of Alberta-Edmonton)
            Janet Pierrehumbert (Northwestern University)

Hypothesis formulation and experimental design are ordinarily carried out in tandem, and the ideal design is one which corresponds to the generality of the hypothesis it's designed to test. If a broad array of reliable and consistent empirical results are available, more general hypotheses are easier to formulate than if the extent of ignorance exceeds knowledge. However, because the big questions are more interesting and because asking them gives shape to an entire research program, researchers will often set out to test quite general hypotheses about the phenomenon. The central problem in trying to answer the big questions in the absence of a sufficiently broad and consistent array of previous results is that hypotheses often cannot be made precise enough to design the decisive experiments. Obtaining the necessary consistency from the results of different experiments is made very difficult by researchers' deciding to use different experimental
paradigms and because little effort is made to reconcile results obtained with different paradigms. Research on phonetic behavior has been especially plagued by unreconciled results, and as a consequence many of its most heated debates have never been resolved. This workshop's first goal is to study the problem of how choice of experimental paradigm influences researchers' conclusions about speech perception. The second goal is to identify means of achieving formally consistent descriptions of phonetic behaviors of the sort needed for the development of comprehensive explanatory theories.

**Carol Fowler** (Haskins Laboratories)
*Parsing the objects of speech perception*

Fowler will suggest that, to address a theoretical question experimentally, researchers should not be concerned as much about finding the best paradigm to address it as about selecting a variety of highly distinct paradigms (the method of converging operations). She will illustrate this broadly by brief mention of the array of paradigms that are used to determine the nature of perceptual objects of speech perception (gestural or acoustic) and then more specifically by description of paradigms that she has used in her recent work on perceptual parsing of the acoustic speech signal.

**Keith Johnson** (Ohio State University)
**Elizabeth Strand** (Ohio State University)
*Speech perception without normalization or higher order invariants*

Theoretical stances among speech perception researchers over the years have been driven by differing accounts of how listeners 'compensate' for the phonetic variation of speech sounds. Of the possible sources of variation contextual/coarticulatory effects have been particularly important, while exploration of other sources of phonetic variation have had limited impact on the theoretical debate. In this talk, Johnson and Strand will present a set of experiments exploring talker normalization—a perceptual process in which listeners compensate for phonetic variation among talkers. The experiments measure the impact of three variables on vowel and consonant phoneme boundaries in audio/visual stimuli (movies): (1) gender of the voice, (2) typicality of the voice as an example of that gender, and (3) gender of the visually presented face. These experiments highlight a pattern of complex interactions between talker information and linguistic/phonetic information in speech perception. The experiments challenge two commonly held views about speech perception: (1) that talker differences are 'normalized out' of the signal prior to the identification of linguistic content, and (2) that speech perception is accomplished by reference to 'higher-order' invariant properties of the speech signal.

**Peter Jusczyk** (Johns Hopkins University)
*From general to language-specific perception in the ontogeny of phonology*

Jusczyk will focus on what a developmental perspective can lend to the study of mechanisms underlying speech perception. The basic speech perception capacities of young infants have been well-documented. However, the role of these capacities in acquiring a phonological system is less well-understood, as is the evolution of the capacities themselves in the face of experience with input from a specific language. Jusczyk will discuss some of the approaches taken to studying the transition between the infant's basic speech perception capacities and ones more closely adapted to the structural properties and phonological organization of the native language.

**John Kingston** (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
**Randy Siehl** (University of Texas-Austin)
**Neil Macmillan** (Brooklyn College-City University of New York)
*Sensitivity & bias in speech perception tasks*
Kingston and Diehl's joint work has recently involved comparison of results obtained using the Garner and trading relations paradigms to understand how multiple correlates of minimal phonological contrasts interact perceptually. Results obtained with both paradigms suggest that general auditory mechanisms integrate these correlates into perceptual properties whose values, rather than those of the individual correlates themselves, determine listeners' decisions about distinctive feature values. However, the two paradigms do not lead to the same conclusions about perceptual behavior in all cases, nor is evidence of integration always obtained. This presentation will thus focus on attempts to resolve these discrepancies.

**Terrance Nearey** (University of Alberta-Edmonton)

*Empirical generalization in a relaxed theoretical framework*

Researchers are naturally drawn to issues of broad scope that divide opinion in a discipline, such as the 'auditorist-gesturalist' controversy in phonetics. Even those with crassly empiricist proclivities recognize that such theorizing is vital in helping us to decide 'where to dig.' However, often researchers are content to look for qualitative 'signature phenomena' that will differentiate higher level theories while paying little attention to other aspects of their own data. Typically, the theoretical claims are only loosely coupled to the analytic methods employed. Experience shows that such signature phenomena fail to provide compelling evidence (to neutral observers) for choosing among theories. I will summarize several case studies of context-sensitivity and trading relations in perceptual experiments that involve a complete modeling of the response patterns. The studies apply generalized linear models to categorization experiments in which a few phonetic cues are factorially varied, and try to find the simplest mathematical formulation for relating continuous variables (cues) to discrete, symbolic responses. Such models can be applied in a search for specific signature phenomena implied by an existing theory. However, various submodels can also be directly interpreted as perceptual models, which lead to the discovery of new potential signature phenomena that will help differentiate existing higher level theories or lead us to contemplate new ones.

**Janet Pierrehumbert** (Northwestern University)

*Experiments & instrumental surveys*

The aim of linguistics is to develop a theory of language as a human capability, with human languages distinguished from other animal communication systems by their structural complexity and remarkable productivity. Experimental studies can contribute to the development of linguistic theories by providing information about the overall structure the model should have and by permitting specific parameters of the model to be set. When a model is well-advanced, highly focused experiments related to specific predictions of the model are appropriate; but if the basic properties of the model are not known, more broad-brush strategies pay off better. In this talk, I will discuss strategies which may be employed in designing experiments in situations where current understanding is poor and concentrating the laboratory effort on any single hypothesis would be risky and premature. The strategies I will discuss might be viewed as strategies for testing many hypotheses simultaneously; alternatively, noting the resemblance to the use of surveys in fields such as sociology and ecology, one might view the strategies I will discuss as 'instrumental surveys'.

*Saturday, 10 January*
Most linguistics field methods classes begin with the assumption that the fieldworker and the language consultant speak a language in common. However, this is not always the case. In various regions of the world, there are (usually small and endangered) language communities with which the fieldworker shares no common language. Since documentation and description of these languages is vital to linguistic theory and knowledge, it is important that linguists be trained in issues and techniques important to success in such situations.

This tutorial focuses on issues and methods concerning work in such field situations, aiming to alert linguists to a type and range of situations they might otherwise overlook and to help them recognize the excitement, challenge, and potential scientific rewards of work in such situations. Following the tutorial, a handout will be provided reviewing the basic points of the methodology, summarizing what I have attempted to do and how I did it.

The tutorial is organized as follows:

1. Introduction to monolingual situations

   Where are they? What kinds of results have been obtained? What are some of the special logistic challenges? What should or

2. The monolingual demonstration

   I will switch to speaking in Piraha. (The reason for this is to ensure that the informant does not understand me. 1-3 language.
   aspect, number, person, VP, NP, and PP structures), and, perhaps, greetings and leave-takings.

3. How to continue working with this language on-site for the next

4. Responsibilities of the field worker to the community
Saturday, 10 January

**Organized Session:**
**Liminal Linguists: Women in Nontraditional Professional Positions**

**Ballroom D**
**12:00 noon - 2:00 PM**

**Organizers:** Mary Bucholtz (Texas A&M University)
Yukako Sunaoshi

**Panelists:** Alice Greenwood (AT&T Labs)
Christine Kamprath (Caterpillar, Inc.)
Dina Dabbnany-Miraglia (Queensborough Community College)
Miriam Isaacs (University of Maryland-College Park)
Patricia Kilroe (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee/University of Southwestern Louisiana)

This panel will help inform the LSA membership about the situation of linguists whose professional circumstances are often overlooked, and contribute to the discipline's ongoing discussion about how graduate programs need to respond to changes in the job market. In airing these issues, COSWL also hopes to stimulate the creation of new networks and professional resources both for the speakers and for women in similar situations. Additionally, the committee will use the information presented at the panel in conjunction with information gathered in other projects (e.g. the survey of women in linguistics) to develop strategies for assisting and supporting women in nontraditional linguistics careers. For example, in the coming year COSWL will produce an informational brochure for linguists in nontraditional professional positions. The brochure will provide suggestions for women who currently occupy or are considering accepting such a position, and will offer ideas for additional resources and support. Moreover, existing projects such as WILMA (the mentor-matching program) and the mentoring workshops offered at the LSA Summer Institutes will integrate the knowledge gained at the panel in order to address such women's needs more fully. Finally, topics for future discussions will likely arise during the 1998 panel. COSWL envisions that a panel focusing on a different theme each year may become a regular feature of the LSA annual meeting. Such a forum would be invaluable for gaining a better understanding of women's diverse experiences within linguistics.
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