MEETING HANDBOOK

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

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

HILTON ATLANTA AND TOWERS HOTEL
ATLANTA, GA
2-5 JANUARY 2003
Introductory Note

The LSA Secretariat has prepared this Meeting Handbook to serve as the official program for the 77th 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 Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (SPCL), and the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas (SSILA).

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance provided by the LSA Program Committee: (John Whitman, Chair; Chris Barker; Diane Brentari; William Idsardi; Kathleen Ferrara; Catherine Ringen; Margaret Speas; and Rosalind Thornton) and the help of the following members who served as consultants to the Program Committee: Carolyn Temple Adger, Janet Bing, Betty Birner, Aaron Broadwell, Suzanne Flynn, Maya Honda, Philip LeSourd, Ceil Lucas, Amanda Miller-Ockhuizen, Reiko Mazuka, Lise Menn, Miriam Meyerhoff, Richard Rhodes and Satoshi Tomioka.

We are also grateful to Tometro Hopkins (SPCL), Michael Mackert (NAAHoLS), Allan Metcalf (ADS), and Victor Golla (SSILA) for their cooperation.

We appreciate the help given by the Atlanta Local Arrangements Committee co-chaired by Michael Covington and Mary Zeigler.

We hope this Meeting Handbook is a useful guide for those attending, as well as a permanent record of, the 2003 Annual Meeting in Atlanta, GA.

January 2003
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exhibit Hall Floor Plan</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting Rooms Floor Plan</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Meeting Information</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Events</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Hours</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concurrent Meetings Information</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSA Program</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday Afternoon</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday Evening</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday Morning</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday Afternoon</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday Evening</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rules for Motions and Resolutions</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday Morning</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday Afternoon</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday Morning</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADS Program</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAAHoLS Program</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPCL Program</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSILALA Program</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstracts of Plenary Addresses</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstracts of Regular Papers</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstracts of Organized Sessions</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertisements</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
General Meeting Information

Exhibit

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

- **Friday, 3 January**: 10:00 AM - 2:00 PM, 3:00 - 6:00 PM
- **Saturday, 4 January**: 10:00 AM - 1:00 PM, 2:00 - 4:30 PM, 7:00 - 8:00 PM
- **Sunday, 5 January**: 8:30 AM - 11:30 AM

The display copies in the LSA Joint Book Exhibit will be sold beginning at 8:30 AM on 5 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 5 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 Madison Room during the Annual Meeting. On 3 and 4 January, the Center will be open 8:30 AM - 6:00 PM. It will also be open 9:00 - 11:30 AM on 5 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 c.v.s--enough to submit one copy to each interviewer. The Center will have no duplication facilities available.

Open Committee Meetings

- **LSA Executive Committee**, Thursday, 2 January, Henry Room, 9:00 AM - 5:00 PM
- **Endangered Languages and Their Preservation**, Saturday, 4 January, Henry Room, 8:00 – 9:00 AM
- **Ethnic Diversity in Linguistics**, Saturday, 4 January, Henry Room, 9:00 – 10:00 AM
- **Language in the School Curriculum**, Sunday, 5 January, Henry Room, 8:00 – 9:00 AM
- **University Administrators**, Saturday, 4 January, Walton Room, 8:00 – 9:00 AM
- **Social and Political Concerns**, Saturday, 4 January, Henry Room, 1:00 – 2:00 PM
- **Status of Women in Linguistics**, Saturday, 4 January, Salon B, 8:00 – 9:00 AM

Special Events

**Thursday, 2 January**

- **Symposium: Academic Journal Publishing in Linguistics**, Ballroom B, 3:00 – 5:30 PM.
- **Symposium: Innovations in Attracting Undergraduates to Linguistics**, Ballroom A, 4:30 – 6:30 PM.
- **Invited Plenary Addresses**, Ballroom A.
  - 7:30 PM Alice Harris (U Stony Brook-SUNY): In other words: Cross-linguistic challenges to the notion of 'word'
  - 8:30 PM Salikoko Mufwene (U Chicago): Genetic creolistics & genetic linguistics

**Friday, 3 January**

- **Poster Session**, Salon West. Members will be present to talk about their posters, 10:00 AM - 12:00 PM. The posters will remain on display during the day on Friday and Saturday.
- **Symposium: Practical Approaches to Incorporating Linguistic Diversity into Linguistics Courses**, Ballroom A, 12:00 – 2:00 PM
- **Symposium: Probability Theory in Linguistics 2: Integrated Frameworks**, Salon C, 2:00 – 5:00 PM.
- **LSA Business Meeting**, Ballroom A, 5:00 - 6:30 PM, chaired by Frederick J. Newmeyer, LSA President.
- **Linguistics, Language, and the Public Award**, The award will be given at the LSA Business Meeting.
- **Victoria A. Fromkin Distinguished Service Prize**, The prize will be awarded at the LSA Business Meeting.
- **Invited Plenary Addresses**, Ballroom A.
  - 7:30 PM Mark Baker (Rutgers U): Verbs, nouns, & adjectives: Their universal grammar
  - 8:30 PM Anthony Woodbury (U TX-Austin): Defining documentary linguistics
Saturday, 4 January

• **2003 Linguistic Institute.** Coffee in Salon West, 10:00 – 11:00 AM. Institute Director Dennis Preston and some of the Institute faculty will be available to talk about the Institute with interested individuals in the coffee corner of the Publishers' Exhibit.
• **Symposium: Federal Funding for Research and Research Training for Linguists.** Ballroom A, 12:00 – 1:45 PM.
• **LSA Presidential Address.** Ballroom A, 5:30 – 7:00 PM. Frederick J. Newmeyer: 'Grammar is grammar and usage is usage.'
• **Reception.** Participants are invited to a reception immediately following the Presidential address. Salon B/C, 7:00 - 8:00 PM.

Sunday, 5 January

• **Symposium: Language Variation in the American South.** Ballroom D, 9:00 – 11:30 AM.

Office Hours

**Editors**

Editors of a number of linguistics journals will hold office hours:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Journal</th>
<th>Saturday, 4 January, Cherokee Room, 11:00 AM – 12:00 PM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Diachronica</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>IJAL</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Journal of English Linguistics</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Journal of Phonetics</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Journal of the International Phonetic Association</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Language and Communication</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Language Sciences</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Phonology</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Southwest Journal of Linguistics</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Syntax</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a follow-up to the journal editing symposium on Thursday, a meeting of editors of linguistics journals will be held, with a goal of airing common concerns, sharing common experiences, and the like. For details, contact Brian Joseph, Keren Rice, or Joe Salmons.

**Language**

Brian Joseph, editor of *Language,* will be in the Walton Room:

| Friday, 3 January | 11:00 AM – 12:00 PM | Saturday, 4 January | 1:30 – 2:30 PM |

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

**LSA Secretary-Treasurer/LSA Executive Director**

Sally McConnell-Ginet and Margaret Reynolds will meet with members in the Henry Room:

| Saturday, 4 January | 3:30 – 4:30 PM |

**LinguistList**

LinguistList staff will meet with those interested in the website in the Henry Room:

| Friday, 3 January | 11:00 AM – 12:00 PM | Saturday, 4 January | 2:00 – 3:00 PM |
National Science Foundation

The National Science Foundation Linguistics Program will hold an open meeting in the Walton Room:
Thursday, 2 January 6:00 – 7:00 PM

Cecile McKee, Program Director for Linguistics at the National Science Foundation, will meet with interested members in the Cherokee Room:
Friday, 3 January 9:00 - 11:00 AM 1:45 - 2:30 PM

Trends in Linguistics Series

Hans Henrich Hock, co-editor, would like to meet with potential authors to talk about possible projects for this series in the Henry Room:
Friday, 3 January 9:30 – 10:30 AM

Concurrent Meetings

American Dialect Society (ADS)

Thursday, 2 January
• Sessions 21-23. Fulton/Cobb, 1:00 – 7:00 PM

Friday, 3 January
• Executive Council. Clayton Room, 8:30 - 10:30 AM
• Words of the Year...Nominations. Clayton Room, 10:30 AM - 12:00 PM
• Sessions 24-25. Fulton/Cobb, 2:00 – 5:15 PM
• Word of the Year...Voting. Fulton/Cobb, 5:30 - 6:30 PM
• Reception and Bring Your Own Book Exhibit. Salon B, 6:30 - 7:30 PM

Saturday, 4 January
• Business Meeting. Fulton/Cobb, 8:00 - 9:00 AM
• Sessions 26-27. Fulton/Cobb, 9:15 AM – 1:00 PM
• Annual Luncheon. Salon B, 1:15 - 2:45 PM
• Session 28. Fulton/Cobb, 3:00 – 4:30 PM

North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences (NAAHoLS)

Saturday, 4 January
• Sessions 29-30. Salon A, 10:00 AM – 12:00 PM; 2:00 – 4:00 PM
• Business Meeting. Salon A, 4:00 PM

Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (SPCL)

Friday, 3 January
• Concurrent Sessions 31-33. DeKalb/Gwinnett, 9:00 AM – 12:15 PM; Douglas/Paulding, 10:45 – 11:45 AM
• Concurrent Sessions 34-35. DeKalb/Gwinnett, 2:00 - 4:00 PM; Douglas/Paulding, 2:00 – 4:00 PM

Saturday, 4 January
• Concurrent Sessions 36-39. DeKalb/Gwinnett, 9:00 AM – 12:15 PM; Douglas/Paulding, 9:00 AM – 12:15 PM
• Session 40. DeKalb/Gwinnett, 2:00 – 3:00 PM
• Business Meeting. Douglas/Paulding, 3:15 – 4:30 PM
Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas (SSiLA)

Thursday, 2 January
- Concurrent Sessions 41-44. Fayette/Newton, 1:00 – 4:40 PM; Rockdale/Forsythe, 2:00 – 7:20 PM

Friday, 3 January
- Concurrent Sessions 45-46. Fayette/Newton, 9:00 AM – 12:00 PM; Rockdale/Forsythe, 9:00 AM – 12:20 PM
- Executive Committee. Cherokee Room, 12:15 – 1:45 PM
- Concurrent Sessions 47-49. Fayette/Newton, 2:00 – 5:00 PM; Rockdale/Forsythe, 2:00 – 4:40 PM

Saturday, 4 January
- Concurrent Sessions 50-51. Fayette/Newton, 9:00 – 11:20 AM; Rockdale/Forsythe, 9:00 – 11:40 AM
- Forum Discussion. Fayette/Newton, 12:15 – 1:45 PM
- Concurrent Sessions 52-53. Fayette/Newton, 2:00 – 5:00 PM; Rockdale/Forsythe, 2:00 – 5:00 PM
- Business Meeting. Fayette/Newton, 7:00 – 8:30 PM
- Reception in honor of David S. Rood, retiring editor of IJAL. Walton, 8:30 – 11:00 PM

Sunday, 5 January
- Sessions 54-55. Fayette/Newton, 9:00 – 11:00 AM

Endangered Language Fund

Friday, 3 January
- Open Meeting. Cherokee Room, 8:00 – 9:00 AM
Linguistic Society of America

Thursday, 2 January
Afternoon

* = 30-minute paper

Symposium: Academic Journal Publishing in Linguistics
Room: Ballroom B
Time: 3:00 - 5:30 PM

Organizers: Brian D. Joseph (OH SU)
Keren Rice (U Toronto)
Joseph C. Salmons (U WI-Madison)

Eric Bakovic (Rutgers Optimality Archives administrator): Electronic presentation, publication, & archiving
Colin Ewen & Ellen Kaisse (Phonology eds.): An overview of ethical issues in journal publishing
Lenore A. Grenoble & Lindsay J. Whaley (Linguistic Discovery eds.): Creating Linguistic Discovery
Brian D. Joseph (Language ed.): A brief history of academic publishing
Joan Maling (Natural Language and Linguistic Theory ed.): Basics of the editorial process
Keren Rice (International Journal of American Linguistics ed.): Journal publishing & academic careers
Joseph C. Salmons (Diachronica ed.): Questions concerning the current state of academic publishing

Editors of many journals in linguistics will hold office hours during the Annual Meeting. See p. 7 for specific times and places.

Symposium: Innovations in Attracting Undergraduates to Linguistics
Room: Ballroom A
Time: 4:30 - 6:30 PM

Organizer: John Kingston (U MA-Amherst)
Undergraduate Program Advisory Committee

William Frawley (George Washington U)
Mark Liberman (Penn)
Donna Jo Napoli (Swarthmore C)

Thursday, 2 January
Evening

Invited Plenary Addresses
Room: Ballroom A
7:30 - 9:30 PM

Moderator: William Idsardi (U DE)

7:30 In other words: Cross-linguistic challenges to the notion 'word'
Alice Harris (U Stony Brook-SUNY)

8:30 Genetic creolistics & genetic linguistics
Salikoko Mufwene (U Chicago)
Gestures

Chair: John Kingston (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
Room: Ballroom C

9:00 * Jon Nissenbaum (Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary), Jennifer Kan (Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary/Lexington, MA, High School), John E. Kirsch (Siemens Medical Systems), James B. Kobler (Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary), Hugh Curtin (Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary), Morris Halle (MIT), & Robert E. Hillman (Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary): Dynamic imaging of laryngeal gestures: Using high-speed MRI to study Cantonese speakers' production of tones

9:40 D. H. Whalen (Haskins Laboratories), Matthew Richardson (Haskins Laboratories), Einar Mencl (Haskins Laboratories/Yale University), & Randall R. Benson (Wayne State University): Equating the complexity of speech & nonspeech: fMRI results

10:00 Paula Marentette (Augustana College): Embodied phonology: The nature of location in the acquisition of sign phonology

10:20 Lisa Davidson (Johns Hopkins University): The role of gestural coordination in Zoque palatal coalescence

10:40 Marianne L. Borroff (Stony Brook University): Gestures & hiatus resolution

11:00 Adam Ussishkin (Arizona State University) & Andrew Wedel (University of California-Santa Cruz): Gestural motor programs account for asymmetries in loanword adaptation patterns

11:20 Heike Lehnert (University of Buffalo-SUNY): Discrete & gradient aspects of devoicing in Hungarian, Thai, & English stop-liquid sequences

11:40 Anthony M. Lewis (Syracuse University): Continuancy & the aerodynamics of /r/ production in Spanish

Poster Session 2

Room: Salon West
10:00 AM – 12:00 PM

Jennifer Cornish (University of Buffalo-SUNY): A historical & psycholinguistic investigation of phonaesthesia

Ardis Eschenberg (University of Buffalo-SUNY): The status of palatalization in Russian: An examination using slips of the tongue

Andrew Grimes (Mid Tennessee State University): The salience of phonological features of Southern American English in terms of listener attitude

Eva Juarros-Daussa (University of Massachusetts-Amherst): Parameterization of the obviative/proximate index in argument structure

Byung-jin Lim (Indiana University), Kyoko Nagao (Indiana University), & Kenneth de Jong (Indiana University): Phonology & orthography in lexical access: A case study of Korean perception of syllable affiliations & voicing contrasts of English stops

Joanna Lowerstein (University of Chicago): Acoustic analysis of the speech of adults with cochlear implants

Barbara J. Luka (Arizona State University) & Cyma Van Petten (Arizona State University): Qualitative types of relatedness: Event-related potential differences for semantic similarity vs lexical contiguity

Whitney Anne Postman (New York University): Computation of complex sentences in a case of agrammatic aphasia in Indonesian

Azita Taleghani (Arizona State University): Persian reduplication: An OT analysis

Benjamin V. Tucker (Arizona State University): Moraic structure in Romanian

Alicia Beckford Wassink (University of Washington): An analytic geometric method of quantifying spectral & temporal overlap in vowel systems
Pragmatics: Discourse & Reference

Chair: Sarah Blackwell (U GA)
Room: Salon C

9:00  Michael Israel (U MD-College Park), Jennifer Riddle Harding (U MD-College Park), & Vera Tobin (MD-College Park): On simile
9:20  Natsuko Tsujimura (IN U): Mimetic verbs as contextuals
10:00 Chungmin Lee (Seoul Nat'l U): Contrastive topic or contrastive focus?
10:20  Elsi Kaiser (Penn): When salience isn't enough: Pronouns, demonstratives & the quest for an antecedent
11:00  Betty Birner (N IL U), Jeffrey Kaplan (San Diego SU), & Gregory Ward (Northwestern U): Epistemic modals & temporal reference
11:20  Mark Honegger (U LA-Lafayette): Negation as a challenge to embodied realism
11:40  *Ellen Prince (Penn): The Yiddish impersonal pronoun men 'one' in discourse

Sociolinguistics

Chair: William Labov (Penn)
Room: Ballroom B

9:00  *Meredith Josey (NYU): Re-examining the role of gender in linguistic change: A case study in Martha's Vineyard
9:40  Saundra Wright (CSU-Chico), Jennifer Hay (U Canterbury), & Tessa Bent (Northwestern U): Anthony & Cleopatra: A gendered frequency effect & the naming conspiracy
10:00  Michael Newman (Queens C-CUNY): Youth cultural identity & dialect differentiation in New York Latino English
10:20  Bridget Anderson (U GA) & Valerie Fridland (U NV-Reno): Early stages of prevoiceless/ai/glide reduction in African American English
10:40  Thomas Purnell (U WI-Madison): Perception of acoustic cues of race & class
11:00  Philip Harrison (U Cyprus): The lost consonants of Atlanta
11:20  Gillian Sankoff (Penn): Overcoming the transmission problem: [r] -> [R] change in Montreal French
11:40  Terumi Imai (MI SU): Social aspects of Japanese vowel devoicing
12:00  Jeffrey Kaplan (San Diego SU) & Kyle Thompson (San Diego SU): Absolutes & second amendment interpretation

Syntactic Typology

Chair: Margaret Speas (U MA-Amherst)
Room: Ballroom D

9:00  Clifton Pye (U KS): Explaining ergativity: Structural accounts of Mayan ergativity
9:20  Luis González (Wake Forest U): From addressees to nominees: Dative overriding of human accusative objects
9:40  Bhuvana Narasimhan (Max Planck Inst-Nijmegen) & Helen de Hoop (Nijmegen U): Optimizing of case in Hindi
10:00  David Basilico (U AL-Birmingham): The antipassive: Existential & reflexive readings
10:20  Jeff Good (UC-Berkeley): Arguments as adjuncts: Negation & object preposing in Leggbo
10:40  *Gulsat Aygen (Harvard U): Mood & modality as nominative case features & the ECM hypothesis
11:20  Esther Wood (UC-Berkeley): Nominal & verbal quantification: A typological study
11:40  Philip Monahan (U FL): Backward object control in Korean
Friday, 3 January

Afternoon

Symposium: Practical Approaches to Incorporating Linguistic Diversity into Linguistics Courses
Room: Ballroom A
Time: 12:00 - 2:00 PM

Organizers: Marianna DiPaolo (U UT)
Penelope Eckert (Stanford U)
Ted Fernald (Swarthmore C)
Lauren Hall-Lew (U AZ)
Emily Manetta (UC-Santa Cruz)
Arthur Spears (CUNY)
Committee on Ethnic Diversity in Linguistics

MaryEllen Garcia (U TX-San Antonio): Linguistics & lessons from Southwest Spanish
Lisa Green (U TX-Austin): Integrating African-American English into units in linguistics courses
Jorge Hankamer (UC-Santa Cruz): Three kinds of syntax problems involving data from nonstandard dialects
Tracey Weldon (U SC): African-American English in the college curriculum: Ideological & pedagogical issues
Walt Wolfram (NC SU): Linguistic analysis & the study of vernacular dialects

Room: Salon C
Time: 2:00 - 5:00 PM

Organizers: Rens Bod (U Amsterdam/ U Leeds)
Jennifer Hay (U Canterbury)
Stefanie Jannedy (Lucent Tech/Bell Labs)

Rens Bod (U Amsterdam/ U Leeds): Data-oriented parsing
Paul Boersma (U Amsterdam): Stochastic optimality theory
Jeff Elman (UC-San Diego): Usage-based models
Dan Jurafsky (U CO): Probabilistic modeling of language: An introduction & apologia
Janet Pierrehumbert (Northwestern U): Exemplar theory
Whitney Tabor (U CT): Dynamics & connectionism

Acquisition of L1 and L2 Syntax
Chair: Suzanne Flynn (MIT)
Room: Ballroom A

2:00 Misha Becker (U NC): The acquisition of raising predicates
2:20 Graciela Tesan (U MD-College Park) & Rosalind Thornton (U MD-College Park): Speaking universal grammar: Child language & negation
2:40 Carson T. Schütze (UC-Los Angeles): Contrast in omissibility of finite vs nonfinite be: The role of tense
3:00 Yan-kit Ingrid Leung (McGill U/USC): Feature strength in L2 & L3 interlanguage grammars
3:20 Bhuvana Narasimhan (Max Planck Inst-Nijmegen), Nancy Budwig (Clark U), & Lalita Murty (Max Planck Inst-Nijmegen): Discourse-pragmatic constraints on argument realization in early child Hindi
Feet and Rules
Chair: William Idsardi (U DE)
Room: Ballroom B

2:00  Peter Norquest (U AZ): From multisyllabic to sesquisyllabic Malayo-Chamic
2:40  Caroline Wilshire (U FL): Weight distinctions as structural prominence: Evidence from Pulaar
3:00  Robert Kennedy (U AZ): Emergent prosody in Kosraean (Kusaian) reduplication
3:20  Maria Gouskova (U MA-Amherst): Syncope: Prosody or *STRUC?
3:40  Harry van der Hulst (U CT) & Ann Delilkan (NYU): On the prosodic conditioning of fusion in Malay
4:00  Charles E. Cairns (CUNY Grad Ctr): Foot & syllable in Southern Paiute
4:20  Sungwon Koo (Concordia U) & Charles Reiss (Concordia U): The Stressmatica stress generator: Constrained without constraints
4:40  *Bert Vaux (Harvard U): Why the phonological component must be serial & rule-based

Minimalist Syntax
Chair: Stanley Dubinsky (U SC)
Room: Ballroom C

2:00  Heather Taylor (E MI U): A construal-as-movement analysis of a new type of tough- construction
2:20  *Jon Nissenbaum (MA Eye Ear Infirm): Covert movement & Condition A
3:00  Rose Letsholo (U MI) & Acrisio Pires (U MI): A'-movement & agreement in Ikalanga
3:20  Peppina Lee (City U Hong Kong): Association with focus or focus phrases?
3:40  Yahor Tsedryk (U W ON): Experiencer inversion as interaction between EPP & person feature
4:00  Tatiana Scott (U Stony Brook-SUNY): CP topic parameter & Russian wh
4:20  Tomoko Kawamura (U Stony Brook-SUNY): Scrambling, interpretation, & the nature of feature-checking
4:40  Mariana Lambova (U CT): On the representation of topic & focus
5:00  Naomi Harada (ATR Intl): Raising-to-object is not an edge phenomenon

Syntax: Reanalysis
Chair: D. Terence Langendoen (U AZ)
Room: Ballroom D

2:00  Richard K. Larson (U Stony Brook-SUNY) & Franc Marusic (U Stony Brook-SUNY): Two sources for postnominal adjectives?
2:20  *Rodney Huddleston (U Queensland) & Geoffrey K. Pullum (UC-Santa Cruz): Anomalous adjectives & prepositions in English
3:00  Daniela Isac (UQAM/Concordia U) & Charles Reiss (Concordia U): A partitive analysis of else
3:20  Judy Bernstein (Wm Paterson U) & Christina Tortora (CUNY Grad Ctr): On the morphological complexity of possessive pronouns in English
3:40  *Ash Asudeh (Stanford U): Resumption as resource management

Invited Plenary Addresses
Room: Ballroom A
7:30 - 9:30 PM

Moderator: John Whitman (Cornell U)

7:30  Verbs, nouns, & adjectives: Their universal grammar
      Mark Baker (Rutgers U)
8:30  Defining documentary linguistics
      Anthony Woodbury (U TX-Austin)
LSA Business Meeting
Chair: Frederick J. Newmeyer
Room: Ballroom A
5:00 PM

Resolutions Committee: William Kretzschmar, Chair
Stephen Anderson
Eve Clark

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, 4 January
Morning

Language Change, Contact, and Death
Chair: Craig Melchert (U NC-Chapel Hill)
Room: Ballroom D

9:00  *William Labov (Penn):  The reinterpretation of social categories in the course of linguistic change
9:40  Patrick Juola (Duquesne U):  Temporal factors underlying linguistic change
10:00 Devyani Sharma (Stanford U):  The development of dialect features in nonnative varieties of English
10:20 Break
10:40 Steve Bonta (Cornell U):  Modals in Negombo Fishermen's Tamil: A case of paradigmatic diffusion
11:00 Kristine A. Hildebrandt (UC-Santa Barbara):  Language contact & tone merger in the Manange language of Nepal
11:20 Elena Schmitt (S CT SU):  The art of camouflage: A study of mechanisms of language attrition
11:40 Gregory D. S. Anderson (U Manchester) & K. David Harrison (Swarthmore C):  Structural correlates of language death: Is simplification inevitable?
12:00 William F. Weigel (UC-Berkeley):  Patterns of borrowing in Yiddish: Light, heavy, & semelfactive verbs

Models and Evidence in Phonology
Chair: Charles Reiss (Concordia U)
Room: Ballroom B

9:00  *Christopher Potts (UC-Santa Cruz) & Geoffrey K. Pullum (UC-Santa Cruz):  Model theory & output-output (o-o) correspondence
9:40  Daniel Albro (UC-Los Angeles):  A large-scale, computerized phonological analysis of Malagasy
10:00 Jeremy Boyd (UC-San Diego):  Computational limits on natural language suppletion
10:40 K. David Harrison (Swarthmore C):  Limits to abstractness in vowel harmony
11:00 Adam Albright (UC-Santa Cruz) & Bruce Hayes (UC-Los Angeles):  Learning nonlocal environments
11:20 Matthew Goldrick (Johns Hopkins U):  Markedness & frequency in phonotactic processing constraints
11:40 Yoonjung Kang (U Stony Brook-SUNY):  Frequency of use & t-to-s alternation in Korean
12:00 Maciej Baranowski (Penn) & Eugene Buckley (Penn):  Lexicalization & analogy in Polish o- raising

Psycholinguistics
Chair: Rosalind Thornton (U MD-College Park)
Room: Ballroom A

9:00  Erin O'Bryan (U AZ), Raffaella Folli (Cambridge U), Heidi Harley (U AZ), & Tom Bever (U AZ):  Event structure is accessed immediately during comprehension
9:20  Alissa Melinger (Max Planck Inst-Nijmegen):  Subcategorization frames & an hierarchically organized lexicon
9:40  Elsi Kaiser (Penn) & John Trueswell (Penn):  Using word order to anticipate upcoming referents in on-line processing
10:00 Stephen Crain (U MD-College Park) & Luisa Meroni (U MD-College Park):  Children’s use of referential context in parsing
10:20 Michiko Nakamura (U HI-Manoa):  Gap asymmetry in the processing of long-distance dependencies in Japanese
10:40 Mieko Ueno (UC-San Diego) & Robert Kluenner (UC-San Diego):  Are wh- movement & wh- in-situ processed alike?: An ERP investigation
11:00 Robin Thompson (UC-San Diego/Salk Inst) & Karen Emmorey (Salk Inst):  The relationship of eyegaze & agreement morphology in ASL: An eye-tracking study
11:20 Susanne Gahl (U IL-Urbana/Champaign) & Susan Garnsey (U IL-Urbana/Champaign):  Verb transitivity bias affects prosody
Saturday Morning

Relative Clause Syntax and Semantics
Chair: Mark Baker (Rutgers U)
Room: Ballroom C

9:00  Francesca Del Gobbo (UC-Irvine): On the interpretation of prenominal relative clauses
9:20  Orin Gensler (Max Planck Inst-Leipzig): 'Move the bare adposition': An unrecognized relativization strategy
9:40  Ivano Caponigro (UC-Los Angeles): On the nonquantificational nature of wh- words: Evidence from free relatives cross-linguistically
10:00 Rachel Hastings (Cornell U): Adjunct vs argument relativization in Quechua
10:20  Heejeong Ko (MIT): Two ways of licensing 'why' in Korean
10:40  Valerie Guerin (U MN-Twin Cities) & Hooi Ling Soh (U MN-Twin Cities): Intervention effect & case checking in Mandarin Chinese & French wh-in situ
11:00  Raul Aranovich (UC-Davis): Spanish n- words & ni- minimizers: A scalar account
11:20  Richard Larson (U Stony Brook-SUNY) & Miyuki Sawada (Ming Chuan U): Adjunct clauses, presupposition, & root transformations
11:40  George Kotzoglou (U Reading): Particles, affixes, & the limits of head movement: The case of Greek

Saturday, 4 January
Afternoon

Symposium: Federal Funding for Research and Research Training for Linguists
Room: Ballroom A
Time: 12:00 – 1:45 PM
Moderator: Howard Kurtzman (National Institute for Mental Health)
Participants: James Herbert (National Endowment for the Humanities)
Howard Kurtzman (National Institute for Mental Health)
Cecile McKee (National Science Foundation)
Weijia Ni (National Institutes of Health)

Acquisition of Semantics in L1 and L2
Chair: Diane Brentari (Purdue U)
Room: Ballroom A

2:00  Anna Papafragou (Penn), Felicia Hurewitz (Penn), Lila Gleitman (Penn), & Rochel Gelman (Rutgers U): Number/quantifier asymmetries in language acquisition
2:20  Luisa Meroni (U MD-College Park) & Andrea Gualmini (U MD-College Park): Every child knows all about every
2:40  Tania Ionin (MIT) & Kenneth Wexler (MIT): The role of specificity in article choice in L2 English
3:00  Alison Gabriele (CUNY Grad Ctr), Gita Marthardjono (CUNY Grad Ctr), & William McClure (CUNY Grad Ctr): Why 'dying' is difficult for Japanese learners of English
3:20  Asya Pereltsvaig (CSU-Long Beach/USC): The role of L2 in the L1 loss of aspect in Diaspora Russian
3:40  Anna Papafragou (Penn): Aspectuality & conversational implicature
4:00  Andrea Gualmini (U MD-College Park) & Stephen Crain (U MD-College Park): C-command rules in downward entailment
Chinese Morphophonology and Syntax

Chair: John Whitman (Cornell U)
Room: Ballroom D

2:00  Ji-yung Kim (U MA-Amherst): Silent verbs in Northern Mandarin: A silence neither gaps nor emptiness can fill
2:40  Hyeson Park (U SC) & Lan Zhang (U SC): Verb copying & situation delimiters in Chinese
3:00  Ke Zou (CSU-Hayward): Causative & noncausative ba-constructions in Chinese
3:20  Hooi Ling Soh (U MN-Twin Cities): VP-ellipsis, antecedent-contained deletion, & V-raising in Mandarin Chinese
3:40  Elaine J. Francis (Purdue U) & Stephen Matthews (U Hong Kong): Categoriality & object extraction in Cantonese serial verb constructions
4:00  Jianhua Hu (City U Hong Kong) & Haihua Pan (City U Hong Kong): Constraints on wh-scope-taking from an island in Mandarin Chinese
4:20  Dan Brassil (UC-San Diego): Synthetic & periphrastic expression in Mandarin verbal morphology

Tone and Prosody

Chair: Keith Langston (U GA)
Room: Ballroom B

2:00  Heidi Orcutt (U AZ): Ranking the OCP: Gikuyu (Kikuyu) tone in verbs
2:20  Bruce Moren (Cornell U) & Elizabeth Zsiga (Georgetown U): The mora is the tone-bearing unit in Thai
2:40  Jie Zhang (Harvard U): The phonological status of partial contour tone reduction
3:00  Katy Carlson (Northwestern U): Parallelism in the phonetic realization of H* accents: Perception & production results
3:20  Alexander L. Francis (U Hong Kong/Purdue U), Valter Ciocca (U Hong Kong), & Elaine Eramela (U Hong Kong): Duration of context limits talker normalization in Cantonese tone perception
3:40  David Beaver (Stanford U), Brady Clark (Stanford U), Edward Flemming (Stanford U), & Maria Wolters (Rhetorical Sys Ltd): Debunking the argument from second occurrence focus
4:00  Kristen Syrett (Northwestern U): The role of local context structure in stress shift
4:20  Mee-Jeong Park (UC-Los Angeles): The domain of prosodic boundary tones: A case study of Korean
4:40  Katherine Crosswhite (U Rochester): Cues to word length: F2 in onset-embedded words

Presidential Address

Room: Ballroom A
Time: 5:30 – 7:00 PM

Frederick J. Newmeyer (U WA): Grammar is grammar and usage is usage

Sunday, 5 January
Morning

Symposium: Language Variation in the American South

Room: Ballroom D
Time: 9:00 – 11:30 AM

Organizer: Walt Wolfram (NC SU)

Sylvie Dubois (LA SU): The distinctiveness of Cajun Vernacular English: A dialect of English with its own history
William A. Kretzschmar (U GA): Mapping Southern English
Natalie Schilling-Estes (Georgetown U): Language change in 'conservative' dialects: Evidence from southern American enclave communities
Erik R. Thomas (NC SU): Secrets of Southern vowel shifting
Tracey Weldon (U SC): Copular variability in Gullah & AAVE
Walt Wolfram (NC SU): Documenting Southern American English: A video presentation
### Morphology

**Chair:** Stephen Anderson (Yale U)  
**Room:** Ballroom A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s) &amp; Affiliation</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Lauri Karttunen (Palo Alto Res Ctr)</td>
<td>Finite-state implementation of realizational morphology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Jason Riggle (UC-Los Angeles)</td>
<td>Infixation in Pima reduplication &amp; its theoretical consequences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Alan C. L. Yu (UC-Berkeley/McGill U)</td>
<td>Toward a diachronic typology of infixation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>Sharon Hargus (U WA) &amp; Siri G. Tuttle (Tech U-Berlin)</td>
<td>Positions &amp; functions of the Athabaskan areal prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Claire Bowern (Harvard U)</td>
<td>ji, -ji, or ji-? A problem in Nyulnyulan reconstruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>D. Gary Miller (U FL)</td>
<td>The origin of Romance conjugated infinitives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>Abbas Benmamoun (U IL-Urbana/Champaign)</td>
<td>Reciprocals as plurals: A word-based analysis of Semitic morphology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:40</td>
<td>Andrew Ira Nevins (MIT)</td>
<td>Do person/number syncretisms refer to negative values?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Cati Brown (U GA) &amp; Clayton Darwin (U GA)</td>
<td>Managing complex corpora with XSLT: An example from the Tobacco Document Corpus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Semantics: Lexical

**Chair:** Chris Barker (UC-San Diego)  
**Room:** Ballroom C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s) &amp; Affiliation</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Mark Arehart (U MI)</td>
<td>Linguistic vs nonlinguistic constraints on noun compound interpretation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Chienjer Charles Lin (U AZ)</td>
<td>Event integration of Mandarin compound verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Rachel Sussman (U Rochester)</td>
<td>Interpretation &amp; semantic domains: Evidence from Navajo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Meredith Landman (U MA-Amherst) &amp; Marcin Morzycki (U MA-Amherst)</td>
<td>Reference to event kinds &amp; the representation of manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>Josef Ruppenhofer (UC-Berkeley) &amp; Collin Baker (UC-Berkeley)</td>
<td>The semantics &amp; pragmatics of implicit arguments in English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Semantics: Presupposition, Perception, and Time

**Chair:** Chris Barker (UC-San Diego)  
**Room:** Ballroom C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s) &amp; Affiliation</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:50</td>
<td>Philip Miller (U Lille III/CNRS)</td>
<td>Individual level predicates in direct perception reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:10</td>
<td>Tiffany L. Kerschner (Carleton C)</td>
<td>Dissociativity in Chisukwa future expressions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>Bridget Copley (MIT)</td>
<td>Commitment &amp; confidence in futurates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:50</td>
<td>Peter Hallman (U MI)</td>
<td>A pragmatic analysis of presuppositionality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:10</td>
<td>Barbara Abbott (MI SU)</td>
<td>The difference between definite &amp; indefinite descriptions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Syllables and Length

**Chair:** Jill Beckman (U IA)  
**Room:** Ballroom B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s) &amp; Affiliation</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Marc Pierce (U MI)</td>
<td>The maximal onset principle in early Germanic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Andrew Garrett (UC-Berkeley)</td>
<td>Phonetics in paradigm uniformity: The leveling of Latin vowel weakening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Melissa Redford (U OR)</td>
<td>The relationship between syllable structure &amp; segment duration patterns in Finnish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Gerald Dempsey (CUNY Grad Ctr)</td>
<td>Consonant lengthening in Icelandic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>David Mortensen (UC-Berkeley) &amp; Kenneth VanBik (UC-Berkeley)</td>
<td>Vowel quality &amp; quantity in Hakha Lai: A perceptual study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Kenneth de Jong (IN U), Kyoko Okamura (IN U), &amp; Byung-jin Lim (IN U)</td>
<td>The phonetics of resyllabification in English &amp; Arabic speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Sonya Bird (U AZ/U BC)</td>
<td>The phonological role of intervocalic consonants in Lheidli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>Amalia Arvaniti (UC-San Diego) &amp; Sharon Rose (UC-San Diego)</td>
<td>Two sources of evidence against moraic timing of geminates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:40</td>
<td>Susannah V. Levi (U WA)</td>
<td>Representing underlying distinctions between vowels &amp; glides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Jennifer L. Smith (U NC-Chapel Hill)</td>
<td>The formal &amp; the functional in onset sonority constraints</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
American Dialect Society

Thursday, 2 January
Afternoon

Language Attitudes and Perception
Chair: Bethany Dumas (U TN)
Room: Fulton/Cobb

1:00  Thomas M. Paikeday (Lexicog, Inc.): 'Jew' vs 'Gentile'
1:30  Stephanie Lindemann (GA SU): Reality check: Evaluations of real & imagined varieties of non-US English
2:00  Betsy Evans (Cardiff U), Peter Garrett (Cardiff U), & Angie Williams (Cardiff U): The 'grand daddy of English': US, UK, & Australian students' attitudes towards varieties of English

Lexical Variation in English: The American West and Montreal
Chair: Jesse Sheidlower (OED)
Room: Fulton/Cobb

3:00  Lamont Antieau (U GA): Variation on the range: Ranching terms in Colorado folk speech
3:30  Charles Boberg (McGill U): Apparent time vs real time: New evidence from Montreal English
4:00  Anne Marie Hamilton (U GA): Substantial evidence of lexical variation in El Paso, TX

Session 3: Grammatical Variation
Chair: Frank Abate (Dic & Ref Specialists)
Room: Fulton/Cobb

5:30  Erica J. Benson (MI SU): Need in? Want out?
6:00  Sandra L. Nesbitt (OH U) & Beverly Olson Flanigan (Ohio U): Grammar in southeastern Ohio speech: South Midland or Appalachian?
6:30  Allison P. Burkette (U MS): An investigation of LAGS past tense forms

Friday, 3 January
Morning

Executive Council
Chair: Dennis Preston (MI SU)
Room: Clayton
Time: 8:30 - 10:30 AM

Words of the Year Nominations
Open Meeting of New Words Committee
Room: Clayton
Time: 10:30 AM - 12:00 PM
Friday, 3 January
Afternoon

Phonetics and Phonology
Chair: Alice Faber (Haskins Labs)
Room: Fulton/Cobb

2:00 Matthew J. Gordon (U MO-Columbia): 'Show Me' mergers: How Missourians deal with too many vowels
2:30 Kirk Hazen (W VA U): Mergers in the mountains
3:00 Nancy Niedzielski (Rice U) & Alexis Grant (Rice U): N/o:/ W/e:/ J/o:/ s/e/: A look at monophthongization in two NCCS dialects

Discourse Communities, Strategies, and Speech Acts
Chair: Beverly Olson Flanigan (OH U)
Room: Fulton/Cobb

3:45 Catherine Evans Davies (U AL-Tuscaloosa): Linguistic ecology & the construction of sociocultural identity: Discourse communities of a southern American university
4:15 Stephanie T. Hysmith (OH U): Appalachian discourse strategies in the literary dialect of Charles Frazier's Cold Mountain
4:45 Roger W. Shuy (Georgetown U): Tobaccospeak: Image repair as a variety of American English

Words of the Year: Final Discussion and Voting
Room: Fulton/Cobb
Time: 5:30 - 6:30 PM

Bring-Your-Own-Book Exhibit and Reception
Room: Salon B
Time: 6:30 - 7:30 PM

Saturday, 4 January
Morning

Business Meeting
Chair: Dennis Preston (MI SU)
Room: Fulton/Cobb
Time: 8:00 - 9:00 AM

Regional Varieties
Chair: Margaret Lee (Hampton U)
Room: Fulton/Cobb

9:15 David Bowie (Brigham Young U): Urbanization vs regionalization in Utah speech: A reanalysis with ramifications
9:45 Becky Childs (U GA) & Christine Mallinson (NC SU): The regional alignment of African American English in the Smoky Mountains
10:45 Richard W. Bailey (U MI): English comes to Georgia, 1700-1750
Gender and Culture
Chair: Miriam Meyers (Metropolitan SU)
Room: Fulton/Cobb

11:30  *Stephen E. Brown (Johns Hopkins U) & Ceil Lucas (Gallaudet U)*: Gender differences in narratives: The case of skydivers
12:00  *Karen Petronio (E KY U) & Valerie Dively (Gallaudet U)*: Gender variation in the use of *yes* & *no* in Tactile American Sign Language
12:30  *Patricia Cukor-Avila (U N TX) & Aubrey Hargis (U N TX)*: Behind the magic screen: Cultural values & linguistic prejudice

Saturday, 4 January
Afternoon

Annual Luncheon
Room: Salon B
Time: 1:15 - 2:45 PM
ADS President Dennis Preston (MI SU): Where are the real dialects of American English at anyhow?

Special Session: Teaching Varieties of English in America
Sponsor: ADS Committee on Teaching
Chair: Anne Curzan (U WA)
Room: Fulton/Cobb

3:00  *Kirk Hazen (W VA U)*: The broadest impacts of teaching about language
3:30  *Beverly Olson Flanigan (OH U)*: Teaching American dialects: Bringing scholarship to students' speech communities
4:00  *Alicia Beckford Wassink (U WA)*: Varieties of English in America: The creole pieces of the puzzle
North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences

Saturday, 4 January
Morning

Session 1
Chair: Maria Tsiapera (U NC-Chapel Hill)
Room: Salon A

10:00 Marc Pierce (U MI): Recent trends in the analysis of Sievers's Law in Gothic
10:30 Gijsbert J. Rutten (U Nijmegen): The concept of the 'nature' of a language in 17th & 18th century linguistics
11:00 Margaret Thomas (Boston C): What do we talk about when we talk about 'universal grammar', & how have we talked about it?
11:30 Mark Amsler (U WI-Milwaukee): A brief history of the letter

Session 2
Chair: Margaret Thomas (Boston C)
Room: Salon A

2:00 David Boe (N MI U): Bloomfield, Carnap, & the development of linguistic empiricism
2:30 Malcolm D. Hyman (Harvard U): Greek & Roman grammarians on motion verbs & place adverbials
3:00 Stuart Davis (IN U): Francis Lieber & the term 'holophrastic' as applied to the Indian languages of America
3:30 Ana Flávia Lopes Magela Gerhardt (Fed U-Rio de Janeiro, Brazil): Theories & concepts in cognitive linguistics: (Mis)understandings

Business Meeting
Chair: Mark Amsler (U WI-Milwaukee)
Room: Salon A
Time: 4:00 PM
### Creole Restructuring and Metatheory

**Chair:** Tometro Hopkins (FL Cntl U)  
**Room:** DeKalb/Gwinnett  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker &amp; Affiliation</th>
<th>Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Donald Winford (OH SU)</td>
<td>Processes of restructuring in creole formation &amp; second language acquisition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>Ghil'ad Zuckermann (Cambridge U)</td>
<td>Mosaic or mosaic?: A new, hybridizational theory of the genetics of the Israeli language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Hirokuni Masuda (U HI-Hilo)</td>
<td>The PAG hypothesis: What pidgins &amp; creoles tell us about our evolutionary pathways</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10:30 - 10:45 Break

### Creole Morphology

**Chair:** Fred Fields  
**Room:** DeKalb/Gwinnett  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker &amp; Affiliation</th>
<th>Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>Carol Myers-Scotton (U SC)</td>
<td>Creole formation &amp; the divide in morpheme types</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:15</td>
<td>Paula Prescod (U Paris III)</td>
<td>Just what do Vincentian Creole indefinite pronouns entail?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:45</td>
<td>Kenneth Sumbuk (U Papua New Guinea)</td>
<td>Body parts in Tok Pisin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Social Aspects of Creoles

**Chair:** Walter Edwards (Wayne SU)  
**Room:** Douglas/Paulding  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker &amp; Affiliation</th>
<th>Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>Fernanda Ferreira (Bridgewater SC)</td>
<td>A linguistic time capsule: Plural /s/ reduction in Afro-Portuguese &amp; Afro-Hispanic texts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:15</td>
<td>Rocky R. Meade (U West Indies-Mona)</td>
<td>Socioeconomic status &amp; language acquisition in Jamaica</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Friday, 3 January  
**Afternoon**

### Pidgin/Creole Substrate and Genesis

**Chair:** Donald Winford (OH SU)  
**Room:** DeKalb/Gwinnett  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker &amp; Affiliation</th>
<th>Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Adrienne Bruyn (U Leiden)</td>
<td>From particle to verb in Suriname: An assessment of the role of the Gbe substrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:30</td>
<td>Nicholas Faraclas (U PR/U Papua New Guinea)</td>
<td>'Underspecification' &amp; multifunctionality in Nigerian Pidgin, Tok Pisin, &amp; their substrate languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Armin Schwegler (UC-Irvine)</td>
<td>In search of an Afro-Cuban creole: Examining the evidence from Palo Monte (reduced Kikongo) ritual speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Stéphane Goyette</td>
<td>Of shoes &amp; ships, pidgins &amp; prehistory</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Friday Afternoon SPCL
Social Variation
Chair: Jeff Siegel (U HI/U New England)
Room: Douglas/Paulding

2:00  Kevin Rottet (U WI-Whitewater): 'Qui t'après dire?': Interrogative pronouns & dialect boundaries in Louisiana
2:30  Michael D. Picone (U AL-Tuscaloosa): Anglophone slaves in Francophone Louisiana
3:00  Angela Bartens (U Helsinki): Writing a contrastive grammar Islander? Standard Caribbean English? Spanish: The structures of major difficulty

Saturday, 4 January
Morning

Phonetics/Phonology
Chair: TBA
Room: DeKalb/Gwinnett

9:00  Parth Bhatt (U Toronto) & Emmanuel Nikiema (U Toronto): Empty nuclei, consonant clusters, & syllabification in Haitian Creole
9:30  Jeff Good (UC-Berkeley): The phonetics of tone in Saramaccan
10:00 Thomas Klein (GA Southern U): Creole phonology typology: Evidence against the simplicity hypothesis

Creole Syntax
Chair: Marlyse Baptista (U GA)
Room: Douglas/Paulding

9:00  Tonjes Veenstra (Free U-Berlin): Expletive constructions in Papiamentu: Evidence against the subject-in-situ generalization?
9:30  Bill Haddican (NYU): Aspects of DP word order across creoles
10:00 David B. Frank (SIL): Determiners, relative clauses, & the St. Lucian Creole noun phrase

10:30 - 10:45  Break

Creole Development: Decreolization
Chair: Arthur Spears (CUNY)
Room: DeKalb/Gwinnett

10:45  Jeff Siegel (U HI/U New England, Australia): The role of speakers of the lexifier in decreolization in Hawai'i
11:15 Cecilia Cutler (NYU): Habitual does be in the Turks & Caicos Islands: Further evidence for decreolization as the source for habitual be in AAVE
11:45 Jeffrey Reaser (Duke U/NC SU): Variable patterning of copula absence in the idiolects of Bahamian speakers

Creole TMA Systems
Chair: Armin Schwegler (UC-Irvine)
Room: Douglas/Paulding

10:45  Jorge E. Porras (Sonoma SU): Temporal frames in narrative discourse: A comparative analysis of three Afro-Iberian creoles
11:15 Hope C. Dawson (OH U): The equative copula in Sranan Tongo
11:45 Winford James (U West Indies-Trinidad): The grammatical identity of the morpheme a in Tobagonian

SPCL
Saturday, 4 January
Afternoon

Social Variation in Creoles
Chair: Adrienne Bruyn (U Leiden)
Room DeKalb/Gwinnett:

2:00 Albert Valdman (IN U): The influence of the Haitian Creole emerging norm on vernacular regional speech
2:30 Alex-Louise Tessonneau (U Paris VIII): Educational aspects of the Haitian 'Kont'

3:00 - 3:15 Break

Business Meeting
Room: Douglas/Paulding
Time: 3:15 - 4:30 PM
Complex Predicates in the Americas--Part 1
Organizers: Scott DeLancey (U OR)
              Connie Dickinson (U OR)
              Roberto Zavala Maldonado (CIESAS-Sureste, Mexico)

Sessions 41 and 52 examine complex predicates in the Americas. The term 'complex predicate' has been defined as a construction in which two semantically predicative elements jointly determine the structure of a single syntactic clause' (Mohanan 1997). The sessions focus on certain types of complex predicates including nuclear serial verb constructions; bipartite stems; coverb/generic verb systems; and ideophones as predicating elements. Some of the issues concerning complex predicates addressed are: (1) semantic and morphosyntactic class of the elements involved in the formation of the complex predicate; (2) the contribution of each predicating element to the argument structure of the clause; (3) comparison of the complex predicate with other clause types such as complement, subordinate and coordinate clauses; and (4) patterns of grammaticalization of the elements involved in the complex predicate.

Chair: Roberto Zavala Maldonado (CIESAS-Sureste, Mexico)
Room: Fayette/Newton

1:00 Eva Schültze-Berndt (Max Planck Inst-Leipzig): Towards a typology of complex predicates
1:20 Keren Rice (U Toronto): Athapaskan incorporated verbs
1:40 Scott DeLancey (U OR): Semantic patterns in bipartite stems in Klamath & Sahaptin
2:00 Connie Dickinson (U OR): The formation of complex predicates in Tsafiki (Colorado)
2:20 Anamaría Ospina Bozzi (U Paris): Complex predicates in Yuhup Makú
2:40 Françoise Rose (U Lyon II): 'Serial verbs' & 'ex-gerunds' in Emerillon: A shift from marked subordination to serialization
3:00 Fernando Zúñiga (U Leipzig): Complex predicates in the far south: Mapudungun & Kawésqar
3:20 Mauro Velázquez-Castillo (CO SU): Serial verb constructions in Guaraní
3:40 Marcia Haag (U OK): Variations in Choctaw complex predicates
4:00 Jerrold M. Sadow (U Chicago) & Anthony C. Woodbury (U TX-Austin): The limits of complex syntactic predicates in Inuit & Yupik languages
4:20 Dagmar Jung (U Cologne): Preverbs & event specification in Apache

Syntax and Mophology
Chair: Harriet Klein (U Stony Brook-SUNY)
Room: Rockdale/Forsythe

2:00 José Beria (U Oriente, Venezuela): La formación de cláusulas relativas en Kariña
2:20 John P. Boyle (U Chicago): Possessed relative clauses in Hidatsa
2:40 Catherine Rudin (Wayne SC): Phrasal conjunction in Omaha-Ponca
3:00 Mily Crevels (U Nijmegen): Verbal number in Itonama
3:20 Marie-Odile Junker (Carleton U): Acknowledging the Other: Obviation & external possession constructions in East Cree
3:40 Ryan Klint (U AB): Grammaticalization of body-part prefixes in Upper Necaxa Totonac
4:00 Richard A. Rhodes (UC-Berkeley): Nonmedial noun incorporation in Ojibwe
4:20 Philip LeSourd (IN U): How to swear in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy
Thursday Afternoon

Names and Nomenclature
Chair: Victor Golla (Humboldt SU)
Room: Rockdale/Forsythe

5:00  Heidi M. Altman (U NC-Asheville): Eastern Cherokee fish names: A mirror of dramatic change
5:20  John P. Dyson (IN U): Kettles, metals & killing: A Spanish source for a Choctaw/Chickasaw war title
5:40  Mary B. Moser (SIL): Anthropological & linguistic aspects of personal names in Seri culture
6:00  Marie-Lucie Tarpent (Mt St Vincent U): The original name of the Skeena River: Internal & areal clues to its reconstruction

Contact Phenomena
Chair: Victor Golla (Humboldt SU)
Room: Rockdale/Forsythe

6:20  Susan Kalt (USC): Southern Quechua contributions to child Andean Spanish clitic interpretation
6:40  Harriet Klein (U Stony Brook-SUNY) & José Braunstein (CONICET, Argentina): Contacts & language intermixing among Chaco indigenous populations: 16th-19th centuries
7:00  Esther Wood (UC-Berkeley) & Lisa Conathan (UC-Berkeley): Repetitive reduplication in Yurok & Karuk: Semantic effects of contact

Friday, 3 January
Morning

Historical and Comparative Linguistics: Morphology and Syntax
Chair: Sara Trechter (CSU-Chico)
Room: Fayette/Newton

9:00  Robert L. Rankin (U KS): A diachronic perspective on active/stative alignment in Siouan
9:20  John Koontz (U CO): Dhegiha dative verbs
9:40  Ardis Eschenberg (U Buffalo-SUNY): The grammaticalization of ama in Omaha
10:00 Linda Cumberland (IN U): Reduplication in Assiniboine
10:20  Marlene Socorro Sánchez (U Zulia, Venezuela): Análisis comparativo de la cláusula relativa en dos lenguas arahuacas (A comparative analysis of the relative clause in two Arawak languages)
10:40  Luis Oquendo (U Zulia, Venezuela): La anáfora en las lenguas caribes yukpa y yek’wana
11:00 Anna Berge (U AK-Fairbanks): A comparative study of the participial in the Inuit & Yupik languages
11:20  Catherine A. Callaghan (OH SU): Creepy ...aj, a Miwok submorphemic sequence
11:40  Gregory D. S. Anderson (U Manchester): Inflectional type in auxiliary verb constructions in Native American languages
Lexicography for Indigenous America: Meeting the Needs of Speakers, Learners, and Linguists
Organizer: Alice Taff (U WA)

Presenters discuss language community input to the construction of modern dictionaries, touching on such matters as lexicographic history and traditions, paradigm systems, organization of content and format, designing dictionaries for the human brain, orthography and font design, electronic and web dictionaries, and incorporating sound files.

Chair: Alice Taff (U WA)
Room: Rockdale/Forsythe

9:00 William John Frawley (George Washington U): What Amerindian lexicography can say about dictionary-making in general.
9:20 Willem J. de Reuse (U N TX): Lessons from the history of Western Apache lexicography
9:40 Joyce McDonough (U Rochester): Role of paradigm charts in word based dictionaries: Learning from Young & Morgan
10:00 Kenneth C. Hill (U AZ): Considerations in Hopi dictionary design
10:20 Depree ShadowWalker (Red Pony Heritage Lang Team) & Mia Kalish (Red Pony Heritage Lang Team): Language as brain candy
10:40 Mia Kalish (Red Pony Heritage Lang Team) & Depree ShadowWalker (Red Pony Heritage Lang Team): The history & politics of fonts: Building digital learning materials
11:00 Pamela Muuro (UC-Los Angeles) & Felipe H. Lopez (UC-Los Angeles): Can there be a Valley Zapotec orthography?
11:20 See-Young Cho (Tech U-Berlin): The frequency of phonemes, morphemes, & words in Athabascan text
11:40 Ivy Doak (U N TX): The Coeur d’Alene dictionaries: Resources, writing systems, & regularization
12:00 Alice Taff (U WA): 4000 audio files: How to make a talking dictionary

Executive Committee
Chair: Dennis Preston (MI SU)
Room: Cherokee
Time: 12:15 – 1:45 PM

Language Change in South American Indian Languages
Organizers: Verónica Grondona (E MI U) Pilar Valenzuela (U OR)

The lexical, grammatical, syntactic, and semantic changes that have affected some languages and language families in South America are addressed. Knowledge of these changes can enrich our understanding of language change in general and will hopefully draw the attention of the linguistic community to a group of languages in great need of study.

Chair: Verónica Grondona (E MI U)
Room: Fayette/Newton

2:00 Spike Gildea (U OR) & Desrey Fox (Rice U): Reconstructing grammatical change in the Venezuelan branch of the Cariban family
2:30 Ana Suely Arruda Câmara Cabral (U Brasília): Grammatical changes in Tupí languages
3:00 Eduardo Rivail Ribeiro (U Chicago/Anthro Museum RFG): Nominal applicatives in Macro-Jê & Tupí
3:30 Verónica Grondona (E MI U) & Lyle Campbell (U Canterbury): Reconstructing Proto-Guaycuruan possession
4:00 Pilar Valenzuela (U OR): Participant orientation agreement in Panoan
4:30 Daniel J. Hintz (UC-Santa Barbara/SIL): The emergence of adverbial clauses in Quechua

[Each presentation is scheduled for 20 minutes, with an additional 10 minutes for discussion.]
### Orthographic Issues

**Chair:** Kenneth C. Hill (U AZ)  
**Room:** Rockdale/Forsythe

- **2:00** Michal Brody (U TX-Austin): Language contact, word boundaries, & evolving orthography in Yucatec Maya
- **2:20** Wallace Chafe (UC-Santa Barbara): Learning to spell
- **2:40** M. J. Hardman (U FL): Vowel dropping as a grammatical process: Implications for literacy materials

### Archival Issues and Project Reports

**Chair:** Pamela Munro (UC-Los Angeles)  
**Room:** Rockdale/Forsythe

- **3:00** Marianne Milligan (U WI-Madison): Leonard Bloomfield’s Menominee fieldwork
- **3:20** Paul S. Frank (SIL) & Gary F. Simons (SIL): Sáliba wordlists: A test case for best practices in archival documentation of an endangered language
- **3:40** Heidi Johnson (U TX-Austin): The Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America
- **4:00** Martha J. Macri (UC-Davis) & Victor Golla (UC-Davis): The J. P. Harrington Project: A progress report
- **4:20** David S. Rood (U CO) & Armik Mirzayan (U CO): Documenting a dying language: The Wichita videotape experiment

### Saturday, 4 January  
**Morning**

### Texts and Discourse

**Chair:** Jane H. Hill (U AZ)  
**Room:** Fayette/Newton

- **9:00** Craig Kopris (Montgomery C): Three Wyandot Paternosters
- **9:20** David Mora-Marin (U KS): A Pre-Ch’olan model for the standard language of Classic Lowland Mayan texts
- **9:40** Leanne Hinton (UC-Berkeley) & Herb Luthin (Clarion U): The Yahi quotative
- **10:00** Kristine Stenzel (U CO): Word-order variation in Wanano
- **10:20** William F. Weigel (UC-Berkeley): Encoding of episode structure in Yokuts
- **10:40** Marianne Mithun (UC-Santa Barbara): The referential status of pronominal affixes
- **11:00** Rik van Gijn (U Nijmegen): Grammatical relations in Yurakaré

### Dictionaries as Cultural Archives

**Organizers:** Danielle Cyr (York U)  
Alexandre Sévigny (McMaster U)

Various strategies are considered for incorporating encyclopedic and cultural content into digital dictionaries for endangered languages; not only the basic meaning of words must be indexed but also the cultural information attached to these words.

**Chair:** Danielle Cyr (York U)  
**Room:** Rockdale/Forsythe

- **9:00** Danielle E. Cyr (York U) & Alexandre Sévigny (McMaster U): Electronic Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Contemporary Migmaq: A case study
- **9:40** William J. Fosler (Penn): On the proper conception of dictionaries
- **10:00** Sean P. O’Neill (U OK): Principles of word formation in northwestern California: Hupa, Yurok, & Karuk
- **10:20** Douglas R. Parks (IN U) & Wallace E. Hooper (IN U): The Indiana University model for language documentation, archiving, & dissemination
10:40 J. Randolph Valentine (U WI-Madison): Lexicography & the language learner: Ojibwe electronic lexicons
11:00 Lucía A. Golluscio (U Buenos Aires) & Alejandra Vidal (U Buenos Aires): Endangered languages, endangered peoples in Argentina: Mocovi, Tapiete, Vilela, & Wichi in their ethnographic context
11:20 Elena Benedicto (Purdue U): The Mayangna dictionary project: An example of participatory research

Saturday, 4 January
Afternoon

Forum Discussion: Ethical & Legal Issues Raised by the Internet Dissemination of Digital Audiofiles of Native American Languages
Chair: Leanne Hinton (UC-Berkeley)
Room: Fayette/Newton
Time: 12:15 - 1:45 PM

Complex Predicates in the Americas--Part 2
Organizers: Scott DeLancey (U OR)
Connie Dickinson (U OR)
Roberto Zavala Maldonado (CIESAS-Sureste, Mexico)
Chair: Connie Dickinson (U OR)
Room: Fayette/Newton

2:00 Jürgen Bohnemeyer (U Buffalo-SUNY/Max Planck Inst-Nijmegen): Verb compounding in Yukatec Maya: A complex predicate analysis
2:20 Loretta O’Connor (Max Planck Inst-Nijmegen/UC-Santa Barbara): Complex predicates of change in lowland Chontal
2:40 Paul D. Kroeber (IN U) & Robert E. Moore (U Chicago): Particle verbs in Chinookan
3:00 Tim Thornes (U OR): Varieties of verb formation in Northern Paiute
3:20 Roberto Zavala Maldonado (CIESAS-Sureste, Mexico): Motion verbs in complex predicate constructions in Olutec (Mixean)
3:40 David Beck (U AB): Complex predicates in Upper Necaxa Totonac
4:00 Pamela Munro (UC-Los Angeles): The clausal status of Chickasaw want
4:20 Verónica Vázquez Soto (UNAM, Mexico): Complex predicate & complement clauses in Cora (Uto-Aztecan)
4:40 General Discussion

Phonology and Phonetics
Chair: Joyce McDonough (U Rochester)
Room: Rockdale/Forsythe

2:00 José Alvarez (U Zulia, Venezuela): Limits to moraic integrity in Kari’ña (Cariban)
2:20 Colleen M. Fitzgerald (TX Tech U): Rhythmic control in Tohono O’odham
2:40 Stephen Marlett (SIL/U ND): Surface contrast without phonemic contrast: Theoretical & practical implications
3:00 Cecil Brown (N IL U) & Soren Wichmann (U Copenhagen): Proto-Mayan syllable nuclei
3:20 Patricia Shaw (U BC): Word-initial consonant clusters in Salish
3:40 Ives Goddard (Smithsonian): Meskwaki intonation
4:00 Patrick Moore (U BC) & Siri G. Tuttle (Tech U-Berlin): Kaska tone & intonation
4:20 Siri G. Tuttle (Tech U-Berlin): Ahnta stress & intonation in narrative context
4:40 Heriberto Avelino (UC-Los Angeles): Tone processing & left hemisphere specialization: Evidence from Yalálag Zapotec
Saturday, 4 January
Evening

Business Meeting
Room: Fayette/Newton
Time: 7:00 - 8:30 PM

Reception in Honor of David S. Rood, Retiring Editor of IJAL
Sponsor: U Chicago Press
Room: Walton
Time: 8:30 – 11:00 PM

Sunday, 5 January
Morning

Historical and Comparative Linguistics: Phonology and Morphophonology
Chair: John Boyle (U Chicago)
Room: Fayette/Newton
9:00 Jeff Good (UC-Berkeley), Mary Paster (UC-Berkeley), & Teresa McFarland (UC-Berkeley): Reconstructing Achumawi & Atsugewi: Proto-Palaihnihan revisited
9:20 John E. McLaughlin (UT SU): Numic final segments or morpheme classes: The importance of parts of speech

Semantics
Chair: TBA
Room: Fayette/Newton
9:40 Katharina Haudé (U Nijmegen): Positional demonstratives in Movima
10:00 Linda Jordan (OK SU), Beverly Leach (United Keetoowah Band), Laura Anderson (U OK), & Toby Hughes (United Keetoowah Band): Departures ~ incompletions ~ smallness: Polysemy, homonymy, & metaphorical extension in Cherokee
10:20 Candace Maher (UMN): Conceptualization & categorization: Jicarilla Apache classificatory verb stems
10:40 Yukihiro Yumitani (Sanyo Gakuen U): Verbs of position in Jemez Towa
Abstracts of Plenary Addresses
In Other Words: Cross-linguistic Challenges to the Notion 'Word'

Alice C. Harris
University at Stony Brook-SUNY

Recent research has suggested C explicitly or implicitly C a number of universal characteristics of the word. Some of these hark back to concepts that have been discussed for decades while others are based on more recent observations. Thus, on the one hand, the notion that clitics cannot occur inside words is part of the traditional view that the parts of a word are cohesive. On the other hand, the view that words are anaphoric islands is more recent. In this paper I argue that data from a variety of languages indicate a need for a flexible interface between syntax and morphology and that challenges to the notion of the word are best understood in the context of the historical changes that shaped the unexpected words.

In Udi, a member of the North East Caucasian language family, person-number clitics go inside verbs, even inside verb roots, under very specific circumstances. For example, in 1, the second person plural clitic va occurs inside the monomorphic root buq 'want, love'; in this example, it cannot occur in any other position.

(1) bu-va-q'-sa
want1-2PL-want2-PRES
'You want it.'

(2) ek'a-va buq'-sa (Taral 2:13)
what-2PL want-PRES
'What do you want?'

In 2, the same clitic cannot occur inside the verb. This presents two problems from the point of view of the concept 'word': the word is interrupted by a morpheme that is in some sense external to it, and the morphosyntactic features that we might expect to be realized in a single word are instead realized in two.

Georgian is an unrelated language with a very different structure, but here too certain aspects of the composition of complex words seem to pose a challenge to current theories of word structure. While it is widely accepted that words are anaphoric islands, in Georgian units such as u- _en-o 'you-less' are routine, where _en 'you (SG)' is a fully referential pronoun (in the sense that its reference can be established in context), and u--o is a circumfix (prefix-suffix combination).

On the basis of these and other data, it is shown that under certain circumstances syntactic phenomena such as word order and reference do have access to the internal structure of words.

Alice C. Harris (PhD, Harvard U, 1976) was at Vanderbilt U 1979-2002, most of that time as the only linguist; for the last 10 years she chaired the Department of Germanic and Slavic Languages. In the fall of 2002 she began teaching at U Stony Brook-SUNY. Her research is in diachronic syntax and in both diachronic and synchronic problems in morphology; she has done extensive fieldwork in languages of the Caucasus, especially Georgian and Udi. Her books include Georgian syntax: A study in relational grammar (1981); Diachronic syntax: The Kartvelian case (1985); Indigenous language of the Caucasus, I: Kartvelian (ed., 1991); Endoclitics and the origins of Udi morphosyntax (2002); and Historical syntax in cross-linguistic perspective (with Lyle Campbell, 1995), recipient of the 1998 LSA Bloomfield Book Award. Also in 1998, she won the Earl Sutherland Prize in Research at Vanderbilt U and in 1999 was Visiting Erskine Fellow at U Canterbury-New Zealand. Her current research is funded by NSF.
Research on the development of creoles has relied on several questionable assumptions, such as: (1) Language is like a biological organism. (2) Language speciation into (sub) families is the result of (generations of) internally-motivated change. (3) Creoles are abnormal, somewhat unnatural contact-induced developments due to breaks in the transmission of their lexifiers. (4) Normal language transmission proceeds with little modification from one generation to the next and is almost perfect when children are involved. (5) The comparative method cannot apply between creoles and their lexifiers; in fact, (6) creoles cannot be genetically classed with their lexifiers (thus, English creoles are not Germanic languages). (7) Nothing need be questioned about the current practice of genetic linguistics--difficulties in explaining how creoles have evolved are putatively a consequence of the abnormality of their emergence and have nothing to do with the above assumptions.

I argue instead that both creole and noncreole languages have evolved by the same restructuring processes. The same kinds of ecological factors associated with contact and system mixing are identifiable in the evolution of noncreole languages. The distinction between creoles and noncreoles is not structurally-based. Communal languages (on which genetic linguistics has focused) are like biological species in being extrapolations from idiolects. As in population genetics, one cannot overlook interidiolectal variation even in monolingual communities. The contact that has really borne on the development of creoles affects idiolects. It is of the same kind as what has determined the evolution of noncreole languages. The only difference is that in the case of creoles one must also factor in xenolectal features in the pool from which features of the new varieties have been selected.

No language is ever transmitted wholesale to any learner (first or second). Every individual appropriates it by reconstructing its system imperfectly, selecting only a subset of the features used in their social environment (where the feature pool lies). Language appropriation is itself a continuous process, a function of speakers’ commitment to communicate successfully—a disposition that accounts for their mutual accommodations even past the critical period. The accommodations are the ultimate causes of language change and speciation under varying ecological conditions. The outcomes are determined by how competition and selection operate within the specific feature pools of particular communities. Research in genetic creolistics over the past few decades has prompted some creolists to pay more attention to the nature of the lexifier (the language intended to be spoken) and various other ecological factors that bear on its evolution, viz., whether or not it stays alive and healthy, and how its structure changes. Genetic linguistics can benefit from some of these findings.

My research has been influenced by population genetics, macroecology, and nonlinear evolution as well as by a better understanding of the socioeconomic colonial histories of the relevant populations. There’s also been a personal drive to free my thinking from some colonial biases still evident in genetic creolistics and apparently also in genetic linguistics.

Salikoko S. Mufwene is a distinguished service professor of linguistics at U Chicago, from which he earned his PhD with distinction in 1979. He was trained in lexical semantics and syntax but retooled himself as creolist during his first job at U West Indies in Jamaica (1980-1981). During his second job, at U GA (1981-1991), he was funded by the NEH and NSF to do field research on Gullah, which led him to also address issues on the development of AAVE. Serendipity drove his attention to population genetics and chaos theory, both of which have influenced his macroecological approach to the development of creoles. This is largely a refinement of his version of the ‘complementary hypothesis’ (1986). Since returning to Chicago, Mufwene has extended his approach to language evolution in general (including the emergence, maintenance, and loss of languages), arguing that the study of creoles is prompting us to pay attention to aspects of language evolution that have been overlooked in genetic linguistics. His arguments are synthesized in his book The ecology of language evolution (Cambridge U Press 2001). He also collaborated with Robert Chaudenson to revise his Des îles, des hommes, des langues and oversaw its translation into Creolization of language and culture (Routledge 2001). He has (co) edited Africanisms in Afro-American language varieties (U Georgia Press 1993), Topics in African linguistics (John Benjamins 1993), African-American English (Routledge 1998), and special issues of Linguistics (28.4, 1990) and of World Englishes (16.2, 1997) on creoles and pidgins. He has authored over 130 essays on various linguistic topics. He sees himself as a heretic with eclectic solutions.
The effort to understand the true nature of verbs, nouns, and adjectives from a cross-linguistic perspective has been a relatively high priority for functionalist linguists and a relatively low priority for generative linguists. Neither community has, however, achieved all that one might wish in this area. Generative linguists are too often content simply to say that verbs are +V and -N, nouns are -V and +N, and adjectives are +V and +N--claims that are almost meaningless, given that no principles of their theory refer to these features. Functionalist linguists tend to emphasize the correlations between the category of a word and its meaning, the idea that the categories are fuzzy, prototype notions and that they form a continuum with different cutoff points in different languages. These theories do not capture well the fact that an adjective like 'hungry' can refer to the same state as a verb like 'hunger' and yet differ from it in its grammar in a discrete cluster of interrelated ways. And neither community has managed to fully resolve controversies about whether all languages have the same lexical categories or not.

It is possible to give discrete formal definitions of the three lexical categories. A lexical category is a verb if and only if it directly licenses a specifier (subject) position; this is a formal version of the intuition that verbs are the canonical predicates of natural language. A lexical category is a noun if and only if it is associated with a 'criterion of identity', which allows it to bear a referential index. This is a formal version of the intuition that nouns play a unique role in reference tracking but extends also to nonreferential uses of nouns in (say) quantification. Finally, a lexical category is an adjective if and only if it has neither a specifier nor a referential index. No third positive feature is needed for this third category; the fact that adjectives are frequently used as modifiers falls out from the fact that verbs are disqualified from such positions by their need for a specifier, and nouns are disqualified from such positions by their bearing of a referential index. The special role of adjectives in grammar thus follows from their being a kind of default category. When these definitions of the lexical categories are combined with a handful of simple axioms, their characteristic clusters of morphological and syntactic properties can be derived in a satisfying way.

This theory of the lexical categories can be used to resolve controversies about whether all languages have the same three lexical categories or not. The crucial step is to find ways to isolate the lexical categories from the functional categories that they often appear with (e.g. determiners, complementizers). Since some functional categories can also license specifiers and bear referential indices, they blur the distinctions between the lexical categories. When functional categories are eliminated, the intrinsic properties of the lexical categories show through more clearly. For example, adjectives look like nouns when they constitute direct objects in Nahuatl, but the contrast appears in incorporation environments where there can be no determiner: nouns can incorporate into the verb but adjectives cannot. Similarly, adjectives look like verbs when they are main clause predicates in Choctaw, but the contrast appears in environments of attributive modification, where there can be no tense or complementizer. The surprising result of the investigation is that all known languages have the same three-way distinction between nouns, verbs, and adjectives, once one knows what the distinction really is and where to look for it.

Mark C. Baker is a professor in the Department of Linguistics and the Center for Cognitive Science at Rutgers U. He received his PhD from MIT in 1985. He also taught at McGill U (1986-1998). He is the author of three major research monographs: Incorporation: A theory of grammatical function changing (U Chicago Press 1988), The polysynthesis parameter (Oxford U Press 1996), and Lexical categories: Verbs, nouns, and adjectives (Cambridge U Press 2002). He is also the author of The atoms of language (Basic Books 2001), a book designed to introduce some of the leading ideas of contemporary generative linguistics to a general audience. In addition, he has written numerous journal articles and articles for edited volumes and reference works. He has been on the faculty of three LSA Linguistic Institutes and served on the LSA Nominating Committee (1998-2000). His expertise is on the morphology and syntax of less-studied languages, particularly those of Africa and the Americas. He has done primary research on Mohawk, Edo, Chichewa, Kinande, Nupe, Mapudungun, and Winnebago. He is fascinated by questions about what is universal to human language as opposed to what varies, by questions about how morphology relates to syntax and semantics, and by questions of what the human capacity for language might imply for more general views about human nature.
Within the discipline of linguistics, there has long been concern for the perspicuous documentation and description of the world's languages. It has been foundational for the discipline's more theoretical endeavors, from linguistic prehistory, to linguistic typology, diversity, and universality. It has been a bridge into the study of language use in various speech communities. Its methods, tools, and technology have been preserved in archival monograph series and 'journals of record'. And practitioners of descriptive linguistics have always operated in an atmosphere of urgency and impending language loss, making lasting records and in some cases taking part in community efforts at language preservation, teaching, planning, and revival.

Nevertheless, these antecedent areas of concern have become aligned and focused in a fundamentally new way in a very short time--perhaps as short as a decade--into a field that has come to be known as documentary linguistics. This talk describes the field, how it has been emerging, and where it may be headed.

The most visible change is the sudden and recent emergence of efforts to develop standard, lasting approaches to the digital representation of linguistic data. This alone is having major effects on how field work is conducted; how the results of field work are managed, manipulated, and archived; how data are presented and made available in linguistic descriptions, and how communities can have control of and access to material in and about their languages.

Less visible, but very profound, is the emergence of a new intellectual framework whose most essential principle is to be (in Joel Sherzer's term) 'discourse-centered', that is, direct documentation of natural discourse is the primary project while description and analysis are contingent, emergent by-products which grow alongside primary documentation but are changeable and parasitic on it. This orientation contrasts with the traditional pyramidal grammar-dictionary-texts model of description, where the texts serve mainly as illustration to the points in the grammar. The principle also implies a focus on language use in context (rather than only more abstract linguistic knowledge); on diverse coverage; and on speech communities (rather than specific 'codes').

Important, too, is a new positioning of linguistics on the world stage. Language endangerment has been receiving public attention that does nothing but grow; and there has been an astonishing rise in private funding available for documentary linguistics. Not only is the issue urgent; it also speaks to public interest in diversity of all kinds, in human rights, and in the effects of globalization. The traditional agenda of linguistics--the study of human linguistic capacity and accomplishment--converges significantly, via documentary linguistics, with agendas in many communities wishing to preserve and revitalize their languages, putting us in a position to become involved. At the same time, it poses a challenge to the inward-looking ways of our Saussurian past, inviting us to examine the priorities we set within the discipline and, by extension, in the undergraduate and graduate education of linguists.

Anthony C. Woodbury (BA/MA U Chicago; PhD UC-Berkeley 1981) is interested in linguistic diversity and its preservation. He has taught in the Linguistics Department (U TX-Austin) since 1980, where he is now professor and department chair. He has had a career-long research interest in the Yupik-Inuit-Aleut language family, has written on the family's prehistory, on Greenlandic and Aleut syntax, and on a wide range of topics arising from his association, since 1978, with the Cup'ik speaking community of Chevak, Alaska, including Cup'ik prosody, intonation, expressive phonology, morphology, syntax, oral literature, and conversational discourse. He is currently involved in an effort there to establish Cup'ik immersion in the schools. In recent years, he has become involved in the University of Texas's Center for Indigenous Languages of Latin America, helping bring indigenous graduate students to study linguistics, and co-founding, with Joel Sherzer and Heidi Johnson, the Archive for the Indigenous Languages of Latin America.
Abstracts of Regular Papers
Barbara Abbott (Michigan State University)  
*The difference between definite & indefinite descriptions*

This paper responds Szabó (2000) and Ludlow and Segal (2002), who analyze definite descriptions as having the same quantificationally interpreted as indefinites. Szabó views both familiarity and uniqueness as conversational implicatures of definite descriptions and modifies Heim 1982 by demoting her familiarity condition on definites to a pragmatic principle. The problem is that there is no way to explain the differential application of this principle to definite descriptions and not indefinites if there is no semantic/conventional difference between the two. Ludlow and Segal propose familiarity as a conventional implicature of definite descriptions but assume incorrectly that conventional implicants can be cancelled. Contrast the attempted cancellation of the conventional implicature triggered by *even* in 1 with the successful cancellation in 2:

(1)  
#Even Einstein could solve that problem.

(2)  
The new curling center at Oshkosh, which you probably haven't heard of, is the first of its kind.

Example 2 suggests familiarity is not conventionally associated with *the*. On the other hand the anomaly of 3 suggests that uniqueness is conventionally associated with definite descriptions, contrary to both analyses:

(3)  
#Russell was the author of *Principia Mathematica*; in fact there were two.

Michael Adams (Albright College)  
*Prolegomena to any future historical dictionary of African American English*

Many of us increasingly feel the need for a historical dictionary of African American English. We renew previous proposals that the ADS eventually sponsor such a dictionary. Experience teaches that any historical dictionary undergoes a long and strenuous stage preliminary to any editing, during which research essential to making a great dictionary is amassed and expectations for the function and form of the dictionary are developed. Makers of a historical dictionary of AAE will face many challenges, some of them routine to historical lexicography and some of them unique to treatment of AAE, and we cannot start preparing soon enough if we would like to begin editing such a dictionary by mid-century. For instance, we need to locate, edit, and 'produce' texts (i.e. collect fragmentary evidence); we need to compile a foundational bibliography for the project, one that confronts many vexing textual problems; we need to learn much more about the history of African languages and continue the research on African-language based creoles begun so brilliantly in the last century; and we need to imagine what an entry in such a dictionary would look like. How will entries provide grammatical information (a bigger challenge for a dictionary of AAE than for other English dictionaries)? What place will folk-etymology have in entries? Given the paucity of early texts, entries will need to incorporate relatively oblique evidence, and entries will, as a result, have a 'texture' different from the texture of entries in other historical dictionaries.

Adam Albright (University of California-Santa Cruz)  
*Learning nonlocal environments*

Phonological processes are often triggered by segments occurring an unbounded distance away, e.g. Navajo [si-] surfaces as [si-]/_____[nonanterior]. Such processes pose a learnability challenge. When trigger-target distance is unbounded, there is a huge number of hypotheses to explore. One approach to this problem assumes that the sibilant harmony constraint is in UG and need not be learned. We explore the alternative that learners can discover the constraint inductively. To find nonlocal environments, we sort stems according to their affix allomorph ([si-], [si-]). Since stems taking the same allomorph share a common trigger, the system compares pairs of same-allomorph stems to find what they have in common, using a similarity-sensitive alignment algorithm. The best alignment is used to construct a generalized constraint covering both forms. Iterating this process, ever more general constraints emerge, including eventually the correct 'Use [si-]/_____[nonanterior]'. However, this procedure also locates constraints that hold true of the training set accidentally, like 'Use [si-]/_____[son, +ant] ((+seg)) *[nas, +ant] ([+cons])*'. Such constraints make wrong predictions ([tasat/][*][si-tasat]). To solve this problem, we employ a modified version of the Gradual Learning algorithm (Boersma 1997) that 'deactivates' such constraints by ranking them at the bottom of the grammar.

Daniel M. Albro (University of California-Los Angeles)  
*A large-scale, computerized phonological analysis of Malagasy*

Because of the relative complexity of the optimality theoretic framework when contrasted with rule-based frameworks, we rarely see optimality theoretic analyses that attempt to cover the phonological processes inherent in the total vocabulary of a language. To overcome this, we have developed a tool that allows its user to specify a correspondence theory analysis of the phonology of a language, including reduplication, and then automatically check that analysis against a large body of data. The tool includes a complete implementation of optimality theoretic generation, using a method similar to primitive optimality theory, but with a more conventional representation and constraint set, optimized for greater speed. The (potentially infinite) candidate set is represented by a finite state grammar, except in the case of reduplication where a mildly context-sensitive grammar is employed, and the constraints are
represented as weighted finite state machines. Other than analysis checking by generation, the tool incorporates constraint ranking, automated analysis simplification, generation of all candidates necessary to prove relative rankings, and typesetting of tableaux selected to illustrate all relative ranking arguments. The analysis presented here covers the syllable structure, phonotactics, stress patterns, and reduplicative pattern of Malagasy, an Austronesian language spoken in Madagascar.

Heidi M. Altman (University of North Carolina-Asheville)  
Eastern Cherokee fish names: A mirror of dramatic change

As sweeping cultural and environmental changes have permeated western North Carolina, the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians have adapted in innumerable ways to meet the forces of globalization and modernization. Exploring the effects of these changes within a single semantic domain provides focus for questions regarding the perseverance of the Cherokee language. Drawing data from fieldwork and archival sources, we compare contemporary and historical data to show how Eastern Cherokee names for fish have been adapted to reflect changes in the local environment and in cultural practices.

José Alvarez (University of Zulia, Venezuela)  
Limits to moraic integrity in Kari’ña (Cariban)

Kari’ña, a Cariban language spoken in Venezuela (Mosony 1978, 1982), implements several strategies to preserve the original moraic structure when endangered by various phonological processes. After examining cases of deletion where moraic integrity is successfully preserved (for example, syllable reduction), we focus on cases where preservation fails. The gerund of intransitive verbs has in the plural a morphological structure exemplified by /avomú-to-no-poko/ {stand-PLURAL-NOMINALIZER-GERUND} avontonoopoko ‘standing’. Mosonyi (1982:46) remarks that these forms can optionally drop the syllable po of –poko, thus creating alternations of the type: avontonoopoko ~ avontoomoko. However, once this syllable is deleted, the fate of the mora fluctuates. Generally it will anchor on the vowel closest on the left, making it long, if this vowel is monomoraic: aka’natoonoopoko ~ aka’natoonooko ‘running’. If, alternatively, this target vowel has reached the upper bimoraic limit, the mora will jump to the next syllable on the left: romojtongopoko ~ romojjonooko ‘dying’. However, if this potential target vowel is preceded by a syllable with a long vowel, this association cannot take place: vejkotootoopoko ~ vejkotootoonooko ‘slicing’, *vejkotootoonooko. As this moraic jump cannot proceed any further: *vejkotootoonooko, the mora will be lost. This suggests an upper limit of two successive syllables with long vowels within a word. This restriction does not involve syllable weight, as words with three successive heavy syllables abound: avontoonoko ‘standing’. We conclude that the constraints limiting the number of moras in a syllable and the number of bimoraic vowels in successive syllables are ranked higher than those preserving moraic integrity.

Mark Amsler (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)  
A brief history of the letter

Within any disciplinary history of linguistics there is a subterranean history of the letter, with two underground levels: an archiehistory of the origins of letters and writing and a genealogical history of letter-sound correlations and their contentious relationships. The invention of writing among the Sumerians constituted one of the earliest, if not the earliest, segmentations of spoken language, and the emergence of alphabetic writing among the Greeks further segmented language visually into what were conceptualized by the Sophists, Plato, Aristotle, Byzantine and Roman grammarians as ‘elements’ (stoikheia, litterae). Grammatical discourse after Plato was fundamentally fractured at its beginning because of the two definitions of the ‘letter’: (1) an element of sound and (2) a written element. Grammatical discourse attempted to unite these two definitions by presuming that spoken sounds (phones) were to be correlated with written symbols (gramma), often in a one-to-one relationship. The Stoic grammarians (3rd c. BCE to 2nd c. CE) and the Roman imperial grammarians (3rd-5th cc. CE) repeatedly debated the growing gaps between written symbols and the speech sounds with which they were conventionally associated. Throughout the early Middle Ages, grammarians and rhetoricians often noted how the written forms of many words in different languages did not correlate well with how they were spoken. Moreover, as literacy was disseminated from Latin discourse to vernacular languages, the alphabet was reimagined as a semiautonomous system capable of rendering non-Latin speech into written form. New spelling systems were introduced by Abbo of Fleury (10th c), the First Icelandic Grammarians (12th c), Orne (12th c), and others to try and bring letter-sound correlations closer together. However, none of these systems was widely adopted, even though more than one made explicit the phonetic value assigned to individual letters or groups of letters when read aloud or silently by vernacular readers and all acknowledged the reader's role as one of providing 'voice' to the silent letters. The growth of silent reading as the western literate norm made any further audio-feedback modifications of letter-sound correlations irrelevant. Jewish and Arabic reading practices, pronouncing written consonants and supplying vowels, reveal by comparison how readers do not simply decode sound from script. But the Neogrammarians’ critique of ancient and contemporary writing systems and promotion of the IPA (1877, 1889) represent a genealogical reversal and repetition of the founding linguistic moment in ancient Greece. The authority of contemporary IPA description of speech depends on a linguistic discourse presumed to provide expert observation and technique, reproducible written descriptions based on repetitions of actual speech, and the desire for a 'notation' (Goodman) discursively adequate to the object of investigation. The 'phonics culture' takes this neo-Platonic desire in language representation and popularizes it, idealizing reading as decoding from letters to sounds.
We provide a fine-grained acoustic analysis of glide reduction for the /ai/ (tide/tight) vowel in AAE. Monophthongized and glide-weakened variants of /ai/ are salient markers of both Southern White and African American varieties of English. These two dialects have shared this feature for at least 100 years, but monophthongization before voiceless obstruents is a more recent change previously described as specific to some Southern White systems such as Appalachian and Texan varieties of English (Bailey & Thomas 1998:104). However, several recent studies have found evidence of glide reduction and monophthongization of /ai/ for the prevoiceless context among AAE speakers in several locations: Detroit (Anderson 2002), the Southern Highlands (Fluharty & Hazen 2001, Mallinson et al. 2001), and in Memphis, TN (Fridland 2002). Although /ai/ is typically characterized in a binary fashion as either monophthongal or diphthongal, our results suggest that it is important to examine the length of the glide. We describe the understudied early stages of this change in AAE and attempt to provide new insight into the actuation of phonological change and the gradual establishment of new variants.

Gregory D. S. Anderson (University of Manchester) (Session 45)

*Inflectional type in auxiliary verb constructions in Native American languages*

The languages of the Americas, despite beliefs to the contrary, are characterized by a wide range of inflectional patterns exhibited in the systems of auxiliary verbs. To be sure, the 'basic' pattern is well attested, with the auxiliary verb functioning as the phrasal and inflectional head, the lexical verb rather appearing in a marked dependent or unmarked form. Other patterns are attested as well. For example, the 'doubled' pattern with both components inflected and functioning as co-heads; the 'inverse' pattern with an uninflected auxiliary verb and inflected lexical verb; the 'split' pattern with some categories realized on the lexical verb and some on the auxiliary verb; and the 'split-doubled' pattern with some categories split, but others doubly marked. Univerbated forms from all patterns are also found in complex verb forms in various Native American languages. Each of these is presented and exemplified in this paper.

Gregory D. S. Anderson (University of Manchester) (Session 10)

K. David Harrison (Swarthmore College)

*Structural correlates of language death: Is simplification inevitable?*

It is claimed that change in dying languages may differ from that in healthy languages, in its 'extent, rate, range, and quality'. Obsolescence-driven changes may involve reduction of marked features and a move towards greater 'simplicity', e.g. reduction of allomorphy, shift from synthetic to analytic constructions, and favoring of semantic transparency. But there are problems with these assumptions, even on a definitional level. On conceptual and empirical levels, if languages can compensate for simplification in one domain with increased complexity in another, why should change in endangered languages be any different? We claim that there is little inherently different about structural change in endangered languages vis-a-vis change in other languages. We show that putative tendencies towards simplification, though sometimes attested, are not inevitable. Obsolescence-related change, we argue, can introduce significantly greater complexity. Further, such increased complexity is attested even in semispeakers with only passive knowledge of the language. In support of these claims, we introduce original data from endangered Siberian languages, primarily Tofa. We find in Tofa expected simplifying changes, e.g. collapses in the auxiliary verb system. However, we also document changes introducing significantly greater complexity, e.g. increased abstractness in vowel harmony, or old cases taking on new functions.

Lamont Antieau (University of Georgia) (Session 22)

*Variation on the range: Ranching terms in Colorado folk speech*

Originating under the direction of Lee Pederson in the late 1980s, the Linguistic Atlas of the Western States is a project devoted to the systematic gathering of data on American English as it is spoken in the western United States. In keeping with established Atlas methods, the project concentrates on older, rural speakers in the belief that they will be able to provide older forms unlikey to survive in the speech of subsequent generations. Taking into account the culture of the western states, a sizable portion of the worksheets for the three-hour interviews conducted with informants is devoted to the elicitation of terms pertaining to ranches and ranching. Far from being a homogenous set of lexical items, ranching terminology is subject to a great deal of variation due to a number of influences, including borrowing from other languages, notably Spanish, and variation in ranching practices by the cattle industry and the sheep industry. As our data set, we use interviews conducted in Colorado in 1990, 2001, and 2002, concentrating mainly on those interviews collected during the last two years.

Raul Aranovich (University of California-Davis) (Session 13)

*Spanish n- words & ni- minimizers: A scalar account*

Spanish n- words and ni- minimizers (roughly translated as 'not even NP') display an intriguing asymmetry. While n- words can
appear in negative as well as some nonnegative contexts (i.e. reduced clausal comparatives), \textit{ni}- minimizers can only appear in the former. I will propose a scalar hypothesis to explain this contrast. \textit{Ni}- minimizers can only appear in negative contexts because they are inherently scalar while \textit{n}- words are polysemous, between a scalar and a nonscalar sense. Only the latter is allowed in nonnegative contexts.

**Mark Arehart** (University of Michigan)

*Linguistic vs nonlinguistic constraints on noun compound interpretation*

Noun compounds (\textit{stone wall}, \textit{spoon handle}, \textit{bread knife}), once treated in terms of taxonomies of primitive modification relations (e.g. Levi 1978), have recently been analyzed under the rubric of generative lexicon theory (Pustejovsky 1995), with compounding rules defined as feature structure schemata that license modification relations according to the semantic classes of the nouns (Copestake & Lascarides 1997, Johnston & Busa 1999). Contrary to these approaches, we argue that the semantic primitives proposed earlier and their recent (but partial) assimilation to lexical structure are artifacts of impoverished knowledge representation. The wide applicability of relations such as those involving constitution and function should not privilege them or entail that they are encoded grammatically. With a sufficiently rich model of a domain and context, special-purpose compounding rules are unnecessary. To test this approach, we implemented a general ontology, loosely based on WordNet, in which noun compound interpretation is constrained not by grammatical definition of predetermined compound types but by the structure of the concept hierarchy and the semantic restrictions on concept properties. The system models the interaction between linguistic and nonlinguistic reasoning and demonstrates the relevance of general-purpose knowledge representation techniques to issues of linguistic meaning.

**Amalia Arvaniti** (University of California-San Diego)

*Two sources of evidence against moraic timing of geminates*

In this paper, we present distinct phenomena from two typologically unrelated languages which suggest that phonetic duration is necessary to explain the patterning of geminates, but a moraic connection to duration is not required and even makes the wrong predictions. In Cypriot Greek geminates are nonmoraic, yet they are amabisyllabic (as tonal alignment suggests). Nevertheless they do not share the mora of the preceding vowel (as evidenced by the lack of vowel shortening before geminates) nor does their nonmoraic status lead to great variability under changes of speech rate. Thus the Cypriot Greek evidence points to consistent durational patterning of geminates without reliance on moras. In Endegen, a Semitic Gurage dialect of Ethiopia, our measurements confirm that the medial root consonant is geminated in certain verb forms only if the final consonant is phonetically short (the tap \[r\] or \[?]\) or absent; it is single if the final consonant is phonetically long (e.g. a voiceless fricative or an ejective). A compensatory mechanism is clearly at work, but one which cannot rely on moraic structure: If lack of gemination were the result of a final mora-bearing consonant, we would have to analyze obstruents as mora-bearing and sonorants as non mora-bearing. Furthermore, the final consonant of the stem is not consistently in a mora-bearing position: For example, it appears in an onset if followed by a vowel-initial suffix, as with 3masc.sg /- l/, \[d\ ff\ r\-\].

**Ash Asudeh** (Stanford University)

*Resumption as resource management*

We propose a new theory of resumption--that resumption should include not just resumptive pronouns but also copy raising, based on empirical evidence from English, Irish, Persian, and Swedish. The theory is grounded in this universal:

(1) Natural languages are resource-sensitive.

This means intuitively that every element of an utterance must be interpreted exactly once. It allows various principles in the literature to be simplified or eliminated. The theoretical framework assumed is glue semantics, in which (1) is directly encoded at the syntax-semantics interface. Resumption should be understood as a kind of resource surplus where the extraneous resource is the resumptive element. The new mechanism of lexically-encoded 'manager resources' is introduced. A manager resource consumes an anaphoric resource (the resumptive) but allows the anaphor to resolve its reference. Several benefits result: (1) There is a unified, general theory of resumption. (2) Resumptive elements are treated like other anaphors. This explains why it is always anaphors that are resumptive and predicts the typological absence of resumption-specific paradigms and elements. (3) Lexicalism--resumption depends on the presence of manager resources which are contributed by specific lexical items. Typological variation for resumption is a matter of lexical inventories.

**Heriberto Avelino** (University of California, Los Angeles)

*Tone processing & left hemisphere specialization: Evidence from Yalálag Zapotec*

An important tradition of clinical and experimental studies suggests that there is a left hemisphere specialization substrate for linguistic functions whereas the right hemisphere is less involved in linguistic tasks (Fitch, Miller & Tallal 1997; Kraemer 1992; Liberman 1973; Moffat & Hampson 2000, among others). With respect to the processing of fundamental frequency, some studies
have proposed that the left hemisphere plays a role in the processing of of lexical tone (Gandour & Dardarananda 1983, Van Lancker & Fromkin 1973, 1978). However, some other investigations claim that the right hemisphere is specially involved in processing stimuli based on fundamental frequency such as music, pure tone, and intonation (Blumstein & Cooper 1974, Efron et al. 1977, Perkins et al. 1996, Shipley-Brown 1988). Because the acoustic parameter underlying the two classes of stimuli is the same (i.e. fundamental frequency) the study of functional specialization in the perception of F0 in languages with contrastive use of pitch represents a crucial evidence on the issue. We investigate the patterns of hemispheric specialization of tone perception in Yalalag Zapotec, a tone language, using a dichotic listening technique. Two experiments were designed: In the first experiment minimal pairs of words contrasting in tone were tested; in the second, dichotic pairs of pure tones (hums) with similar frequency values to those found in words were tested. In both cases, the condition of selective attention was introduced (Asbjørnsen & Hugdahl 1995). The results indicate a significant right ear advantage for phonemic tone while there is no correlation between the perception of pure tones and ear advantage. Further, selective attention increased the pattern of lateralization in word stimuli. The pattern of asymmetries obtained supports a functional lateralization hypothesis (Van Lancker 1980) where a cognitive linguistic task, i.e. the perception of phonemic tone, involves a left hemispheric dominance.

Gulsat Aygen (Harvard University)  
Mood & modality as nominative case features & the ECM hypothesis  
(Session 5)

This paper explores the syntactic feature that licenses nominative case in ‘tenseless’ clauses cross-linguistically. The data under investigation are tenseless Turkish, Tuvan, and Kazakh adjunct clauses with nominative subjects, European Portuguese and Italian inflected infinitives, and English subjunctives. We propose that nominative case is licensed by a complex feature composed of epistemic modality on Inflection) and mood on Complementizer). Based on the distributional evidence from Turkish, we argue that the I component of nominative licensing feature is in fact an epistemic modality feature. Adjudging evidence on the semantic relation between mood and modality and empirical evidence from Indo-European and Turkic languages, we argue that the C component is a mood feature, and agreement is just a morphological manifestation of a mood feature, not a case licenser per se. This proposal predicts nonnominative subject case on the subjects of clauses that lack either one or both of these features. Since the prediction is borne out in a number of languages, we propose a cross-linguistic ECM hypothesis: nonnominative case on the subjects of clauses that lack mood and/or modality is licensed by an external head. The major theoretical implication of the proposed analysis is uncoupling case and agreement.

Richard W. Bailey (University of Michigan)  
English comes to Georgia: 1700-1750  
(Session 26)

Early 18th-century Georgia was a multilingual region, and English settlers (and the English language) did not find a warm welcome there. We summarize the historical events that bear upon the introduction of English and offer ideas about what varieties of English entered with them. Return with us to those thrilling days of yesteryear when Chutabeeche and Robin, two war chiefs, welcome General Ogilthorpe to Savannah in 1738 and where they find Mary Musgrove ready to translate their eloquence into English.

Maciej Baranowski (University of Pennsylvania)  
Eugene Buckley (University of Pennsylvania)  
Lexicalization & analogy in Polish a- raising  
(Session 11)

Modern Polish shows raising of /ɔ/ to [u] before a voiced word-final consonant (pora ~ pur ‘time’), now opaque in many words due to historically later word-final devoicing (broda ~ brut ‘beard’). But various complications cast doubt on the generalization. Final nasals don’t trigger the rule. Some underlying /ɔ/’s followed by voiced consonants don’t raise (tor ‘rail’), and a handful followed by voiceless consonants do (stopa ~ stup ‘foot’). Borrowed words sometimes follow the pattern (moda ~ mut ‘fashion’), sometimes don’t (metafora ~ metafort ‘metaphor’). The exceptions suggest that lexical listing plays at least a partial role and that assimilation of new words will be significantly affected by existing patterns in the lexicon rather than by a categorical rule environment (e.g. Skousen 1989). We present evidence from tests of children and adults for the role of word-similarity, i.e. analogy, in the choice of whether to raise or not. The paper explores degree of similarity and word frequency in the strength of analogical effect as well. Raising in Polish vocabulary (with positive and negative exceptions to the historical generalization) and the treatment of nonce forms by speakers provide strong support for a lexicalized and analogical approach.

Angela Bartens (University of Helsinki)  
Writing a contrastive grammar Islander? Standard Caribbean English? Spanish: The structures of major difficulty  
(Session 35)

We report on a project funded by the Finnish Academy on the contrastive grammar of Islander, the English-based creole of Saint Andrews and Old Providence, Standard Caribbean English, and Spanish. While we have no knowledge of contrastive grammars of three different languages, the specific sociohistoric and sociolinguistic circumstances in the archipelago have led to a state of affairs where there is interference between all the three languages in question. However, it is interesting to note that the interference phenomena should be quite different in each language. The influence of Spanish on Islander and, by extension, indirectly also on
Standard English, has led to massive calquing. The influence of Islander on Standard English is above all grammatical. Finally, the interference of Islander combined with interlanguage phenomena causes performance errors in the early stages of L2-Spanish acquisition. We contrast those language structures in which the three languages (or two of them) diverge the most: subject-verb concordance, past tense marking, passive constructions, negation patterns, use of English to be, nominal plural marking, nominal gender marking, marking of the genitive/possessor, article use, marking of the adverb, use of prepositions, and focusing. In most cases, when interviewed as a preliminary for writing the grammar, local English and Spanish teachers identify these same structures as the cause of the most problems.

David Basilico (University of Alabama-Birmingham)
**The antipassive: Existential & reflexive readings**

In the antipassive construction, when the object is deleted, we can get either an existential or reflexive reading (Warrungu data from Tsunoda 1988):

(1) kaya+0 kipa+kali+0
father+ABS shave+AP+P/P

'Father is shaving someone.' or 'Father is shaving himself.'

We present a syntactic and semantic analysis that accounts for both these readings that relies on Chung and Ladusaw's (2001) notion that semantic saturation need not parallel syntactic saturation. We argue that the antipassive morpheme occurs in the head of a transitivity phrase projection (Bowers 2002, Basilico 1998) between VoiceP (Kratzer 1994) and VP. No object need appear because the antipassive morpheme is not associated with an [EPP] feature.

(2) [VoiceP NP Voice [TrP AP [VP V ]]]

The overlap in form for the existential and reflexive interpretations is a consequence of the antipassive morpheme 'turning off' the [EPP] feature of TrP, obviating the need for an object NP in the syntax. This, in turn, necessitates that other modes of saturation step in to saturate the predicate. This can be accomplished either by existential closure or by a process we call argument identification, generating the existential and reflexive readings, respectively.

David Beaver (Stanford University)
Brady Clark (Stanford University)
Edward Flemming (Stanford University)
Maria Wolters (Rhetorical Systems Ltd)

**Debunking the argument from second occurrence focus**

Second occurrence focus is a phenomenon in which repeated linguistic material in the scope of a focus sensitive operator (e.g. 'only') is intonationally distinct from the original occurrence of the material. The semantic focus of the operator is often claimed to lack any intonational marking in its second occurrence. In 1c, 'court' is a second occurrence focus, previously focused in 1b:

(1) a. Defense and Prosecution had agreed to implicate Sid both in court and on television.
   b. Still, the defense attorney only named Sid in COURT today.
   c. Even THE STATE PROSECUTOR only named Sid in <court> today.

This purported dissociation of semantic and prosodic focus is commonly used as an argument against certain theories of focus, e.g. alternative semantics and structured meaning semantics. We report on a production experiment designed to test whether second occurrence foci are prosodically marked. We find that while there is no significant pitch accent on second occurrence foci, they are marked by increased duration and intensity. So the semantic focus is in fact prosodically marked.

David Beck (University of Alberta)

**Complex predicates in Upper Necaxa Totonac**

Upper Necaxa Totonac (UNT) makes use of verbal compounding, including the compounding of two full verbs or of a full verb with a stative base. These processes represent a continuum of grammaticalization running from productive verbal compounding to more aspect-like combinations of full verbs with stative bases and the use of the stative verb mal:lh ‘lie’ in the progressive aspectual paradigm. Compounding of two verbal stems in UNT is fairly productive, though not unrestricted:

- helhs’olí ‘whistle’ + tsatí: ‘call’ > helhs’olitasatí: ‘call someone by whistling their name’
- kuká ‘carry’ + li:mín ‘bring’ > kukalimín ‘bring something carrying it’
- s’ohá ‘hug’ + lén:n ‘take’ > s’ohálén ‘take someone while embracing them’

Even more productive are compounds formed on stative bases and their derivatives. These form verbs of relative position (lakamiyá:lh ‘standing’ (ya:lh) with face (laka-) towards speaker min ‘come’) or encode aspect-like categories such as the stative-progressive (wawí:lh ‘be sitting (wi:lí:) eating something (wa’) and the resultative lakaxwa:li: ‘scrape the face of something’ > lakaxwa:li:wi:lí: ‘leave something (wi:lí: ‘put’) with its face scraped’). Compounding is also the source of the progressive aspect, based on stative base malh ‘lie’ although in the plural progressive the verb form has diverged tama:ná:lh ‘they lie’ vs taxtuma:ná:lh ‘they are coming out’), a good example of the grammaticalization of a new morpheme as a result of diachronic change.

David Basilico
University of Alabama-Birmingham

(Session 5)

The antipassive: Existential & reflexive readings

In the antipassive construction, when the object is deleted, we can get either an existential or reflexive reading (Warrungu data from Tsunoda 1988):

(1) kaya+0 kipa+kali+0
father+ABS shave+AP+P/P

'Father is shaving someone.' or 'Father is shaving himself.'

We present a syntactic and semantic analysis that accounts for both these readings that relies on Chung and Ladusaw's (2001) notion that semantic saturation need not parallel syntactic saturation. We argue that the antipassive morpheme occurs in the head of a transitivity phrase projection (Bowers 2002, Basilico 1998) between VoiceP (Kratzer 1994) and VP. No object need appear because the antipassive morpheme is not associated with an [EPP] feature.

(2) [VoiceP NP Voice [TrP AP [VP V ]]]

The overlap in form for the existential and reflexive interpretations is a consequence of the antipassive morpheme 'turning off' the [EPP] feature of TrP, obviating the need for an object NP in the syntax. This, in turn, necessitates that other modes of saturation step in to saturate the predicate. This can be accomplished either by existential closure or by a process we call argument identification, generating the existential and reflexive readings, respectively.

David Beaver
Stanford University

Brady Clark
Stanford University

Edward Flemming
Stanford University

Maria Wolters
Rhetorical Systems Ltd

Debunking the argument from second occurrence focus

Second occurrence focus is a phenomenon in which repeated linguistic material in the scope of a focus sensitive operator (e.g. 'only') is intonationally distinct from the original occurrence of the material. The semantic focus of the operator is often claimed to lack any intonational marking in its second occurrence. In 1c, 'court' is a second occurrence focus, previously focused in 1b:

(1) a. Defense and Prosecution had agreed to implicate Sid both in court and on television.
   b. Still, the defense attorney only named Sid in COURT today.
   c. Even THE STATE PROSECUTOR only named Sid in <court> today.

This purported dissociation of semantic and prosodic focus is commonly used as an argument against certain theories of focus, e.g. alternative semantics and structured meaning semantics. We report on a production experiment designed to test whether second occurrence foci are prosodically marked. We find that while there is no significant pitch accent on second occurrence foci, they are marked by increased duration and intensity. So the semantic focus is in fact prosodically marked.

David Beck
Stanford University

Complex predicates in Upper Necaxa Totonac

Upper Necaxa Totonac (UNT) makes use of verbal compounding, including the compounding of two full verbs or of a full verb with a stative base. These processes represent a continuum of grammaticalization running from productive verbal compounding to more aspect-like combinations of full verbs with stative bases and the use of the stative verb malh ‘lie’ in the progressive aspectual paradigm. Compounding of two verbal stems in UNT is fairly productive, though not unrestricted:

- helhs’olí ‘whistle’ + tsatí: ‘call’ > helhs’olitasatí: ‘call someone by whistling their name’
- kuká ‘carry’ + li:mín ‘bring’ > kukalimín ‘bring something carrying it’
- s’ohá ‘hug’ + lén:n ‘take’ > s’ohálén ‘take someone while embracing them’

Even more productive are compounds formed on stative bases and their derivatives. These form verbs of relative position (lakamiyá:lh ‘standing’ (ya:lh) with face (laka-) towards speaker min ‘come’) or encode aspect-like categories such as the stative-progressive (wawí:lh ‘be sitting (wi:lí:) eating something (wa’) and the resultative lakaxwa:li: ‘scrape the face of something’ > lakaxwa:li:wi:lí: ‘leave something (wi:lí: ‘put’) with its face scraped’). Compounding is also the source of the progressive aspect, based on stative base malh ‘lie’ although in the plural progressive the verb form has diverged tama:ná:lh ‘they lie’ vs taxtuma:ná:lh ‘they are coming out’), a good example of the grammaticalization of a new morpheme as a result of diachronic change.

48
Raising predicates (seem, appear, etc.) present a number of problems for the language learner, in particular the fact that the syntax of raising constructions is not transparent: A sentence such as John gorps to be happy is compatible with either a raising (John seems to be happy) or a control (John wants to be happy) structure. Previous work with adults shows that expletive subjects (it, there) and inanimate NP subjects (the rock) provide strong cues that a sentence involves a raising verb. We present new experimental results from children ages 3 - 5:6, exploring the extent to which these cues (subject animacy, expletives) are available to young children. Results suggest that animacy becomes a good cue for children around age 5 while expletives may serve as a cue as early as age 3:4.

Elena Benedicto (Purdue University)
The Mayangna dictionary project: An example of participatory research

This project was born to create a dictionary with definitions written in the indigenous Nicaraguan language Mayangna for use in the schools in the local bilingual program. The project expands an already existing dictionary which has translations into Spanish but no definitions at all. The database that is being created includes translations to Spanish, Miskitu, and English as well as morphological and syntactic information that makes it (the database) a useful tool for other purposes in the future. It includes information about the two main dialectal variants of the language, something unique up until now. The work has been done, under the ideas of participatory research, by a team of eight indigenous linguists with an indigenous general coordinator. The members of this team, working on the dictionary, are members of the Mayangna community, speakers of either of the two dialectal variants, and students in the Bachelor’s Degree in Bilingual Education at URACCAN University in Nicaragua.

Abbas Benmamoun (University of Illinois-Urbana/Champaign)
Reciprocals as plurals: A word-based analysis of Semitic morphology

We propose that what has been labeled a reciprocal verb such as kaatab in Arabic is in fact a plural form of the verb katab (plurality of events, each involving at least one agent) that has been identified and discussed in various other languages. This analysis has implications for current approaches to Arabic verbal and nominal morphology. If ‘reciprocals’ are plurals on a par with nominal plurals, the question that arises is whether a unified analysis is possible. We argue that a unified analysis is possible under a word/lexeme based approach as opposed to a root to template one.

Erica J. Benson (Michigan State University)
Need in? Want out?

The status of need/want + in/out, see 1-2, in the United States is unclear.
(1) The cat needs in.
(2) Mike wants out at the corner.

While most dialectology projects/reports and usage guides label such forms as regional, in particular, Midland, others claim they are widespread (cf. Allen 1975, Wilson 1993, Quirk et al.1985). Based on questionnaire data from 200 respondents, we report on acceptability judgments of need/want + in/out in Ohio and Michigan and attempt to account for the patterns found. Is it true that ‘the spread of the construction is so wide that it can scarcely be considered regional any longer’ (Ashcom 1953:255)? Although at first glance it may appear that the forms are gaining wider acceptance, there is an important semantic consideration in their distribution. Compare the concrete uses in 1-2, in which a physical movement is intended or required by the subject, with the more abstract uses in 3-4, in which a desire to be involved or no longer involved is intended:
(3) That sounds like a great plan. I want in.
(4) Barry’s job has become too stressful; he needs out.

Concrete uses display a more regional distribution while abstract uses show more widespread acceptance. This is confirmed in periodical databases which reveal only abstract uses of need/want + in/out in the titles of articles, a context that comes under the close scrutiny of editors, e.g. ABA Banking Journal: ‘Serving the wealthy: Everybody wants in’ (Asher 2001:42).

Anna Berge (University of Alaska-Fairbanks)
A comparative study of the participial in the Inuit & Yupik languages

It is commonly assumed that the substantive differences between the various Inuit and Yupik languages are found only within their phonology or lexicon, and that syntactic and pragmatic differences are minimal and consequently of minimal importance. In fact, a closer look at the syntax of each of these languages suggests that this assumption needs to be reevaluated. We present evidence from the use of the participial verb mood in the respective languages for claiming that syntactic differences are important. In particular, we show that the various languages differ in whether or not their participial verb mood can be used as a dependent rather than independent verb mood, in its association with the past tense or perfective aspect, in its use as a connecting mood in discourse, or as the preferred mood in focus constructions, and in its use in adverbial clauses.
We distinguish between the two instances of word-final [-s] characterizing English possessive forms: (1) the pronominal final [-s] of his and (2) the full-DP final [-s] of David's. We argue that the pronouns are morphologically complex, consisting of a subject pronoun (he, you) and an apparent possessive marker (-s, -r), together yielding a possessive pronominal form (his, your). Specifically, we adopt the idea that the -s/-r endings of the possessive pronouns correspond to copular forms is and are (he's, you're), and as such they are not real possessive markers, but rather, sg./pl. number markers. Agreement between pronoun and number is triggered in a spec-head configuration in a DP-internal agreement projection (Ritter 1995, Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002). We further argue that the [-s] of David's book and a book of David's is the same element we find on pronominal forms in partitive genitives such as a book of theirs. Our analysis, which supports Kayne's (1993) analysis of possessives, thus entails double marking on forms like theirs and yours, once for plural (-r) and once for possessive (-s), each corresponding to a unique spec-head relationship.

Parth Bhatt (University of Toronto)
Emmanuel Nikiema (University of Toronto)

Empty nuclei, consonant clusters, & syllabification in Haitian Creole

No abstract available

Sonya Bird (University of Arizona/University of British Columbia)

The phonological role of intervocalic consonants in Lheidi

We use phonetic data to investigate the phonological status of intervocalic consonants in Lheidi, a dialect of Dakelh (Athapaskan). Intervocalic consonants are extremely long in Lheidi, as they are in other Athapaskan languages (c.f. Sapir & Hoijer 1967, Young & Morgan 1987, McDonough & Ladefoged 1993 on Navajo). However, their phonological role has not yet been studied in any detail. We show that they are best characterized formally as noncontrastive geminates. Vowels preceding intervocalic consonants behave as if they are in closed syllables, indicating that intervocalic consonants are syllabified VC.V. The distribution of intervocalic consonants is the same as that of onsets, indicating that they are syllabified V.CV. Finally, native speaker syllabification intuitions indicate that intervocalic consonants belong to both the preceding and the following syllables: V(C)V. Because Lheidi intervocalic consonants are unusually long and belong to both syllables, they are analyzed as geminates (Kahn 1976, Borowsky et al. 1984, Hayes 1989), even though consonantal length is not contrastive in Lheidi. In support of this analysis, the duration of intervocalic consonants does not depend on prosodic requirements such as stress placement.

Betty Birner (Northern Illinois University)
Jeffrey P. Kaplan (San Diego State University)
Gregory Ward (Northwestern University)

Epistemic modals & temporal reference

Use of epistemic would, unlike epistemic must, requires a salient open proposition (OP), without which only the latter is felicitous:

(1)  a. A: Which millionaire did Max marry?
    B: That would be Ellen Rothschild.
    OP: THE MILLIONAIRE MAX MARRIED IS X
b. A: I wish I'd married a millionaire like Max did.
B: #That would be Ellen Rothschild.
c. A: I wish I'd married a millionaire like Max did.
B: That must be Ellen Rothschild.

Consequently, that in 1 can be anaphoric to either a discourse entity ('the millionaire Max married') or the OP variable ('the answer to your question')—correctly predicting the following contrast:
(2) a. A: When was your last trip to Europe?
B: That would/must have been 1992.
b. A: When was your last trip to Europe?
B: That would/#must be 1992.
c. A: When is your next trip to Europe?
B: That would/#must be 2006.

With epistemic would, when that is anaphoric to the variable, the clause needn't be marked for past or future time reference. With must, that can only be anaphoric to your last/nest trip to Europe; when this is a past or future event, time reference must be reflected in the verb complex.

Charles Boberg (McGill University)  
(Apparent time vs real time: New evidence from Montreal English)

Dialectologists and sociolinguists often rely on apparent time evidence to study language change in progress, yet this approach must always be evaluated in light of the possibility that age differences reflect change over speakers’ lifetimes, rather than the evolution of the language. The best test of apparent time analyses is to compare them with ‘real time’ data, by examining previous studies of the same variable in the same community. Such comparisons have so far produced inconclusive results. In the study of Canadian English in Montreal, we have two previous studies with which to compare the results of a new dialect survey. The studies date from 1958, 1972, and 2000. All three employed similar methods and variables. The comparison suggests that apparent time patterns do not always reflect a change in progress. In some cases, robust generational differences in the recent study exhibit continuity with earlier data. For instance, the proportion of Montrealers using ‘chesterfield’ for ‘couch’ has fallen from over 50% to 12% today and shows a strong correlation with age in the new study, from 29% usage for older people to 0% for teenagers. In other cases, however, age correlations in the new study are not corroborated by real time data. While the new study indicates a decline in the long/-ah/ pronunciation of ‘vase’, from 64% for older people to 22% for teenagers, the earlier studies show that the frequency of this pronunciation has remained stable at around 45% for the last 40 years.

David Boe (Northern Michigan University)  
(Bloomfield, Carnap, & the development of linguistic empiricism)

During a brief period (1936-1940), the American linguist Leonard Bloomfield (1887-1949) and the German linguistic philosopher Rudolf Carnap (1891-1970) crossed paths at the University of Chicago, where each had academic appointments. Although both theorists were influential in advocating radically empiricist approaches toward the study of language, it was several years prior to Carnap’s arrival in the U.S. that Bloomfield had published his pivotal work Language (1933). By that time, Carnap had already become well-known within analytic philosophy as a leading member of the Vienna Circle and had published his first major work, Der Logische Aufbau der Welt (1928), in which a formal model of empiricism is developed. Carnap’s involvement with the Vienna Circle led to the emergence of logical positivism, an antimetaphysical (i.e. physicalist) orientation toward the analysis of language. No mention of this philosophical movement is made in Language, though in many ways it appears that Carnap’s early work anticipates Bloomfield’s behaviorist/descriptivist stance. We examine the possible connection between the structuralism of Language and the positivism of Der Logische Aufbau der Welt and suggest that Bloomfield’s work reflects the unacknowledged influence of Carnap and early analytic philosophy.

Jürgen Bohnemeyer (University at Buffalo-SUNY/Max Planck Institute-Nijmegen)  
(Verb compounding in Yucatec Maya: A complex predicate analysis)

Yucatec has a semiproductive process of combining two verb stems, V₁ and V₂ to form ‘V-V compounds’:
(1) T-in  
PRV-A1.SG  
jaarax+jats'-t-aj  
le  plàato  y=e’etel  che’  
I slide+hit+APP-CMP(B.3.SG)  DET  plate  A.3=with  wood  
‘I slide-hit the plate with a stick’ (i.e. I hit the plate with a stick, causing it to slide)

Five properties characterize V-V compounds: (1) Typically, the compound denotes a causal relation obtaining between the subevents encoded by V₁ and V₂. (2) V₂ denotes the cause and V₁ the result, i.e. the two stems are ordered anti-iconically. (3) V₂ is invariably transitive, whereas V₁ may be a member of any dynamic predicate class. (4) The compound stem is intransitive and requires applicative derivation to license an undergoer argument. (5) Realization of the subevent denoted by V₁ is in many cases
defeasible. We propose an analysis of V-V compounds that derives the above set of features, as well as the distribution of V-V types in the lexicon and V-V tokens in discourse, from two assumptions: (1) V-V compounds have a single argument structure projected from a merger of the event structures of V₁ and V₂. (2) The V-V compound construction is a special instance of a superordinate X-V construction in which X—typically a stative predicate or an ideophone particle—modifies the manner of an activity denoted by V.

**Steve Bonta** (Cornell University)  
*Modals in Nenagbo Fishermen’s Tamil: A case of paradigmatic diffusion*  
(Session 10)

Heath (1978: 119) defines ‘indirect morphosyntactic diffusion’ as ‘a process whereby one language rearranges its inherited words and morphemes under the influence of a foreign model, so that structural convergence results’. Negombo Fishermen’s Tamil (NFT), a distinctive variety from Sri Lanka’s northeast coast, displays an interesting example of what may be termed ‘paradigmatic diffusion’, whereby the entire morphological present and future verb tenses have been semantically reconfigured, apparently under the influence of Colloquial Sinhala. Tamil in general has a rich system of verb inflections marking tense (present, past and future), person, gender, and number. NFT, like Colloquial Sinhala, normally does not mark distinctions of future/present tense, number, gender, or person. However, NFT does retain Tamil person, gender, and number morphology for certain person-specific modal usages that correspond closely to similar constructions in Sinhala. These correspondences suggest that NFT has reconstituted its simple present and future tense verb paradigms to align them with the Sinhala modals. We argue that the NFT traits noted appear to be a case of paradigmatic diffusion, an as-yet little researched subclass of indirect morphosyntactic diffusion, in which convergence is occurring in paradigmatic, not syntagmatic, subsystems.

**Marianne L. Boroff** (University at Stony Brook-SUNY)  
*Gestures & hiatus resolution*  
(Session 1)

In Yatzachi Zapotec (YZ), spoken in southeastern Mexico, onsetless syllables are allowed initially but not word internally. In derived vowel sequences, hiatus is repaired through coalescence or diphthongization. Interestingly, sequences of Vowel-Glottal Stop-Vowel behave much the same as VV sequences, undergoing coalescence and diphthongization. The similar patterning of Zapotec VV and V?V sequences suggests that they are subsumed under the same analysis. This is problematic for analyses claiming that hiatus resolution is motivated by the need for every syllable to have an onset; while an onset approach can handle the VV sequences, it cannot motivate repair of V?V, which does not violate onset. The approach to this problem taken here is inspired by the framework of gestural phonology, particularly as exemplified in Gafos 2001. We propose that hiatus resolution is the result of a constraint that determines the optimal coordination of vocalic gestures. This gestural coordination constraint, henceforth VCV-Coord, demands that the targets of every input sequence of vowels be aligned with a consonantal target such that the consonant overlaps the transition between the two vocalic targets. This approach handles the YZ data better than onset analyses because it not only applies to VV contexts but can also extend to V?V contexts; glottal stop is not specified for an oral place target, and cannot satisfy VCV-Coord. Moreover, I show that this analysis also explains puzzling data from Yucatec Maya (YM) and Axeninca Campa (AC), which exhibit vowel spreading across glottals and position dependent repair of onset violations, respectively.

**Claire Bowern** (Harvard University)  
*ji, ji, or li? A problem in Nyulnyulan reconstruction*  
(Session 17)

In all of the six well-described Nyulnyulan languages of the North-Western coast of Australia, we find a set of possessive/dative personal pronouns with a stem ji-. The pronouns are used to mark indirect objects and to denote possession. The pronominal stem ji- is identical to the dative/possessive case marker in these languages. Both the case suffix ji and the pronominal possessive pronouns ji-can be reconstructed to Proto-Nyulnyulan. Is it possible to derive the case suffix and the pronominal stem from the same source? The most plausible analysis seems to be that the pronominal stem ji-is the result of reanalysis. Evidence for this comes from Jawi, which as well as the first person possessive jana ‘mine’ has a variant nga jana, plausibly a reduced form of a dative-marked free pronoun ngay. An alternative analysis would be that a free element ji was grammaticalized in two directions—as a suffixal case marker and as a prefixal host for person marking.

**David Bowie** (Brigham Young University)  
*Urbanization vs regionalization in Utah speech: A reanalysis with ramifications*  
(Session 26)

Previous analyses of variation in spoken English in Utah have come to different conclusions concerning the issue of whether region or urbanness is the stronger influence. These claims are best exemplified by the studies conducted by Helquist and Lillie. Helquist claimed that urbanness is most important, with an urban variety emerging immediately around the Salt Lake City metropolitan area. Lillie, on the other hand, made the explicit claim that region is more important than urbanness, with the most urbanized areas of Utah actually falling within a larger ‘northern Utah’ region that also includes vast tracts of rural space. We present a reanalysis of Lillie’s data, looking at the geographical distribution of the data more finely than before and paying particular attention to phonetic items previously reported on in the literature (such as prelateral vowel laxing). The results of this analysis show that, at some level, claims...
for the importance of both regional and urbanness effects are valid. However, to fully explain the variations in the data, separate geographic regions within urbanized areas must be defined, which requires the adoption of assumptions that run counter to claims that single metropolitan areas are essentially linguistically unitary. The importance of the finding that individual urbanized areas are not necessarily unitary is discussed, with particular emphasis on the ramifications for sampling methodologies in dialectological research.

**Jeremy K. Boyd** (University of California-San Diego)  
*Computational limits on natural language suppletion*  
(Session 11)

We address a common failing of contemporary morphological theories: the lack of constraint placed on suppletion. While suppletion in natural languages occurs at cross-linguistically low levels, a number of theories (e.g. Stump 2001, Halle & Marantz 1994) erroneously predict the possibility of languages with a great deal of suppletion. The fact that grammars do not provide a way to limit suppletion is not problematic, however, if we adopt the position that they are embedded within a biological system possessing limited computational resources. In order to demonstrate the validity of this approach, we devised a set of 11 'languages', each containing a different number of suppletive paradigms, ranging from no suppletion, to complete suppletion. These languages were then tested for learnability using a standard neural network design. The results show that, as the number of suppletive paradigms the network must master increases, learnability decreases. Furthermore, there is an upward limit, or threshold, on the number of suppletive paradigms that can be learned without significantly affecting network performance. Once this threshold is reached, the inclusion of new suppletive paradigms becomes prohibitive. In addition to supplementing grammatical theory, this research has implications for the wider problem of nonisomorphic form-meaning mappings in language.

**John P. Boyle** (University of Chicago)  
*Possessed relative clauses in Hidatsa*  
(Session 42)

We examine a specific type of personal possessive construction in Hidatsa (and by extension other Siouan languages). In Hidatsa, personal possessives are formed by cliticizing a prefix onto the possessed noun giving the forms of 'my-X, your-X, his/her-X'. While this is straightforward, we focus on constructions where the possessed noun is the head of a relative clause (RCs). Like most other Siouan languages--Lakota (Williamson 1987); Crow (Graczyk 1990); and Omaha-Ponca (Rudin 1991)--Hidatsa RCs are internally headed (IHRCs). We provide a theoretical explanation as to how these constructions are derived and show that these types of constructions exhibit a morphosyntactic mismatch. While the possessive prefixes cliticize to the head of the IHRC, showing a morphological dependency on the noun, they are really syntactically the head of the construction.

**Dan Brassil** (University of California-San Diego)  
*Synthetic & periphrastic expression in Mandarin verbal morphology*  
(Session 15)

We argue that Mandarin morphology produces both synthetic expressions (single syntactic atoms) and periphrastic expressions (multiple, syntactically independent elements). This novel approach explains two phenomena associated with the imperfective particles zhe and zài--their distribution and the co-occurrence restriction on preposition/particle zài. We show the distribution of zhe/zài relies on the event structure of the verb: (1) zhe/zài cannot co-occur with states; (2) zhe occurs with achievements and intransitive accomplishments; and (3) zài with activities and transitive accomplishments. We formalize these observations within a realization-based morphology.

(1) a. PF(<L<BECOME>, [>, X) where [> is the extension of {ASPECT: imperfect} = X-zhe  
    b. PF(<L<_,_>, [>, X) where [> is the extension of {ASPECT: imperfect} = zài + X

Panini's Principle states that where two rules may apply, the more specific rule wins. Stump 2002 argues that blocking is an instantiation of Panini's Principle. Thus the distribution of zhe/zài is explained as morphological blocking: 1a is more specific by making reference to the BECOME predicate. Haplology explains the co-occurrence restriction on preposition/particle zài. Evidence shows this restriction cannot be semantic or syntactic. The analysis points to new directions in analyzing periphrasis by providing a morphology that can encode grammatical properties as multiple elements.

**Michal Brody** (University of Texas-Austin)  
*Language contact, word boundaries, & evolving orthography in Yucatec Maya*  
(Session 48)

While language contact is a common and well-described phenomenon, most of our documentation deals with spoken rather than written language. We present evidence of contact influence in the currently evolving orthography of written Yucatec Maya (YM). While YM may be the L1 of the writers and shapers of the language, Spanish, for sociohistorical reasons, is currently their first language of literacy, and we argue that the internalized rules and customs of written Spanish are brought heavily to bear on written YM. Particularly relevant is the Spanish constraint against vowel-less words and syllables. We focus on representations of the first person plural (1PL) Set A (ergative and possessive) pronouns. In YM, Set A pronouns precede the verb or noun, and all but 1PL are currently written as whole, separate words; all but the 1PL form contain a full vowel.

(1) in chiich ~ my grandmother  
   a chiich ~ your grandmother  
   u chiich ~ her/his grandmother  
   k-chiich ~ k chiich ~ our grandmother
Presenting a diachronic view through an assortment of 16th-20th century documents as well as a synchronic view of 40+ contemporary documents of various genres, we demonstrate the increasing influence of Spanish, which is co-occurrent with increasing rates of Spanish literacy. 1PL is written hyphenated to the following verb or noun in about 50% of the contemporary documents, written separately in about 25%, and the remaining documents either show both forms or use innovations which mitigate the absence of a pronounced vowel, such as cliticization, apostrophe, or gratuitous vowel insertion.

Cati Brown (University of Georgia)
Clayton Darwin (University of Georgia)
Managing complex corpora with XSLT: An example from the Tobacco Document Corpus

Although there has been discussion among linguists concerning the benefits of Extensible Stylesheet Language Transformations (XSLT) for the management of electronic corpora, there have been few examples of XSLT being used effectively for noncommercial purposes. We discuss how XSLT is currently being used to manage the Tobacco Document Corpus (TDC), a corpus of real-world documents from the tobacco industry, and create specialized subcorpora for linguistic analysis. Our experience in building the TDC and making it accessible for research has given us insight into the value of XSLT as a programming tool which can drastically improve access to data. We share this insight by describing problems associated with archiving real-word documents, using examples of industry documents and the corresponding corpus archives; by providing concrete examples of TDC transformations that demonstrate the effective use of XSLT in corpus management; by discussing the availability of XSLT processing engines and showing how they can be effectively implemented in scripts; by discussing the design of stylesheets, with examples of how we use templates to facilitate changes; and finally, by suggesting how parallel XSLT implementations might be used to generate user-defined corpora on the internet.

Cecil H. Brown (Northern Illinois University)
Søren Wichmann (University of Copenhagen)
Proto-Mayan syllable nuclei

Kaufman and Norman 1984 reconstruct six syllable nuclei for Proto-Mayan (pM), implying the existence of only six syllable-nucleus correspondence sets across contemporary Mayan languages--V, Vh, Vj, VV, V', and V'. However, they have underreconstructed pM syllable nuclei since there are in fact at least 14 distinct correspondence sets. Documenting the latter, we have reconstructed 14 syllable nuclei for pM--V, Vh, Vj, VV, VVh, V', V'h, V'V, V'h, V'V, V', V'h, V'V, and V'V'h. Proto-Mayan *Vs is a special vowel whose phonetics is unknown. We can only speculate that it may have been a laryngealized vowel, or a breathy vowel, or an aspirated vowel, or even an unvoiced vowel. Whatever it may have been, the essential thing for our analysis is that *Vs differs from *V is some way other than length. In addition to unconditioned changes from pM to modern Mayan languages, we outline most context-conditioned changes involving syllable nuclei.

Stephen E. Brown (Johns Hopkins University)
Ceil Lucas (Gallaudet University)
Gender differences in narrative: The case of skydivers

Gender differences in language form and use have been well-documented in sociolinguistic studies (Coates 1998, Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998), and gender differences in narratives have also been described by Bell(1988), Sheldon and Rohleder (1996), and Holmes (1997), among others. Holmes, for example, observes that men and women use stories to 'do gender' and that 'Telling a story is one means of presenting oneself and others as appropriately feminine or masculine in terms of current societal ideology, or alternatively, a story may be used to subvert or contest the dominant ideology' (1997:273). We examine gender differences in Danger of Death narratives among skydivers, building on a recent study (Brown & Lucas 2002) which compared the Danger of Death narratives produced by skydivers and firefighters in the context of a sociolinguistic interview. We focus here on the narratives produced by seven male and five female skydivers about malfunctions--that is, life-threatening situations--that they have experienced while skydiving. Informants have levels of experience ranging from 200 to 12,000 jumps, the average being 5400. Narratives are compared for overall length and basic structure (e.g. monologic or dialogic, the nature of the various components of the narrative), for the use of specific linguistic features such as ing/-in and t/d deletion (using a Varbrul analysis), and discourse features such as constructed dialogue. Gender-related differences are described, along with features shared across narratives, independent of gender and more directly related to the nature of the sport and the type of narrative elicited.

Adrienne Bruyn (University of Leiden)
From particle to verb in Suriname: An assessment of the role of the Gbe substrate

In Sranan, the English-based plantation creole of Suriname, there is a set of verbs with etymological sources in English or Dutch forms that are verbal particles, adverbs, or prepositions. We argue that the reanalysis of these nonverbs into verbs was possible on the basis of the typology of the Gbe substrate in combination with that of the lexifier. It concerns verbs expressing location (including motion),
such as *abra* 'to cross', derived from English *over*, or *doro* 'to pass, arrive, perform', from Dutch *door* 'through'. The reanalysis from nonverbs to verbs can be interpreted as the product of relexification of grammaticalized deverbal elements, *‘verbids’,* in the Gbe languages which constituted an important part of the substrate for Sranan. A comparison of the Sranan items concerned with their Gbe counterparts suggests, however, that the existence of a class of items with a dual categorial as verbs and nonverbs is at least as important as the individual lexical entries. By contrasting the Sranan case with that of Haitian French Creole, it becomes evident that the typology of the lexifier is relevant, too. Whereas various features of Haitian may be attributed to relexification from Gbe (Lefebvre 1998, Lumsden 1999), there is no parallel in Haitian to the Sranan phenomenon under discussion. This can be explained by the absence of verbal particles in French.

**Allison P. Burkette** (University of Mississippi)  
*An investigation of LAGS past tense forms*

We offer a large-scale examination of a commonly overlooked linguistic feature of American English—nonstandard past tense. We begin with a brief tour of the *Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States (LAGS)* responses for the past tense forms of the following verbs: come, done, run, give, see, throw, catch, and know. Within these responses is an astonishing amount of past tense variation, both in terms of the great quantity of nonstandard forms and the number of different manifestations of those forms. Though the past tense forms are fascinating in and of themselves, we focus on the standard and nonstandard responses as they relate to state (region/rurality) and education level and, to an extent, how the use of specific forms relates to age and ethnicity. Data from over 900 speakers in 8 states allows for strong statements to be made about the relationship between language use and these social variables. LAGS data provides a wealth of untapped linguistic data that can expand our understanding of past tense variation in Deep South states.

**Charles E. Cairns** (City University of New York-Graduate Center)  
*Foot & syllable in Southern Paiute*

Southern Paiute (SP) presents evidence for choosing between two theories of phonological representation, the ‘prosodic hierarchy’ (PH) and Halle and Idsardi’s metrical theory (HI). The former theory assumes that every foot boundary coincides with a syllable boundary whereas the latter posits metrical structure and syllables on orthogonal planes. SP allows a foot boundary to bisect a syllable, suggesting the superiority of the HI theory. SP shows that PH is not descriptively adequate because PH requires all syllables to be nested inside higher constituents. If PH is part of OT, GEN would not enumerate the SP facts, and no viable constraint can rescue PH. Therefore, phonological theory (whether constraint or rule based) should not include PH. The HI theory of representation is at least descriptively adequate. Unfortunately, this conclusion leads to an unavoidable attenuation of explanatory adequacy; any theory that allows violations of PI sanctions more grammars than one that does not. The arguments here pertain primarily to representational questions and do not speak decisively to the choice between OT and rule based approaches. However, the functional support for the OT approach to stress patterns is weakened if foot and syllable boundaries have nothing to do with each other.

**Catherine A. Callaghan** (Ohio State University)  
*Creepy …aj, a Miwok submorphemic sequence*

Miwok … *aj* is a submorphemic sequence that is frequent in plant and animal terms, often those with undesirable properties, as well as in some other terms, but the remainder of the words lack special meaning. … *aj* does not occur in words reconstructed to Proto-Miwok, and it never appears in cognate forms in Costanoan. Consequently, we must conclude that it has crept through the daughter Miwok languages, even affecting some loan words.

Lake Miwok *p’odway* ‘snake’ < Hill Patwin *porwan* ‘snake’  
Lake Miwok *c’alay* ‘bug’ < Western Wappo *ch’âle* ‘bug’  
Proto Sierra Miwok *tisi:nay* ‘ant’  
Proto Sierra Miwok *melnay* ‘yellowjacket’. Note the probable Proto Western Miwok cognate *me:nani* ‘yellowjacket’  
Proto Eastern Miwok *tiwway* ‘yellowhammer’. Cognate with Proto South Costanoan *tiwak* ‘yellowhammer’  
Proto Sierra Miwok *pi:lay* ‘flat place, field, valley’. Cognate with Proto Costanoan *pire* ‘land, earth, ground’

**Ana Suely Arruda Câmara Cabral** (University of Brasília)  
*Grammatical changes in Tupí languages*

The region between the Guaporé and the Aripuanã rivers, in western Brazil, has been considered by Rodrigues (1958, 1964, 1985, 2000) as the probable Tupian center of dispersion. A first attempt at showing how specific grammatical changes identified throughout the language families of the Tupi stock would match this hypothesis was presented in Cabral and Rodrigues 2001. Most Tupian languages, no matter the complexities of the splits found in their alignment systems, exhibit an absolute pattern. The closer a language is to the Guaporé-Aripuanã region the lesser the number of splits it presents and the more absolutive-like its alignment pattern is. This is the case of language families in the Guaporé-Aripuanã region, labelled Group I in contrast with Group II, formed by the languages of the families outside this region, which show the greatest number of splits. We show that an absolutive alignment pattern may be reconstructed for proto-Tupi, and we present linguistic evidence for different motivations of the main alignment splits developed in the past history of the Tupian languages of Group II. These indications, as will be argued, constitute additional support to the hypothesis of a Guaporé-Aripuanã Tupian center of dispersion.
A cross-linguistic look at free relatives helps to address the open issue of the semantic contribution of wh- words. In particular, the semantic properties of free relatives show that wh- words do not behave like quantified expressions. First, the wh- words that occur in free relatives are not related with, derived from or homophonous with wh- words in constituent interrogatives, but they are exactly the same lexical items. Evidence comes from morphology and syntactic distribution. Second, no correct semantic interpretation for free relatives can be derived if wh- words are assumed to be existentially or universally quantified expressions. This holds cross-linguistically for different language families. A nonexhaustive list of languages that have free relatives includes Germanic, Romance, Slavic, and Modern Greek among Indo-European; Modern Hebrew among Semitic; and Hungarian and Estonian among Finno-Ugric.

Katy Carlson (Northwestern University)  
Parallelism in the phonetic realization of H* accents: Perception & production results

Parallelism between NPs affects the interpretation of ellipsis sentences, e.g. *Ben defended a murderer in court, not Jack*. Specifically, the preferred meaning of the sentence depends on similarities between first-clause NPs and the remnant, *Jack*, in lexical properties or presence of pitch accents (Carlson 2002). Four auditory studies explored whether similarity in the gradient phonetic realization of pitch accents (Gussenhoven 1999) could also create effective parallelism. An auditory questionnaire tested H* pitch accents on the remnant and either the first-clause subject or object, in matching or different pitch ranges. Pitch accent placement was most important, but H* accents matching in pitch range communicated each intended interpretation more effectively than nonmatching H* accents (p < .05). Naïve speakers producing ellipsis sentences in disambiguating contexts also varied the relative prominence of first-clause arguments. Two perception experiments using these productions, however, showed successful identification of a rendition's meaning (75%) only for the speaker who used identical pitch accents and similar pitch range on contrasting NPs, vs 59% for speakers who varied prominence less or used different pitch accents. Thus pitch range parallelism caused by the phonetic realization of pitch accents is only useful when identical pitch accents already highlight the relevant NPs.

Wallace Chafe (University of California-Santa Barbara)  
Learning to spell

In the course of many years of recording the Seneca language, I have written it in many different ways. Over time, I have been increasingly influenced by the intuitions of native speakers, realizing that they can teach us important things about the nature, not only of this language, but of language in general. In the beginning, I was guided by the doctrine that a language should be written phonemically or even morphophonemically, a doctrine that rejects the marking of anything in language that is redundant. Since language is, for good reason, full of redundancies, there seems little justification for such a constraint. As further adjustments in orthography have become desirable, they have shed light on a variety of changes that have taken place in the language during the last half century, a time during which differences between slow and fast speech have been reduced to fast speech as the norm. Important questions have also arisen with regard to the appropriate way to record differences between words in isolation and words in context, between standardized spellings and spellings that capture what people actually say, issues that have an important bearing on text preservation in written form.

Becky Childs (North Carolina State University)  
Christine Mallinson (North Carolina State University)  
The regional alignment of African American English in the Smoky Mountains

Recent studies of bi-ethnic enclave dialect communities in the South suggest that earlier versions of African American speech both accommodated local dialect norms and exhibited a persistent substratal effect from the early African-European contact situation. Our presentation extends the analysis to examine Texana, NC’s largest community of African Americans in the Smoky Mountain region of Appalachia; we examine the extent to which African Americans share the local dialect with cohort European Americans and what this reflects about the status of earlier African American English (AAE) in Appalachia by considering key phonological and morphosyntactic variables. As has been found in previous studies of enclave dialect communities, data from older Texana residents both confirms the regional accommodation of earlier AAE and points toward a substrate influence in the historical development of African American Vernacular English (AAVE). In contrast to what was expected for Texana’s younger residents, analyses indicate that their dialect is not aligning with a supraregional norm of AAVE but rather is accommodating to a more Southern English norm. We discuss how sociological and sociopsychological factors may be influencing the direction of language change for these young African Americans.
The frequency of phonemes, morphemes, & words in Athabaskan text

The frequency of phonemes, morphemes, and words in text provides useful information for dictionary building and also for analysis. Using a model web-based dictionary database for Athabaskan languages, we show how the frequency of phonemes can be exploited in producing dictionaries and educational materials in printed and digital versions and demonstrate the usefulness of sound frequencies for language analysis.

Commitment & confidence in futurates

A futurate is a sentence with unexpected future reference and in which unplannable eventualities are generally unacceptable (Lakoff 1971, Prince 1971):

(1) The Braves (are) play(ing)/#win(ning) tomorrow.

Futurates seem to assert that there is a plan for the eventuality to happen. But if that is all, 2a should say that the speaker doubts that there is a plan for it to rain tomorrow, and 2b should be noncontradictory.

(2) a. #I doubt it is raining tomorrow.
   b. #The Braves are playing tomorrow, but they won't.

While some existing analyses (Dowty 1979, Cipria & Roberts 2001) account for 2a, they do not account for the speaker's confidence, in 2a, that the Braves will play. Our analysis: Futurates presuppose that there is an entity (contextually provided) with the ability to ensure that an eventuality of the kind that can be described by the proposition occurs. This presupposition accounts for 2a. Futurates also assert that the entity is committed to such an eventuality happening. The proposed presupposition and assertion together entail that such an eventuality will happen, explaining 2b. We turn to the question of how this meaning maps to the morphosyntax. The progressive operator has been implicated in futurate meaning since Dowty 1979. We detail how the meaning above relates to the meaning of nonfuturate progressives and how nonprogressive futurates might be accounted for in a parallel manner with the generic operator. Finally, we show that in at least some cases, the entity in question is visible to the syntax.

A historical & psycholinguistic investigation of phonaesthesia

Phonaesthesia has been described as a type of conventional sound symbolism whereby phonemes, clusters, or syllables are associated with a sublexical meaning. We investigate this phenomenon from both historical and psycholinguistic perspectives in order to better understand the status of phonaesthemes within the lexicon. A historical analysis of the phonaesthemes sl- (slimy, slippery) and gl- (glitter, glisten) from Proto-Indo-European into Modern English showed that the central members of the proposed phonaesthetic categories were descended from either a single Indo-European root or a small group of related roots. These results revealed that etymology can explain the relatedness among phonaesthetic words. Similarly, there was no indication within the historical record that categories specific to the semantics of the phonaesthemes had developed. While the historical analysis suggests that the phonaesthemes may not have any iconic or otherwise ‘special’ status in the lexicon, synchronic empirical tasks examined whether speakers categorize phonaesthetic words as different from those sharing only word-level semantics or only phonology. Preliminary results suggest that the phonaesthetic words are simply categorized as semantically related words. The combination of historical and empirical results discredits iconic explanations of phonaesthesia and helps to more clearly reveal its status in lexical organization.

Children's use of referential context in parsing

Recent on-line studies have focused on children's use of referential context in sentences like:

(1) Put the frog on the napkin into the box.

The first PP can be interpreted as the destination of the action, or as a modifier, indicating which frog to move. If there are two frogs in the context, one on a napkin and one not, then adults interpret the initial PP as a modifier, but children do not. Researchers have concluded that children are less sensitive to contextual cues than adults. However, children's failure to use referential cues may be due to their premature execution of response plans. It is possible that children take 'on the napkin' to refer to a destination, and execute this action, inferring that the frog off of a napkin should be moved. If so, children's responses could be eliminated if they cannot execute this plan before the sentence is completed or if both frogs are on napkins. An act-out task implementing both changes in design was conducted with 22 children. Children performed like adults 96% of the time suggesting that children's failure to use referential information in previous research was due to their tendency to execute response plans on-the-fly.
Mily Crevels (University of Nijmegen)  
*Verbal number in Itonama*  

Itonama is an unclassified indigenous language spoken by a few elders in Amazonian Bolivia. Apart from a few exceptions, number seems to be a verbal category. We give an initial account of the Itonama verbal number system, its ways of expressing event number—using a distributive marker (1a, 1b) or modifying the stem through reduplication (2)—as well as participant number, e.g. using different verbs (3a, 3b).

(1) a. Wase’wasi-makï uwa’ka k’a-dïlï ubuwa.  
yesterday 1SG-give meat DEM:DIS-CL person  
‘Yesterday I gave those persons meat.’

b. Wase’wasi-makï-he uwa’ka k’a-dïlï ubuwa.  
yesterday 1SG-give-DISTR meat DEM:DIS-CL person  
‘Yesterday I gave each of those persons meat.’

(2) Ohni ø-ni-su-hu-suh-ne, ø-kay-chadi-ne-’o.  
he 3-foot-smell-INT-RED-TMA 3-face-find-TMA-ITE  
‘He kept smelling his tracks and got him again.’

(3) a. Ahmay-sewa-na tyahka’kahka wa’ihna ø-oli’-na.  
3:SUB-see-TMA moon DM 3-fall:SG-TMA  
‘When he saw the moon, he fell.’

b. Ispi’i ø-soloh-ke wanu’we.  
almost 3-fall:PL-TMA water  
‘They almost fell into the water.’

Katherine Crosswhite (University of Rochester)  
*Cues to word length: F2 in onset-embedded words*

Onset-embedded word pairs such as *doll-dolphin* or *pan-panda* have played a central role in the development of models for spoken word recognition (Cohort, Trace) because under strictly phoneme-based approaches, the shorter word cannot be uniquely identified until after it has ended. However, recent research using priming and eye-tracking methodologies has shown that listeners begin to disambiguate such pairs before the end of the overlapping syllable. Vowel length has been suggested as a phonetic cue that could be used to make early predictions about word length in such cases, helping to explain these results. This explanation is possible because vowels are longer in monosyllables like *pan* than in longer words like *panda*. However, total vowel duration cannot be calculated until the end of the vowel is encountered, making this cue available only late in the first syllable. We present results of an acoustic study of embedded word pairs that investigates acoustic differences that are tied to vowel duration, and therefore also to word length, but which can be evaluated early. These include both static and dynamic F2 information such as degree of undershoot and shape of the formant trajectory.

Patricia Cukor-Avila (University of North Texas)  
**Aubrey Hargis (University of North Texas)**  
*Behind the magic screen: Cultural values & linguistic prejudice*

Recent studies on animated film suggest that the link between language variety and/or accent of the characters and the cultural and behavioral norms associated with certain races, ethnicities, and national origins is often discriminatory and misleading (Lippi-Green 1997: 101). Lippi-Green notes that 90% of all characters in Disney movies have American or British accents; these characters are typically 'good', with the exception of characters who speak socially stigmatized varieties of English. The representation of foreign-accented characters is far more negative than that of those who speak English natively. Language attitude research suggests that both adults and children make judgments about a person's social attractiveness and competence based on accent alone, even as young as age 5 (Giles, et. al. 1983). In light of this finding, Lippi-Green (1997: 85) argues that animated films 'teach children to associate specific characteristics and life styles with specific social groups by means of language variation'. We investigated Lippi-Green's hypothesis using a computer-based survey designed to test the language attitudes of a random sample of 7- to 12 year-old children. Respondents listened to recordings of speakers with various accents in English reading a short passage. They then rated speakers on social attractiveness and competence characteristics and chose 'life positions' for each speaker, such as king, cook, thief, or waiter. Respondents also answered a series of questions to determine movie-watching habits and exposure to nonnative accents. Preliminary results support Lippi-Green's suggestion of a correlation between viewing animated movies and negative attitudes towards accented English.
Linda Cumberland (Indiana University)

Assiniboine is a member of the Sioux-Assiniboine-Stoney dialect continuum (Parks & DeMallie 1992). Drawing on a corpus of over 700 reduplicated forms in Assiniboine, we describe the phonological processes by which reduplicated forms are derived, how these forms relate to the morphology, and their range of semantic functions. We also briefly compare these processes to published accounts of reduplication in Sioux (Lakota/Dakota) and identify those aspects of Assiniboine reduplication that appear to be unique.

Cecilia Cutler (New York University)

Habitual does be in the Turks & Caicos Islands: Further evidence for decreolization as the source for habitual be in AAVE

We revisit the debate on the provenance of the habitual marker be in African American Vernacular English (AAVE) by introducing data from the Turks and Caicos Islands (TCI) in the British West Indies. No prior linguistic research has been carried out in the TCI although neighboring varieties in the Bahamas have been described by Shilling 1980, Holm and Hackert 1996, and others. The first portion of our paper presents a brief overview of the historical and sociolinguistic situation in the TCI. The linguistic portion, drawn from data collected in 1997, focuses specifically on the habitual marker does be in the speech of Turks Islanders. Habitual does be and related forms are also found in Bajan Creole, Guyanese Creole, Trinidadian Creole, and Gullah. Rickford 1986 proposed that habitual be found in AAVE but not in Anglophone varieties of English represents a decreolized form of the West Indian basilectal (da). According to this theory, da gives way to does (in mesolectal varieties), followed by the insertion of be as in does be. Eventually does is reduced to [z] or [z] and the subsequent deletion of [z] leaves be all by itself (Rickford 1986:268-71). The evidence for this idea comes from the variation Rickford observed in Gullah where 'does (be) is used as a marker of habitual aspect among adults over 60; but zero (before noncontinuative verbs) and be (before nominals, locatives, adjectives, and VERB + ing) are used instead by the youngest generation' (1986:271). The data from the TCI provide additional evidence for Rickford's conception of how habitual be may have emerged in AAVE. Older and young speakers in the TCI mark habitual aspect by way of [z] be as in examples 1-3. The form [z] be occurs with NPs, adjectives, locatives, and Ving. The form [z] occurs with noncontinuative verbs. However, only younger speakers use be alone as a habitual marker (see 4 and 5).

1) Mr. T, age 94: It z be hotter.
2) Miss A, age 75: I z be invited out as they know it's only me.
3) Miss D, age 20: We z get it late.
4) Miss G, age 18: She be goin' there.
5) Miss D, age 20: Rest of the churches, established churches be fun.

These data point to a change in progress that directly parallels what happened in Gullah, thereby providing independent corroboration of Rickford's hypothesis that a similar process gave rise to the habitual marker be in AAVE.

Danielle E. Cyr (York University)

Electronic Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Contemporary Mìgmaq: A case study

We provide a critical analysis of the challenges that the linguists face in the task of making a bilingual dictionary for an endangered language. The case being studied is that of the construction of the Electronic Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Contemporary Mìgmaq (Cyr, Metallic, & Sévigny, forthcoming). To reinforce and preserve an endangered culture/language (Mìgmaq) by means of a dominant language (English) is a delicate and complicated task. It is crucial that the content come from a native perspective so that any question of cultural appropriation or undue influence be avoided. While academics are interested in scholarly/theoretical advancement, the Mìgmaq priorities determining the style of discourse are its pedagogical usefulness and its authenticity in capturing the past and contemporary experience as it is construed through their language. This means the inclusion--as much as possible--of background encyclopaedic and cultural-inferential information in the lexical entries. Tapping into the reasoning processes is necessary to capture the unique ways in which the linguistic decoding of a Mìgmaq utterance is enriched by culturally-conditioned encyclopaedic and conceptual information. Challenges and consequences will be discussed through examples and analysis from our forthcoming dictionary.

Lisa Davidson (Johns Hopkins University)

The role of gestural coordination in Zoque palatal coalescence

Recent research showing that the temporal coordination of gestures is governed by the grammar (Gafos 2002) is extended to an analysis of Zoque palatal coalescence. In Zoque, whenever /j/ is in contact with a noncoronal consonant, secondary palatalization occurs, whereas contact with an alveolar gives rise to an alveopalatal. Previous accounts have examined specific cases of palatal coalescence in Zoque but have failed to recognize the generalization that palatals coalesce with adjacent consonants regardless of the environment (Wondeyler 1951, Akinlabi 1996, Hall 2000). A unified account of this observation can be developed within a gestural coordination framework in which the timing relationship between consonants and following vowels is controlled by the alignment constraint CV-COORD(ination). The segment /j/ forms a coordination relationship with the following vowel to satisfy ASSOC(iate)-
CV, which requires the creation of a timing relationship between a consonant gestures and a following vowel. Coalescence of the palatal and following consonant occurs because the only way two prevocalic consonantal gestures can both satisfy CV-COORD is by fully overlapping one another. The consequences of independent facts about Zoque on the gestural analysis, such as the existence of an alveopalatal consonant series and an OCP restriction on adjacent palatals, are also examined.

Catherine Evans Davies (University of Alabama-Tuscaloosa) (Session 25)
Linguistic ecology & the construction of sociocultural identity: Discourse communities of a southern American university

We examine the linguistic ecology of a southern American university community through interviews and participant observation from a 'constructionist' theoretical perspective (Ochs 1993). This perspective highlights the role that communicative phenomena play in the production and reproduction of sociocultural identity, as mediated by: (1) the degree to which interlocutors share interpretive conventions, (2) the degree to which they share a history which links acts and stances to a particular identity, and (3) their differential capability of 'ratifying' sociocultural identity. Institutional entities oriented to the teaching of English, groups defined by variety of English spoken, and cross-discourse-community interactions are examined from this perspective within the general framework of interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982). The analysis draws simultaneously on microanalyses of interactions between members of different discourse communities and a macroanalysis of discourse communities within the linguistic ecology of the university community itself. The study reveals that notions of prestige (overt and covert) and stigma are heterogeneous, do not constitute even shared knowledge let alone shared norms, and may be situationally interpreted as part of the co-construction of sociocultural identity. Thus, in a sense, each individual inhabits a different 'world' in the same situated context and the notion of sociocultural identity is revealed as a complex construction based in inferential processes. The study highlights the need for enlightened exposure to linguistic variety in language programs, i.e. a descriptive approach which emphasizes the role of linguistic variation in the representation of sociocultural identity and also the importance and the sociopolitical nature of prescriptive judgments about language.

Stuart Davis (Indiana University) (Session 30)
Francis Lieber & the term 'holophrastic' as applied to the Indian languages of America

The term 'holophrastic' refers to the expressing of a whole phrase or combination of ideas by a single word. In the mid to late 19th century, the word was used by linguists such as William Dwight Whitney and Daniel Brinton to describe the polysynthetic character of many of the native American languages. The earliest attestation of the term given in the OED is 1860. However, as Andresen (1990:118) points out, Francis Lieber first introduced the term in an 1837 article (Southern Literary Messenger) where he argued that holophrastic is preferable topolysynthesis, the term John Pickering used in his 1830 article on the 'Indian Languages of America'. After first presenting background on Francis Lieber, we trace Lieber's use of holophrastic in his 1837 article and in some of his unpublished writings. Our main focus is on an 1851 exchange of letters between Lieber and Henry Schoolcraft, the noted scholar on American Indian languages and customs. It is in these letters that Lieber details why he coined the term holophrastic and makes clear why he views the term as preferable to either polysynthetic or agglutinative to characterize native American languages.

Hope C. Dawson (Ohio State University) (Session 39)
The equative copula in Sranan Tongo

This paper investigates the distribution of the copula forms na/a and de in equative structures in Sranan Tongo. While each of these forms has exclusive occurrence in other environments, variation between the two occurs in the simple present of equatives. The analysis is based on contemporary data taken from conversations recorded in Paramaribo and rural communities in Coronie, Suriname, in 1994-95, which were analyzed with special regard to the use and distribution of the copulas. In the data set, 95 relevant structures were found, with de appearing in seven of them and na/a in the remaining 88. The patterns of occurrence of na/a and de in this data set are compared and contrasted with previous accounts of their distribution such as those found in Favary et al. 1976, Arends 1986, and Winford 1997. The prediction made by Arends is that de should appear in attributive and na/a in identificational equatives, but this cannot fully account for the data seen here. Data from a native speaker informant help to shed light on this issue, clarifying the more subtle distinctions being made by the choice of the copula form and the potential connections between these and other uses of na/a and de.

Kenneth de Jong (Indiana University) (Session 20)
Kyoko Okamura (Indiana University)
Byung-jin Lim (Indiana University)
The phonetics of resyllabification in English & Arabic speech

Stetson 1951 and Tuller and Kelso 1991 reported a speech production phenomenon called rate-induced resyllabification, in which repeated coda consonants shift in affiliation to a following vowel, thus, apparently becoming onset consonants. Tuller and Kelso model this shift in terms of glottal-to-oral coordination. We pursue the question as to whether the rate-induced resyllabification effect generalizes from English to Arabic. A speaker of American English and a speaker of Jordanian Arabic repeated syllables in time to astastically varied metronome. Glottal movement was recorded using endoscopic glottal transillumination. The English speaker...
shows a juncture-marking glottal stop at slow rates which gets replaced by a devoicing gesture in the same location at fast rates. The Arabic speaker tends to keep onset glottal stops even at fast rates and also tends to introduce a glottal abduction in coda position. Both of these effects implicate the use of glottal movements as paradigmatic consonants and the prevalence of a canonical CVC syllabic structure in Arabic. Hence, while there are preferred modes in glottal-to-oral coordination, the connection of these modes to syllabic structure appears to be mediated by the languages' use of glottal actions for linguistic function. [Work supported by NSF and NIDCD.]

Scott DeLancey (University of Oregon)

Semantic patterns in bipartite stems in Klamath & Sahaptin

Research over the last generation has documented a wide range of patterns of combination of two (or more) predicates, ranging from simple conjoined or chained clauses on the one hand to complete lexicalization on the other, and correspondingly from syntactic to morphological structures. Close to the lexical end of the continuum is the 'bipartite stem' pattern found in a number of geographically connected languages in western North America (DeLancey 1996). Several semantic patterns of combination can be identified among the hundreds of bipartite stems in any given language, but three robust patterns characterize the vast majority of the bipartite stems, and determine the morphosyntactic system which produces the bipartite stems. These are (with Klamath examples):

- **Manner of motion + locative directive:** lol-odiil- 'pl. stand underneath'
- **Nominal category + locative directive:** ks-odiil- 'living thing underneath'
- **Manner of action + resultant change-of-state:** p'ac'- 'go blind'

Francesca Del Gobbo (University of California-Irvine)

On the interpretation of prenominal relative clauses

Prenominal relatives have been claimed to make no formal distinction between restrictive and appositive interpretation (Andrews 1985). We analyze Chinese prenominal relatives and show that syntactically and semantically they behave like restrictives (evidence from binding, long-distance anaphora, sentential adverbs and presupposition tests). We account for this by analyzing appositives as E-type anaphora (Sells 1985, Demirdache 1991): Appositives are independent sentences (type t), where the relative pronoun is E-type. As for proper names and pronouns modified by restrictives, their interpretation comes about through a strategy of intersection of the predicate denoted by the relative with 'stages' of the individual denoted by the proper name or the pronoun (see Paul 1994).

Gerald Dempsey (City University of New York-Graduate Center)

Consonant lengthening in Icelandic

Preaspiration prevents long aspirated stops from surfacing in Icelandic. Instead, an underlying geminate aspirated stop is pronounced as a two-segment sequence of [h] plus the singleton stop in unaspirated form. This phenomenon has long resisted explanation under the one-root theory of geminates (Hayes 1989), whereby underlyingly mora-bearing consonants are associated with a single root node. Ringen 1999 did appear to have solved the problem by presenting a one-root model of Icelandic preaspiration in the context of optimality theory, but a phonological process not examined in that analysis 'stop gemination' provides evidence that Ringen's one-root account is untenable. We provide independent phonological and phonetic evidence that stop gemination does in fact occur in Icelandic.

Consonant lengthening impacts Icelandic phonology in two ways. First, it explains how two seemingly unrelated underlying representations appear to give rise to preaspiration: Taking stop gemination into account, preaspiration can be seen simply as the surface form of an underlying long aspirated stop. Second, the existence of stop gemination quashes Ringen's 1999 analysis, thereby eliminating the last remaining attempt to describe preaspiration under the one-root theory, and leaving the two-root theory (Selkirk 1990) as the only model that successfully captures Icelandic preaspiration.

Willem J. de Reuse (University of North Texas)

Lessons from the history of Western Apache lexicography

Western Apache (WA), a Southern Athabaskan language of central and eastern Arizona, is one of the least documented languages of the Southwest, from a lexicographic point of view. This is due to the mistaken conception that WA is almost identical to the superbly documented Navajo, as well as to alphabetization difficulties due to the complex structure of the Athabaskan verb word. Lexicographers working on WA have generally avoided the second issue by producing English-WA dictionaries only. We survey the existing efforts at WA dictionary writing, departing from the earliest word lists by US military and government agents, through the manuscript by Uplegger, a Lutheran missionary (+1964), the manuscript notes by Hoijer (1936), and to the first published works, both inspired by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (White Mountain Apache Culture Center 1972, Bray, ed. 1998). Some of these works are textbook cases of how not to compile an Athabaskan dictionary. Nevertheless, in spite of the unsatisfactory nature of this documentation, a careful philological analysis reveals that each item is interesting in its own way. Some of the interesting features revealed and exemplified here include early linguistic taboos; traditional esoteric terminology, now largely lost; thoughtful and imaginative Christian and other neologisms; precious full verb paradigms; and ingenious writing systems hinting at a phonetic distinction between mid and high tones, not represented in the SIL spelling, but which has since been confirmed instrumentally. It is clear that the earlier work needs to be fully taken into consideration in the production of a truly comprehensive and scientific dictionary of WA.
Connie Dickinson (University of Oregon)

The formation of complex predicates in Tsafiki (Colorado)

Tsafiki, a Barbacoan language spoken in the western lowlands of Ecuador, has a type of complex predicate formation similar to those found in some of the Northern languages of Australia. In this type of system, the complex predicates consist of an inflecting verb from a closed class (generic verb) and a noninflecting element from an open class (coverb) that jointly determine the semantic interpretation and morphosyntactic structure of a single clause. The coverb is a neutral element. It can function as a nominal if suffixed with a nominalizing suffix or it can function as a predicate when combined with a generic verb. In addition, many of the coverbs can function as ideophones. The generic verbs can also occur as the sole predicating element in the clause. We adopt an approach in which both elements of the complex predicate are considered to be relational, jointly contributing semantic participants and determining the syntactic structure of the clause. This approach allows for ‘argument fusion’ or ‘argument sharing’, i.e. more than one semantic participant may converge on a single argument position. We briefly compare these constructions with other types of clauses in Tsafiki including complement clauses, periphrastic causatives, switch-reference clauses, adverbials, resultatives, and secondary predicates, all of which exhibit morphosyntactic patterns distinct from the complex predicates which are the focus of this paper.

Ivy Doak (University of North Texas)

The Coeur d’Alene dictionaries: Resources, writing systems, & regularization

The aim of the Coeur d’Alene Dictionaries Project is to produce a learners’ dictionary, which will provide easy look-up of words in the tribe’s official orthography; and a scholars’ dictionary, which will provide easy look-up of words and analyses in linguistic phonetic transcription. Both dictionaries will be derived from a common database which is being compiled from all available sources and will be fully cross-referenced. The main resources for the dictionary database are audiorecorded interviews with native speakers; other resources include an array of published and unpublished works by various authors, each of whom chooses a unique transcription system. The linguistic phonetic orthography and the official orthography both have elements of arbitrariness. We discuss the problems encountered, and some solutions reached, in providing a regular and accurate transcription of all lexical items in the tribe’s official orthography—which omits schwa and has inconsistent representation of reduced vowels and stress—and in producing linguistic phonetic transcriptions that are simple, accurate, and consistent, and will contribute to the tribal efforts of language revival.

Robin Dodsworth (Ohio State University)*

Dimensions of deictic reference: A use of here

In some dialects of English, a use of here (hereafter here2) occurring only sentence-finally appears to have temporal and spatial deictic reference simultaneously. Yet several facts indicate that spatial and temporal conditions alone cannot account for here2’s pragmatic distribution. Accordingly, this analysis accounts for its distribution through three conditions on propositions expressed by utterances containing here2: They must be discourse new, have relevance for the speaker in the immediate situation, and reflect assessment or judgment of perceptual data. Spatial and temporal reference is derived from these conditions. Further, here2 lies in opposition to a parallel use of there. This opposition supports the claim that spatial and temporal distance can be secondary, rather than primary, dimensions of deictic systems (Matras 1998). Further, it upholds and augments Lyons’s (1977) conception of deixis as a system of coordinates, not limited to the dimensions of space and time, by demonstrating that speaker relevance and degree of data assessment can be dimensions of the system. Finally, by virtue of requiring assessment of perceptual data, this opposition is an evidential strategy indicating the speaker’s source of information and the modality by which the information was gained.

John P. Dyson (Indiana University)

Kettles, metals, & killing: A Spanish source for a Choctaw/Chickasaw war title

A peculiar category of warrior is well-documented among the Choctaw and Chickasaw in the early to mid-1700s, and its name, soonak abi’, has long been translated as ‘he who kills a person carrying a kettle’. The variously pronounced Choctaw/Chickasaw soonak and its cognates in a half-dozen Muskogean languages and in Mobilian jargon have meanings ranging from kettle to pot to pan to can, from assorted metals (tin, brass, copper, steel, iron) to coinage and to money in general. A previously proposed etymology of soonak traced its origin to dialectal Mexican jola (small change) and to the Peruvian monetary unit, the sol, by way of Algonquian. I argue instead that while the term does have a Hispanic origin, its source is rather a native misapplication of the Spanish noun sonaja ‘jingle’, borrowed by Muskogean Indians of the southern interior as early as the time of De Soto to describe refined metal in general and steel armor or weaponry in particular. Soonak abi’, therefore, will have once designated a class of warriors who had killed an armored Spanish foe. The memory of that original meaning faded during the 150-year interval without further European contact, but the renown of those early Choctaw and Chickasaw combatants was preserved in the survival of an esteemed war title.
Omaha is rich in particles which serve multiple functions depending on context and syntax. Though simple homophony would be easiest to posit as the link between the varying uses of a given form, much evidence exists that the relationship is far from arbitrary. Rankin 1976 has shown the verbs ‘sit’, ‘stand’ and ‘lie’ go through processes of grammaticalization to form auxiliaries, articles, and then auxiliaries again in various Siouan languages. This describes the grammaticalization of three of the Omaha articles quite well. However, Omaha has ten articles total, and all of them exhibit at least some degree of multiple functioning. We elucidate the grammaticalization pathway for the Omaha article *ama*. *Ama* functions as the definite article for agentive arguments that are either plural or in motion. It also functions as an auxiliary and the quotative evidential. As phrase final elements, these forms can be seen to be related through syntax. Although these forms may seem semantically unrelated, a closer analysis which takes into account both narrative and nonnarrative uses of the article and evidential uses shows their relatedness. We incorporate our original fieldwork, exploring both naturalistic, narrative and nonnarrative isolated phrases, translations, and conversation to fully develop the different discourse-grounded semantic uses of *ama*. Just as for the three articles in Rankin, a grammaticalization pathway is found, here leading from auxiliary to article to evidential.

**Ardis Eschenberg** (University at Buffalo-SUNY)  
*The grammaticalization of *ama* in Omaha*  
(Session 45)

Palatalization, a prominent feature of Russian, is linked phonetically to consonants (Boyanus 1955). However, in some analyses, vowels primarily specify palatalization, where front vowels specify a preceding consonant as palatalized and back vowels specify a preceding consonant as non-palatalized (Farina 1991). This poster presents the results of an experiment using tongue twisters to elicit slips of the tongue in Russian. The slips did not support that palatalization is a function of the vowel. In errors, palatalized consonants substituted for nonpalatalized consonants before back vowels, and nonpalatalized consonants replaced palatalized consonants before front vowels. Also, a back vowel replaced a front vowel, and the preceding consonant remained palatalized. However, when the consonants were /l/ and /r/, palatalization did not consistently move with the consonant it was linked with. This can be explained by the fact that liquids pattern like vowels for palatalization. Errors in larger units, such as the syllable [lot] which was realized as [tol], [to], [tol], and [to], support an autosegmental view (Goldsmith 1974) where palatalization is a feature of a consonant which can link, delink, relink, and spread to other segments. This poster presents the experiment, its results, and the analysis which accounts for these results.

**Betsy Evans** (Cardiff University)  
**Peter Garrett** (Cardiff University)  
**Angie Williams** (Cardiff University)  
*The 'grand daddy of English': US, UK, & Australian students' attitudes towards varieties of English*  
(Session 21)

In order to gain an understanding of the status and awareness of different varieties of English around the world, university students in a variety of countries were asked to respond to the questions: 'Name countries around the world where you know English is spoken as a native language.' 'What kind of impression to you get when you hear these varieties?' We focus on the results analyzed so far which are from the British, American, and Australian students. The answers were content analyzed, counted, and classified into categories. Our results contrast sharply with experimental type studies conducted by Bayard et al (2001) in which respondents rated US English more positively on a variety of trait dimensions than Australian or New Zealand English. Our results show some similarities in attitudes among the British, American, and Australian students in their perceptions of varieties of English other than their own, indicating some unanimity, while the local experience of the respondents is certainly visible. The students are in agreement on certain varieties while opinions of others reflect differentially perceived power structures and social influence. For example, the majority of British students’ comments about American English were negative while American students showed striking deference to British varieties of English. We find that comments from US respondents on British English such as Granddaddy of English’, indicating that British English is the most correct, are especially intriguing in light of Preston's (1996) evidence that these particular US respondents are among the most linguistically secure in the US. Their deference highlights the complexity of linguistic attitude research and the notion of linguistic security in the global realm.

**Nicholas Faracals** (University of Puerto Rico/University of Papua New Guinea)  
*Underspecification' & multifunctionality in Nigerian Pidgin, Tok Pisin, & their substrate languages*  
(Session 34)

Multifunctionality (i.e. the assignment of more than one grammatical function to a single lexical item) is described and analyzed in Nigerian Pidgin (NP), Tok Pisin (TP), and their substrate languages. The results generally support Lefebvre's (2001) conclusions that: (1) Multifunctionality is widespread in pidgins and creoles, as well as in many other languages. (2) Instances of multifunctionality and 'grammaticalization' in pidgins and creoles are often the result of the transfer of multifunctional lexical items from their substrates. The NP, TP, and substrate evidence however, leads us to question a few of the assumptions made by Levebvre and some of the authors.
she cites in support of her otherwise very valid proposals. For example, Lefebvre uses the term 'underspecified' to characterize multifunctional lexical items. In NP, TP, and many of their substrates, most words seem to be multifunctional so that, in fact, the colonial plantation creole superstrate languages, where most lexical items are fully specified for features such as [+N] and [+V], may themselves be exceptional, rather than representing the norm. If this is true, multifunctional words should not be termed 'underspecified'; instead nonmultifunctional words should be referred to as being 'overspecified'. Furthermore, there is no need to assume that multifunctional words had undergone grammaticalization in the substrates before being transferred into contact varieties and eventually triggering processes of grammaticalization in pidgins and creoles.

Guanjun Feng (University of Southern California)  
Verb vs adjective reduplication in Mandarin

We address the two reduplication patterns in Mandarin Chinese where a disyllabic verb in the form of /AB/ is reduplicated as [ABAB] while a disyllabic adjective in the form of /AB/ is reduplicated as [AABB]. Chen 2000 claims that Chinese minimal rhythmic unit (MRU) is structured disyllabically. Both [ABAB] and [AABB] have a prosodic structure of (ss)(ss). Based on the difference between [AABB] and [ABAB] in their tone sandhi behaviors, the morphological structure for [ABAB] is claimed to be the same as its phonological structure. However, the morphological structure for [AABB] is misaligned with its phonological structure. The different prioritization of LINEARITY with respect to the alignment constraints (ALIGN(Verb, MRU) and ALIGN(Adjective, MRU): Align the edges of the verb/adjective morpheme with the edges of MRU) explains their different reduplication patterns. The higher priority given to LINEARITY in adjective reduplication produces the rarely seen pattern of circumfixing reduplication [AABB].

Fernanda Ferreira (Bridgewater State College)  
A linguistic time capsule: Plural /s/ reduction in Afro-Portuguese & Afro-Hispanic texts

Historical texts are used to circumvent the problem of dating consonant reduction before the advent of recording technology. Although there are limitations to the use of written data as evidence of phonological change (i.e. the lack of prosodic information), most of the vocalic and consonantal modifications made by Hispanic authors who attempted to represent Black speech are orthographically clear (epenthetic processes for example). As far as the marking of plurality is concerned, identifying possible change is achieved by determining the presence or lack of the morpheme in noun phrases. We investigate selections of African-Hispanic and Afro-Portuguese texts from the 15th to the 19th centuries. Analyses show that in Afro-Portuguese texts the most frequent pattern of plurality is a numeral adjective (or a determiner marked for plurality) followed by elements lacking plural markers. Selections from Spain's Golden Age literature show that there is more variation in Afro-Hispanic texts, where other elements of the noun phrase are often marked for plural. Thus, an overall distinction between Afro-Portuguese and Afro-Hispanic texts emerges. None of the examples from Afro-Hispanic texts show a S-O pattern while most Afro-Portuguese literary examples include that very pattern. The information gathered from these textual analyses points to substantial differences between representations of Black speech in these two languages, which in turn may reflect distinctions in the speech of African-born speakers of Portuguese and Spanish.

Colleen M. Fitzgerald (Texas Tech University)  
Rhythmic control in Tohono O'odham

Tohono O'odham is a Uto-Aztec language (also known as Papago). To support our claim that all areas of the O'odham language show the strong influence of rhythm, we examine rhythmic control in four domains: words, narratives, traditional songs, and modern poetry. Early work on O'odham noted that primary stress falls word-initially. The stress pattern is trochaic, with a strong/weak (stressed/unstressed) alternation of syllables. Rhythm shapes the phonology of words, but even more interesting, is the proposal that rhythm is a force to be reckoned with beyond the phonology. We argue that gradient rhythmic effects also emerge in syntax, verse, and discourse. This can be seen in comparing different discourse genres: traditional songs, modern poetry, and narratives. All three genres systematically avoid initial strong/strong sequences. However, the distributions of trochaic patterns vary by genre. For example, trochees begin lines more often in songs than in poetry and narratives. An account of these facts cannot rely solely on syntax. The claim here is that rhythmic control is found in O'odham words, prose, and poetry; rhythm shapes the word order patterns. The resulting picture is one where rhythm permeates all aspects of language use in a given language.

Beverly Olson Flanigan (Ohio University)  
Teaching American dialects: Bringing scholarship to the schools

Textbooks presently available for teaching American English dialects, though varied in scope and audience design, fail to fully engage young students, who need to see explicit links between scholarly work and the real world of language use. Classroom instruction must apply scholarship to the speech community of friends, family, and hometown if it is to promote dialect awareness and tolerance of other ways of speaking. Recently I have participated in workshops for high school teachers in an attempt to talk about real language issues and their implications for teaching. One, on the Ebonics controversy of the late 1990s, dealt with misunderstandings surrounding the use of African American English in the schools; another focused on similarities between the Englishes of Africa and American Black English (in a workshop for South African teachers). Finally, in a summer institute on Appalachian literature for high
school teachers, we compared Appalachian English with other varieties and looked at its use in fiction and film. Using such text- and film-based activities would encourage more interest in traditional undergraduate courses as well as in high school classes. Collecting oral histories; exploring ethnic and linguistic roots in hometown and family; and doing archival research in letters, diaries, folklore, and music are other possibilities for extending dialect study beyond the classroom. Examples from my own undergraduate classes and from work done in local schools by my graduate students will be presented.

**Alexander L. Francis** (University of Hong Kong/Purdue University)  
**Valter Ciocca** (University of Hong Kong)  
**Elaine Eramela** (University of Hong Kong)  
*Duration of context limits talker normalization in Cantonese tone perception*

We designed this study to determine the optimal amount of extrinsic context listeners use for talker normalization in the perception of Cantonese lexical tones. Listeners were asked to identify the final syllable of a sentence in which the f0 of all but the final syllable was shifted up or down. Listeners heard the target syllable as having a Low Level tone following a raised precursor, a Mid Level tone following an unshifted context, and a High Level tone following a lowered precursor. Six versions of each of the three precursors (raised, lowered, unchanged) were created by successively cutting back from the beginning of the sentence. The shortest precursor began 125 ms before the start of the target [jì], the next 250 ms before, then 450, 650, 850, and 1043 ms (the complete sentence). While listeners showed some evidence of talker normalization with just 250 ms of preceding context, at least 450 ms was necessary for the full effect, and normalization increased only slightly with successively longer contexts. These results suggest that talker normalization of tone is flexible, with an optimal window of analysis approximately 450 ms, or about three syllables, in duration.

**Elaine J. Francis** (Purdue University)  
**Stephen Matthews** (University of Hong Kong)  
*Categoriality & object extraction in Cantonese serial verb constructions*

The 'coverb' construction in Cantonese, a serial verb construction in which the first verb (the 'coverb') has a preposition-like function, presents a challenging theoretical puzzle. Coverbs appear to disallow extraction of their objects by topicalization or relativization. In studies on Mandarin, such facts are typically explained in terms of a constraint on preposition stranding whereby coverbs are analyzed as prepositions (Zhang 1990, McCawley 1992). However, Cantonese coverbs display the morphosyntactic properties of verbs, suggesting they are not prepositions. We report on an experimental study in which an acceptability rating task was used to compare coverbs with transitive verbs in SVCs in which the object of V1 is extracted. The results fail to distinguish coverbs from transitive verbs, lending no support to a preposition-stranding analysis. A structural analysis following Law 1996, which attributes adjunct status to VP1 in cases where extraction is ungrammatical, is more successful, but still fails to account for the aspect-related results. We propose an alternative analysis from the perspective of a multimodular theory of grammar (Sadock 1991, Jackendoff 1997). Our analysis involves a semantic constraint on extraction and allows for the possibility of 'mismatch' between syntax and semantics, thus accommodating the full range of experimental results.

**David B. Frank** (Summer Institute of Linguistics)  
*Determiners, relative clauses, & the St. Lucian Creole noun phrase*

In St. Lucian Creole the noun phrase consists of a noun as head optionally followed by a determiner and one or more modifiers that may come before or after the noun, as in French. One thing that makes the St. Lucian Creole noun phrase quite distinct from French is the definite determiner, which comes after the noun rather than before, as an enclitic. The form of the determiner varies according to morphophonemic rules but lacks the grammatical gender agreement that French has. This determiner clitic can attach to things other than nouns, including adjectives, relative clauses, and adverbials. In fact as a clitic the definite determiner should be seen as attaching to phrases, and sometimes to clauses, rather than to words. We analyze the structure of the St. Lucian Creole noun phrase and describes the rules for cohesion, co-occurrence, and morphophonemic alternation among the parts, including nouns, determiners, quantifiers, possessive pronouns, adjectives, and relative clauses. It is based on original research conducted over the course of some 17 years of field work, and the generalizations and illustrations are drawn from a sizeable database of natural text data.

**Paul S. Frank** (Summer Institute of Linguistics)  
**Gary F. Simons** (Summer Institute of Linguistics)  
*Saliba wordlists: A test case for best practices in archival documentation of an endangered language*

Over the past 50 years, significant strides have been made in the documentation of the indigenous languages of the Americas. Much of this documentation remains unpublished and is, therefore, inaccessible to others. Some of that documentation, e.g. audio recordings, will eventually be lost due to physical deterioration. Materials can be easily converted into electronic form to increase accessibility, but, as observed by Bird and Simons 2002, "much digital language documentation and description is unusable within a decade of its creation." 2002, *Proceedings of the Workshop on Portability Issues in Human Language Technologies*, Third International Conference on Language Resources and
Evaluation, Paris: European Language Resources Association.) How can an electronic form best be used to provide widespread access to the linguistic community while at the same time ensuring the long-term preservation of the original materials? A recorded and transcribed 375-item wordlist of Sáliba, an endangered language spoken in Colombia, provides a test case for recommendations by Bird and Simons and works the recommendations out in practical detail. Our solution includes: descriptive markup in XML of the wordlist with time alignment to the recording, an XSLT stylesheet that renders the information in HTML for viewing and playback on the web, publishing metadata for resource discovery with the Open Language Archives Community (OLAC), and depositing the original materials and digital representations in an institutional archive that has a commitment to long-term preservation and access.

William John Frawley (George Washington University)  
What Amerindian lexicography can say about dictionary-making in general  
(Session 46)

We describe some mutual lessons learned from linking two lexicographic traditions: the European language tradition, with its long history of method dictionary production, and the indigenous language tradition, with its ties to fieldwork, cultural inquiry, and linguistic explanation. We discuss lexicographical issues in headwords (e.g. entry choice, cross-referencing, and entry nesting), definitions (e.g. defining formulae and the conversion of glosses to definitions), the use of cultural information (encyclopedic vs lexicographic knowledge), the formation of dictionary teams (e.g. the role of specialists and the realistic outlining of projects and timetables), and the use of technology and multimedia. We close with a plea for integrating the two traditions more productively.

Alison Gabriele (City University of New York-Graduate Center)  
Gita Martohardjono (City University of New-York Graduate Center)  
William McClure (City University of New-York Graduate Center)  
Why 'dying' is difficult for Japanese learners of English  
(Session 14)

While both Japanese and English have a grammatical form denoting the progressive, the two forms (te-iru and be+ing) interact differently with the inherent semantics of the verb stem (Kindaichi 1950, McClure 1995, Shirai 2000). Japanese change of state (COS) predicates are incompatible with a progressive interpretation, allowing only a resultative interpretation of V+ te-iru, while a progressive interpretation is preferred for activity predicates. We investigated the learnability issue that Japanese speakers encounter in acquiring the English progressive. Using an interpretation task, learners were tested on activity and COS predicates in past progressive and simple past contexts. Primacy of aspect (Shirai & Andersen 1994) and lexical semantic transfer models both predict higher accuracy on activity verbs in the progressive! Results indicate that neither! model can predict learners' performance since independent of verb type, learners had significantly more difficulty with the progressive. We argue that knowledge of L2 semantics-syntax correspondences proceeds not on L1 lexical semantic knowledge but on the basis of grammatical forms.

Susanne Gahl (University of Illinois-Urbana/Champaign)  
Susanne Garnsey (University of Illinois-Urbana/Champaign)  
Verb transitivity bias affects prosody  
(Session 12)

Recent studies of sentence processing have revisited the role of prosody, e.g. stress, timing, and intonation, in sentence production and comprehension (see e.g. Fodor 2002). Contemporary discussions of sentence processing have also focused attention on the role played by lexical biases, i.e. a particular word's probability to appear in particular syntactic contexts (see e.g. MacDonald 1997 for a review). An interesting open question is whether these two issues--prosody in sentence processing and probabilistic lexical information--are linked. We report an experiment examining this question. Specifically, we explored the effect of verb transitivity bias, i.e. the likelihood that a verb will be transitive rather than intransitive, on the prosody of spoken sentences with temporary ambiguities. Our findings suggest that verb transitivity bias indeed affects sentence prosody, including verb duration. We discuss whether effects of verb bias on prosody reflect processing difficulties or whether speakers manipulate prosody in order to emphasize clause boundaries that are unexpected, given a verb's bias.

Andrew Garrett (University of California-Berkeley)  
Phonetics in paradigm uniformity: The leveling of Latin vowel weakening  
(Session 20)

Most proposed principles of paradigm uniformity or leveling (e.g. H. Paul, J. Kurylowicz, R. Barr) refer to the morphological or semantic relation between alternating categories. We argue that phonetic transparency or naturalness can also constrain paradigm uniformity and that relatively natural alternations are in some cases less susceptible to leveling than those which are relatively unnatural (for example due to telescoping of several sound changes). The argument is based on a new analysis of the leveling of Latin vowel weakening, a change which neutralized vowel qualities in noninitial syllables. Alternations created by this change were leveled in some cases but not others; we show that this leveling was crucially governed by the transparency of the relevant alternations.
The typological tradition reckons with three standard strategies for forming (externally headed) adpositional relative clauses:

1. **Relative Pronoun:** pen [[with which] [I wrote [___]]]

2. **RelParticle/Zero & Resumptive Pronoun:** pen (that) [I wrote [with it]]

3. **RelParticle/Zero & Gap:** pen (that) [I wrote [with ___]]

Two binary features (at least) are at work here:

(a) (+ MoveAdp): Does the adposition move (1), or remain in situ (2, 3)?

(b) (+ PronObj): Is the adposition’s object (corefiential to the HeadN) represented by a pronoun (1, 2), or is it zero (3)?

These two features cover 1-3 above; but they also yield a fourth logical possibility--[+MoveAdp, -PronObj]--i.e. the adposition is fronted 'bare', while its object has no surface representation at all:

(4) ‘Move the bare adposition’ (MBA): pen (that)[with [I wrote [___]]]

MBA has heretofore gone unnoticed in the literature. We establish it as a rare but existent surface pattern, found in Berber, Songhay, Lakota, Old Irish, and marginally in Gbeya, Mixtec, and Geez. Example (Berber, VSO):

'tiddart [deg [i-mmut [___]]] house in he-died

'the house in which he died'

All cases examined involve postnominal RelClauses and leftward movement of the adposition. MBA thus evidently has a delimitative function and rationale: to signal the boundary between HeadNoun and RelClause.

**Ana Flávia Gerhardt** (Federal University-Rio de Janeiro)

*Theories & concepts in cognitive linguistics: (Mis)understandings*

The development of a revolutionary concept of metaphor, which turned out to be seen, in the early eighties, as a cognitive phenomena rather than a figure of speech, has encouraged studies in cognitive linguistics, benefited by the concept of metaphor related to domains of conceptualizations, entities, and experiences. Latently, several other concepts related to these domains have been developed and/or reformulated, such as mapping, metonymy, mental spaces, ICMs, grammatical constructions, representational redescription, blending, radiality, and some concepts of cognitive science and microsociology have been integrated, such as prototypes, image schemas, frames, and windowings. Apart from important work in cognitive linguistics, this plethora of terms gave rise to some misunderstandings about what is really a theory of language as a realm of concepts epistemologically placed and what is only a concept which should be integrated with some other to form a complete theory. Particularly, some concepts have been tackled as complete theories—‘theory of metaphor’, ‘theory of prototypes’, ‘theory of mental spaces’—but it is not possible to treat them as such because they lack a complete theoretical assembly; instead, they should be related to other concepts for a clear understanding of cognitive linguistics as a whole.

**Spike Gildea** (University of Oregon)

*Reconstructing grammatical change in the Venezuelan branch of the Cariban family*

It is becoming increasingly clear that the languages of the Pemón Group (Makushi, Pemóng, and Kapóng) are closely related to Panare and †Tamanaku in what Gildea (to appear) proposes to call the Venezuelan branch of the Cariban family. Recent descriptive work by Mattéi-Muller (2000, 2001) indicates that Mapoyo and Yawarana should also be classified in the branch, perhaps more closely than any other members of such a branch (cf. also Mattéi-Muller 2001). We compare the evolution of main clause tense-aspect based split ergativity in Akawaio (Kapóng), Taurepang (Pemóng), Makushi, Panare, and †Tamanaku, and pure ergativity in Mapoyo and Yawarana. Several innovative verbal inflections are clearly cognate across all these languages and thus are candidates for shared innovation. However, a number of innovative inflections are only partially shared, thus providing a possible metric for subclassification of the branch. Beyond the comparative value of this information, we also consider two interesting typological aspects of the grammatical change: First, there is a semantic relationship between the nonfinite source morphology and the innovative verbal tense-aspect inflections into which they evolve, such as patient; second, the creation of counter-universal ergative case-marking splits, in which innovative ergative nonpast/imperfective tense-aspects are created.

**Ives Goddard** (Smithsonian Institution)

*Meskwaki intonation*

The Algonquian language Meskwaki (Fox) has generally uncomplicated phonology—11 consonants, 4 short and 4 long vowels, and no contrastive accentual system. It has, however, a rich variety of types of sentence intonation, which differ in the location of main and secondary stresses on words, in overall pitch register, and in other features. The normal, interrogative, expressive negative, and expressive emphatic intonations are found on full sentences; they are replicated on each major breath group, not just sentence-finally. Other intonation patterns are restricted, e.g. to short utterances or to a particular class of words. The intonation pattern has a complex
relationship to the syntax of a sentence, which is of the type often called nonconfigurational. For example, despite the fact that preverbal position is the FOCUS slot (Dahlstrom), preverbal noun phrases tend not to have separate intonation contours while postverbal noun phrases tend to be treated as separate breath groups, with separate intonations. When a breath group lacks the full number of syllables for the usual expression of an intonation, the shape of the word may be altered to accommodate it, e.g. a long vowel may be broken into two short vowels, or a consonant may be lengthened although neither vowel sequences nor long consonants otherwise exist in the language.

Matthew Goldrick (Johns Hopkins University)  
Markness & frequency in phonotactic processing constraints

Many studies have shown that speech errors rarely violate phonotactic constraints, suggesting the presence of phonotactic processing constraints (PPCs) that prevent such forms from surfacing. Less well-known is how PPCs discriminate among phonotactically legal forms. First, are PPCs sensitive to within-language frequency (Munson 2001) or cross-linguistic markedness (Beland & Paradis 1997)? Second, do PPCs prefer to eliminate (Levitt & Healy 1985) or insert (Stemberger 1991) marked/infrequent structure? To examine the first question, three consonant pairs (test pairs) were identified. For each test pair, a markedness-based theory claims that the first member of the pair is more well-formed while two frequency-based theories claim that the second member is more well-formed. To examine the second question, a set of three control pairs was identified. All three theories agree on the relative well-formedness of consonants in these pairs (first member is both less marked and more frequent than the second). For each consonant pair, speech errors were induced using tongue twisters. Results on the control pairs show that PPCs tend to eliminate marked/infrequent structures. Results on the test pairs suggest that the markedness theory better characterizes the content of PPCs. Further analysis suggests that this is because the markedness theory characterizes well-formedness at a subsegmental level.

Lucía A. Golluscio (University of Buenos Aires)  
Alejandra Vidal (University of Buenos Aires)
Endangered languages, endangered peoples in Argentina: Mocovi, Tapiete, Vilela, & Wichi in their ethnographic context

We present the preliminary results of a research project which is being carried out by the University of Buenos Aires in cooperation with the Dept. of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute-Leipzig as part of the Documentation of Endangered Languages Program underwritten by the Volkswagen Foundation. Documentation of the indigenous languages spoken in Argentina is an imperative task. On the one hand, they stand among the least known and studied of South America. On the other hand, the historically marginalized position of their speakers has resulted in an advanced endangerment process affecting both the peoples and their languages. The project aims to collect, process, and archive linguistic and cultural data for Mocovi (Guaycuru), Tapiete (Tupi-Guarani), Vilela (Lule-Vilela), and Wichi (Mataco), developing integrated computerized and digitalized text, lexicographic, and ethnographic databases along with documentary videos. Regarding Tapiete, data will be collected in Argentina, Bolivia and Paraguay. Documentation of Wichi focuses on the least known and/or most endangered varieties spoken in our country. The Vilela language (almost extinct) and people show an extremely delicate and complex social cultural situation. Thus, we include a small pilot component aimed at locating speakers and securing their collaboration for data collection, with the understanding that investigation of Vilela would be included in the project if this proves feasible.

Carolina Gonzalez (University of Southern California)  
Stress- & foot-sensitive consonantal phenomena: A survey

We report on a cross-linguistic survey of consonantal phenomena influenced by stress or/and foot structure. The survey includes examples of phonetic and phonological examples of relevant processes from over 70 languages belonging to over 30 language families. It primarily examines the types of consonantal phenomena that are influenced by stress and foot structure. These include consonant lengthening (and reduction); gemination; lenition; fortition; voicing alternations; variable timing of aspiration and glottalization; feature and consonant attraction; deletion; epenthesis; metathesis; and dissimilation. Examination of these processes allows making a number of cross-linguistic generalizations concerning the relationship between consonants and stress and foot structure. Additionally, this study classifies stress- and foot-sensitive consonantal phenomena according to their motivation—perceptual (metathesis in Faroeese), aerodynamic (devoicing in North-Central Peninsular Spanish), durational (onset lengthening in Urubu-Kaapor), and prominence-related (gemination in Guelava-Zapotecs). The survey also makes apparent the fact that a large number of processes involve laryngeal consonants (/h/, /?/) or laryngeal features. Since /h/, /?/ lack supralaryngeal features, they are easier to delete, epenthize, and relocate. Laryngeal features are expected to be connected to stress since changes in laryngeal behavior are responsible for variations and pitch and stress (Ladefoged 1969).

Luis González (Wake Forest University)  
From addressees to nominees: Dative overriding of human accusative objects

Barker 1998 shows that -ee is the fifth most productive suffix in contemporary English and that there is a need for an account of -ee noun formation. Although it’s widely recognized that the suffix was borrowed from French and originally referred mainly to indirect
objects (grantee), Barker shows that 53% of -ee word types refers to direct objects (detainee). We show that there is a rule of dative overriding of an accusative object in many languages, including English. If a chair is stripped, repaired, and repainted, that chair will be referred to as the stripped, repaired, repainted chair. However, if a person is nominated, appointed, and detained, we refer to that person as the nominee, appointee, detainee, and rarely as the nominated, appointed, detained person. The -ee is a suffix used to refer to true indirect objects. What English does when the -ee suffix replaces an -en suffix is showing dative marking for a [+human] object noun. We also show that dative overriding of the accusative explains leísmo in Spanish, a phenomenon believed to be dialectal. In addition, inherent or lexical dative marking in psych verbs is shown to be more predictable than currently thought.

Jeff Good (University of California-Berkeley) (Session 5)

Arguments as adjuncts: Negation & object preposing in Leggbo

Leggbo, an Upper Cross language spoken in southeastern Nigeria, has rigid SVO word order in affirmative clauses. In negative clauses, however, the word order shifts to SOV. This is illustrated in 1:

(1) a. wàdum sÉ e-dzi lídzil b. wàdum sÉ lídzil e-è-dzi
   man the 3s-eat food               man the food 3s-NEG-eat
   The man ate food.'                'The man didn't eat food.'

This word order shift is obligatory and is not limited to single direct objects. Both objects of ditransitive verbs prepose in the negative, for example. Sentences like 2, where an object from an embedded clause appears before the negated verb, show that the word order shift in Leggbo is the result of object preposing and not verb movement.

(2) lEval e-è-vÓNí tàá É-kāà È-sEN nkE Eppya
   race 3s-NEG-want COMP 3s-run 3s-go at market
   'He doesn't want to run a race to the market.'

We argue that these preposed objects are adjoining above the VP in Leggbo negated sentences. SVO~SOV word order shifts have not previously been proposed to result from preposing and adjunction. Thus, Leggbo adds to our typology of such shifts.

Jeff Good (University of California-Berkeley) (Session 36)

The phonetics of tone in Saramaccan

Saramaccan has an underlying three-way opposition among tone-bearing units (TBU's) specified for either high or low tone or which are unspecified for tone. Rountree 1972 describes four tonal classes for Saramaccan: (1) all high tone, (2) all low tone, (3) mixed high and low tone, and (4) one high tone all other TBU's unspecified for tone. Words in class 4 are the most common and tend to be of European origin; words in the other classes tends to be of African origin. The tones found in Saramaccan, thus, arise from two sources. The first is direct transfer of tones from African languages. The second is from the reanalysis of accent in European languages as a high tone. Given the two origins of tone, a question arises: Are there any detectable synchronic properties of tone in Saramaccan which reflect the split in its historical sources? To answer this question, recordings were made of a Saramaccan speaker uttering individual words from the four tonal classes. The results of the study indicate that words in classes 1-3 are marked for absolute pitch while words in class 4 are marked for relative pitch. This opposition is interestingly parallel to the opposition between African tonal systems and European accentual systems, the former being systems where specific tonal melodies are part of the lexical entry of a word and the latter being systems where pitch is one of many elements used to mark phonological prominence, an inherently relative linguistic specification.

Jeff Good (University of California-Berkeley) (Session 54)

Mary Paster (University of California-Berkeley)

Teresa McFarland (University of California-Berkeley)

Reconstructing Achumawi & Atsugewi: Proto-Palaihnihan revisited

A noticeable gap in Hokan studies is the lack of a definitive phonological reconstruction for the common ancestor of Achumawi and Atsugewi, proto-Palaihnihan. Olmsted 1964 gives a reasonable compilation of cognate sets for Achumawi and Atsugewi, but his phonological reconstruction is unsophisticated. For example, despite the fact that Achumawi has five vowels and Atsugewi three, Olmsted reconstructs a 16-vowel system for proto-Palaihnihan. Using previously published Achumawi materials (de Angulo & Freel 1930; Olmsted 1964, 1966, 1977, 1984; Walters 1977; Nevin 1998) as well as results of new fieldwork on the Hewisi dialect, we propose a proto-Achumawi phonological system. We then present a previously unavailable phonological analysis (Len Talmy, p.c.) of Atsugewi, and end with a proposal for the proto-Palaihnihan phonological inventory with reference to vowels, consonants, and tone. Our focus is on lexical reconstruction, which has obvious implications for Hokan studies generally, but our results will ultimately be valuable in morphological reconstruction of proto-Palaihnihan as well.
Matthew J. Gordon (University of Missouri–Columbia) (Session 24)

'Show Me' mergers: How Missourians deal with too many vowels

The state of Missouri has long been known as a dialectological crossroads where the South meets the North. The traditional blend of dialect features heard in Missouri reflects historical trends including settlement patterns. Today, Missouri speech continues to show influences from various regions though apparently not due to any population shifts. Instead, linguistic changes with broad regional currency appear to be moving into the state. We investigate two vocalic mergers that are currently heard throughout Missouri. One is an active sound change: the merger of the low back vowels of cot and caught, which appears to be spreading eastward across the state. The other is the 'pin/pen merger', a conditional merger that is actively spreading in some areas but seems to be fairly well-established in Missouri. To examine the distributions of these mergers, we present two different types of data: (1) written questionnaires from over 800 respondents representing a fairly social range; and (2) production data from sociolinguistic interviews with approximately 100 adolescents. Our research shows that the cot/caught merger has progressed much further than indicated by previous studies such as Labov's phonological atlas survey. It also suggests that the pin/pen merger is developing into a marker of rural speech. In addition to discussing the distributional patterns related to these particular dialect features, the paper also addresses methodological questions about the reliability and comparability of the differing types of data employed here.

Maria Gouskova (University of Massachusetts-Amherst) (Session 7)

Syncope: Prosody or *STRUC?

What drives syncope? By deleting vowels in nonhiatus contexts, it creates marked CVC syllables. Syncope also does not appear to improve foot structure. Under the traditional assumption (Prince 1990, Hayes 1995) that H and LL are equally good trochees, there is no motivation for /CVCC/ to become (CVC), not (CVCV). According to many rule-based and optimality-theoretic accounts, syncope is an automatic process of removing structure, blocked by syllable constraints. We argue against such treatment, showing that syncope is driven by independently motivated prosodic constraints. One of these is STRESS-TO-WEIGHT (STW), which favors H over LL. If syncope is connected to foot construction, it should be directional. This is true in Tonkawa, where syncope creates left-aligned H trochees. STW also predicts that other processes will create H feet, e.g. vowel lengthening (Icelandic) and gemination (Itelemen), and that H will emerge as the unmarked reduplicant (Ilokano). Conversely, structure-blocking constraints like *STRUC (Zoll 1993) do not explain directionality and do not make the same predictions for prosody. Moreover, *STRUC constraints are generally problematic in OT. Even without *STRUC, Economy of Representation follows from other constraints: *STRUC constraints are redundant, they produce bizarre effects under reranking, and therefore they should be excluded from CON.

Stéphane Goyette (Session 34)

Of shoes & ships, pidgins & prehistory

An original consensus among creole scholars, to the effect that creole languages are nativized forms of earlier pidgins, has come under increasing attack over the past few decades, following the lead of French scholars who had earlier wholly rejected this pidgin-to-creole model and argued that creole languages differ from their lexifiers for two reasons: First, the ancestors of today's creole speakers sought to acquire not so much the lexifier as various dialectal/nonstandard forms thereof, themselves undergoing levelling through contact. Second, because of this process of untutored second language acquisition, the target language was itself rapidly modified by succeeding waves of learners in the course of its becoming a community language. We focus on French Creoles and their morphology is to show that both pillars of this theory of creole genesis fail to account for the facts. On the one hand, comparison with dialectal/nonstandard varieties shows that they, in a great many ways, are even more unlike creoles than the standard form of the lexifier is. On the other hand, examination of data from second-language varieties shows that creole languages differ quite fundamentally from these varieties as well. This forces one to conclude that the orginal pidgin-to-creole scenario is still the only model of creole genesis which fits the available evidence.

Andrew Grimes (Middle Tennessee State University) (Session 2)

The salience of phonological features of Southern American English in terms of listener attitude

Recent phonological dialect research in the United States has focused mainly on either creating comprehensive and contemporary phonological descriptions of the American dialects or studying the listener's perceptions of those dialects as a whole. Similarly, much work has been done on creating descriptions of dialects on the semantic level wherein researchers have generated dialect dictionaries and dialect maps based on a region's lexicon. Comparable projects concerning phonological characteristics of speech in different regions are ongoing. The project upon which this poster presentation is based is grounded in the notion of dialect perception, taking as a starting point the well-documented phenomenon that speech generally recognized as dialectal is often considered indicative of a less intelligent, less educated, or less wealthy speaker. It then makes an attempt to synthesize these two areas of research, using recordings of specific phonological features of Southern United States English (SSE) to test for listener attitudes on a microlinguistic level.
We present a reconstruction of possession in Proto-Guaycurú, trace the development of possessive structures from Proto-Guaycurú to the various daughter languages, and provide a reconstruction of the possessive markers and the classifiers used in possessive constructions. This has broader implications in that this takes us into aspects of proto-syntax with its complicated methodological and theoretical debates. Guaycuruan languages, spoken in the southern Chaco region in South America, have possessive markers that directly precede the head noun in possessive constructions. Also, a distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns is shown by the possessive marking that nouns take and the type of possessive construction in which they occur. While some nouns can take a possessive prefix immediately preceding the root, others must be marked by a prefix (usually labeled ‘alienable’) between the root and the possessive prefix, and yet others must be preceded in the noun phrase by a classifier which itself carries the possessive marker. These languages have much to contribute to typological perspectives on classifiers and possessive constructions while, at the same time, general typological considerations help with the reconstruction of these possessive constructions in Proto-Guaycuruan.

We investigate the interaction between downward entailment and c-command in child language. As observed by Fromkin et al. 2000, a downward entailing operator a has scope over a linguistic expression b only if a c-commands b. To determine if child language obeys the same constraint, we conducted an experiment using the Truth Value Judgment task (Crain & Thornton 1998). Children heard sentences in which the disjunction operator was (closely) preceded but not c-command by negation (e.g. I predict that Tigger will give the troll he can’t jump over the hairbrush or the skateboard). In a context in which Tigger gave a hairbrush to Troll that he could not jump over, 29 children (age: 3.05-6.05—mean 5.00) accepted the target sentence 83% of the time, thereby refraining from assigning the conjunctive interpretation to the disjunction operator or. The results suggest that children know that c-command is necessary to establish a downward entailing linguistic environment. Children’s knowledge of downward entailment conforms to that of adults, an unanticipated finding for learning-theoretic models of development (see Tomasello 2000 and Pullum & Scholz 2002).

Choctaw employs series of predicates as one of the commonest constructions in the language, recognizable by the morphological -t suffix that marks the conjoined predicates, and distinct from the large set of complementizers, adverbial markers, and clause conjunctions. We have identified four kinds of constructions that employ the same -t marker and share a common property of conjunctive interpretation to the disjunction operator or. The first variation consists of serial intermediate projected (X-bar) phrases of the type (in Choctaw Nation orthography):

(1) aboha chukkoa-t binili-t takkon ish’pa-h
   room enter-conj sit-conj apple 2s/eat/tns
   ‘You entered the room, sat down, and ate apples.’

characterized by serialization of events in order of the predicates which share the same subject but have different syntactic and/or lexicosemantic structures. The first variation consists of serial intermediate projected (X-bar) phrases of the type (in Choctaw Nation orthography):

(2) Ibbak pahta tukucho-t bashi-t is-kanchi-tuk
   hand palm do twice-conj cut-conj 2s/dispose of-pst
   ‘You cut both palms badly.’
   *You did your palms twice, cut (it), and disposed of (it).

The complex predicate is both very productive and the means for creating a large number of idioms (variation 3) such as V-t pisa, ‘try to V’, where pisa is ‘look’. In the most developed case, a sizable number of grammatical participles (variation 4) has been formed by phonologically reducing the –t form–isht ‘with (instrument)’ from ishi-t ‘get’ and pit ‘away from the speaker’ from pila.
Aspects of DP word order across creoles

Based on a survey of 25 creoles, this paper makes two main arguments about DP word orders across creoles. First, the claims often made in view of IP constituent orderings that, creole word orders are similar and reflect unmarked patterns, are generally unsupported by DP word order facts. Many authors have noted that the ordering of IP constituents, especially TMA markers, and arguments, is similar across creoles. Bickerton 1975 explains these similarities in terms of universal markedness: IP elements occur in the order T-M-A and S-V-O because linguistic universals play a strong role in creole genesis, and these orderings are universally unmarked. However, the degree of heterogeneity in sequences of Dem, Num, N, and Adj in the present sample is shown to approximate that found in natural language as described in comparative work by Hawkins 1983 and others. Second, the data presented in this paper support several authors' observations for individual creoles that the relative order of Adj and N in creoles tends to follow that of the lexifier language, not necessarily those of the substrates. In the present data, adjectives and numerals are unique among DP modifiers in that their position relative to the head noun overwhelmingly matches that found in the superstrate. This pattern is explained in terms of salience: Borrowed morphemes that are most semantically content full and perceptually salient in the lexifier language--adjectives and other major lexical categories--are most likely to preserve their surface position in the creole.

Peter Hallman (University of Michigan)
A pragmatic analysis of presuppositionality

Our analysis proposes a pragmatic notion of presuppositionality in which the logical notion of presuppositionality is relativized to the 'belief worlds' of individuals. It comprises guidelines for ascribing propositions to individuals' belief worlds: (1) If one believes a proposition, one believes its entailments. (2) One believes what one says. The empirical basis of the analysis concerns a phenomenon pointed out by Friederike Moltmann, that presuppositions of factive verbs hold only for the next highest subject from the factive (by default the speaker), e.g. John believes that the police know that he killed Sandra does not presuppose that John killed Sandra but does presuppose that John thinks that he killed Sandra (though he may be mistaken). This is because 'John killed Sandra' is an entailment of both 'The police know that John killed Sandra' and its negation and so by (1) is a presupposition for John. The speaker, who, by (2), believes the utterance John believes that the police know that he killed Sandra need nonetheless not believe 'John killed Sandra' because it is not an entailment of his or her utterance (nor its negation). Thus, what constitutes a presupposition is a matter of perspective.

Anne Marie Hamilton (University of Georgia)
Substantial evidence of lexical variation in El Paso, TX

One might not expect much lexical variation among retired middle-class Caucasians in El Paso, TX. Most lexical variation in forms describing daily life is traditionally expected to occur over wide geographic areas or between groups differing in social class, ethnicity, and age. In order to test this assumption, three-hour modified Linguistic Atlas style interviews, based on Lee Pederson's revised worksheets for the western states (Pederson 1996), were conducted with 40 native Caucasian El Paso retirees, providing around 200 lexical variables. We explore the lexical variation and examine the extent to which it correlates with urban/rural identity, parental origin, occupation, and biological sex. For example, one might expect only rural informants to use 'headquarters' to mean 'ranch house'. However, some urban El Pasos show a surprising knowledge of rural terminology. Likewise, rural El Pasoans are not cut off from urban affairs. Many terms, such as the address forms 'Mother' and 'Daddy' for the lexical variables 'Mother' and 'Father', are overwhelmingly shared between urban and rural El Pasos. Other lexical variables, such as 'bureau', 'sick __ my stomach', and 'work shoes' show wide variation, not so easily attributable to rural/urban identity. It is possible that correlations exist instead between parental origin and occurrence of lexical forms. In addition to investigating lexical variation, this paper examines the semantic categories of forms the informants share in common and explores what they can tell us about the shared identity of this El Paso microcosm.

Naomi Harada (ATR International)
Raising-to-object is not an edge phenomenon

A construction known as 'raising-to-object' (RTO), in which the embedded subject behaves like a matrix constituent, is found in many languages. Within a recent framework (Chomsky 2000, 2001), RTO in Japanese has been analyzed as an edge phenomenon (Bruning 2001, Tanaka 2001, Hiraiwa 2002). These frameworks (the edge approach) analyze that the embedded subject in the edge of the embedded CP can be subject to spell-out either with the phase of the embedded or with the matrix clause. However, the edge approach overlooks a heretofore unnoticed restriction on embedded predicate in Japanese RTO: Only adjectival predicates can be the embedded predicate in Japanese RTO. Based on the novel data from Japanese, we claim that the edge approach is not tenable, and that RTO results from the ambiguous status of the embedded predicate in RTO: It is ambiguous between the embedded predicate and the secondary predicate modifying the matrix verb, under the assumption that the declarative subordinator to is an instance of P (Fukui 1986). The proposed account correctly captures the provided data, as well as the intuition of many native speakers who find the embedded adjectival predicate followed by to serving as a matrix manner adverb (PP).
In the Jaqi languages, spoken in the Andes of Peru, Bolivia, and Chile, vowel dropping is used for grammatical as well as stylistic purposes. Official literacy policy insists that all vowels, especially final vowels, be written. This is causing a number of problems, both politically and educationally. We look at the actual uses of vowel dropping in Aymara and Jaqaru at the morphological level and show the language distortion that occurs when official policy, said to be based on linguistic science and aimed at a universal alphabet for all Andean languages, is followed.

K. David Harrison (Swarthmore College)

Limits to abstractness in vowel harmony

Vowel harmony has long been argued to be constrained by articulatory and/or perceptual mechanisms. Theoretical models reflect this preference for concreteness in, e.g. co-articulatory groundedness and surface-trueness, by imposing implicit limits on how abstract a harmony system may be. But a number of robust vowel harmony systems in Altaic languages show neither a clear phonetic basis nor uniform surface-trueness. Cases of abstractness in Altaic harmony, first noted by Vago 1973, have since merited scant theoretical attention, with little empirical documentation of problematic cases. Introducing new data from text corpora and fieldwork on Turkic languages, we explore two harmony patterns that arise from general patterns of markedness or from vowel mergers. These patterns challenge the above limits to abstractness.

Philip Harrison (University of Cyprus)

The lost consonants of Atlanta

Very little of the literature on the English(es) of the southeast U. S. focuses on the phenomenon of consonant elision even though elision from within clusters has been previously documented. But consonants in Atlanta are an endangered species. Unlike earlier work, we do not relate elision to some phonetic property of a particular consonant. The simplest account of the facts is available only if we acknowledge that elision is sensitive to the prosodic domain foot. Consonants are prone to elision foot-internally, whether in a full trochee (neighbor) or a defective foot (white). This removes any potential conflict between elision and the consonant/lexical information correlation, as long as we amend this correlation to include metrical status. Loss of consonants leads to more vowel-final syllables. This places Atlantan English closer to the typological norm vis-a-vis syllable structure, somewhere between the more-marked General American English system and an open-syllable system, as attested in west African languages. But it is emphasized that no creolist link is intended here. Elision is rooted in standard English prosody. Lastly, it is proposed that elision is facilitated in Atlantan English by the relative prevalence of diphthongs, which removes any potential conflict with word-minimality.

Rachel Hastings (Cornell University)

Adjunct vs argument relativization in Quechua

In the Quechua languages the external head of a relative clause (RC) has sometimes been analyzed to be base-generated in clause-external position, in contrast to analyses in which all heads are assumed to originate clause-internally (e.g. Kayne 1994). We approach this question by noting a regular contrast in the behavior of arguments and adjuncts with respect to certain nominalized subordinate clause constructions (internally headed RCs, a cleft construction, and headless RCs) in the Quechua of Peguche, Imbabura, Ecuador. This contrast indicates that even externally headed RCs may be a syntactically heterogeneous collection of constructions, with the presence of a gap within the subordinate clause correlating with the argument-hood of the head within that clause. We argue that this argument/adjunct asymmetry is due to a rule restricting the nominal covertly extracted from a nominalized clause to be an argument of that clause. We attribute this restriction to a distinction in the mechanism of case assignment: Nonstructural case must be assigned within the embedded clause. However, an argument may be assigned case outside its clause if it undergoes head-raising. Supporting evidence for this analysis is also found in data from Cuzco Quechua.
An intriguing aspect of Movima, a language isolate of northern Bolivia, is the existence of a special paradigm of demonstrative pronouns which can be called 'positional demonstratives'. These pronouns are used to refer to entities (animate or inanimate) located in sight, but beyond arm's length of the speaker. There are six paradigmatic sets of these pronouns. Within each set, separate forms signal gender agreement, distinguishing between male, female, nonhuman, and plural/mass. Two of these sets focus on the figure in that they characterize the referent according to its physical position—standing as opposed to sitting or lying. The third and fourth sets focus on the ground—one indicating that the referent is located on an elevated level, and the other used for referents in the (temporary) physical possession of a third person. Each of these four sets of pronouns, which apply to static location, distinguishes relative proximity or distance. Interestingly, the pronoun set indicating 'on elevated level at distance' is also used when the referent can be heard, smelled, or felt, but not seen. Finally, within this system two speaker-oriented sets of pronouns refer to an entity moving toward or away from the speaker, respectively. Based on data collected in primary field work in Santa Ana del Yacuma (2001, 2002), we present further details of the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties of these pronouns.

Kirk Hazen (West Virginia University)
The broadest impacts of teaching about language

Although scholars who study language have demonstrated both the importance and the methods for teaching about dialects (Wolfram, Adger, & Christian 1999), a comprehensive and coherent educational plan has not been adopted by the daily professionals in secondary and postsecondary education. This paper presents such a plan for teaching how language works to high school and college students. Special focus is made in this paper on the benefits of understanding how language variation works: How can knowledge of language variation benefit the widest possible swath of educational realms? This paper is part of a larger effort to incorporate knowledge about language into more mainstream curricula. Following the model of the Council of Writing Program Administrators, the goal is to carefully delineate within the community of scholars widely agreed-upon outcomes. In other words, what knowledge, skill, and attitudes should students have about language? A preliminary estimate has a tertiary structure: Students should better understand how language works in connection to three areas, i.e. students should have a better understanding of the relation between language and biology, the relation between language and writing, and the relation between language and society. With a coherent and comprehensive plan for what students need to understand about language, we can begin the arduous and extensive efforts of lobbying educational institutions (e.g. NCTE) and the general public. The goal is to have these outcomes established as the basics by the turn of the next century.

Kirk Hazen (West Virginia University)
Mergers in the mountains

We focus on a geographic overlap of vowel mergers in West Virginia. First we detail the dialectological indications of West Virginia's isoglossic boundaries, specifically the evidence for the Southern and Northern sociolinguistic split of the state. Then we turn to a qualitative and quantitative analysis of geographically-overlapping vowel mergers. East of the Mississippi, the low back merger (e.g. cot/caught) has traditionally been seen as a Lower North feature. The prenasal front lax merger (e.g. pin/pen) has been traditionally a Southern feature. Evidence from the Atlas of North American English (Labov, Ash, & Boberg Forthcoming) complements data drawn from a subject-pool of 70 speakers recorded in West Virginia. The prevailing trend is that subjects born after 1970 appear to have both mergers in production; older speakers tend to have one or the other depending upon cultural identity. As the cultural affiliations of these two mergers have not been the same, neither has their degree of stigmatization. Testimony from subjects who have both mergers is given concerning the different forms of stigma they have received. Between the sociogeographic distribution of the mergers and the social attitudes about them, a hypothesis is proposed that in an abstracted manner, West Virginia is closer to sociolinguistic unity than at any other time in its 139-year history.

Kristine A. Hildebrandt (University of California-Santa Barbara)
Language contact & tone merger in the Manange language of Nepal

This study expands on previous scholarship on contact-induced language change by showing that native Manange speakers exist in an environment of maintenance, but are realizing a loss of certain phonological properties through imperfect learning of their native language, due to decreased frequency of use. We claim that an additional consideration of language change is the way in which native speakers may undergo a reinterpretation of their own phonology due to bilingual effects from languages with different systems. Specifically, we show that some Manange speakers have a reduced tone system. This situation is neither due to shift of Manange speakers to a target language, nor is it a case of borrowing of phonological features into Manange from contact with nontonal languages. Rather, we see the imperfect learning of Manange tonal features by a subgroup of speakers, with consequent simplification of the system. Specifically, urban Mananges raised in a setting of intense bilingualism display a simplified tonal system with individual lexemes being recategorized into different tonal categories from those speakers without the same bilingual contact. Unlike rural speakers, urban Mananges also lack a clear conceptualization of the contrastive (phonemic) nature of the different tones.
The Hopi dictionary was designed as part of an effort in language revitalization. Linguists are thoroughly aware that indigenous languages are rich, complex, and rule-governed systems of expression. Indigenous communities, however, tend to deprecate their languages even as they treasure them as expressions of a rich traditional culture and identity. The Hopi dictionary, a comprehensive dictionary of the Third Mesa dialect, was designed to have the seriousness of appearance of commercial desktop dictionaries of English. Since the Hopis are literate in English and are familiar with English dictionaries, it was hoped that in such a form, a dictionary of Hopi would engender in the community a sense of the respectability of the language and promote incipient literacy. We discuss consequences of this decision about dictionary presentation, including decisions regarding size, typography, page layout, and graphics.

Leanne Hinton (University of California-Berkeley)  
Herb Luthin (Clarion University)  
*The Yahi quotative*

We explore the uses of the quotative clitic ~ti in the Yahi language, as evidenced in the elicitations and narratives collected from Ishi by Edward Sapir. Besides its primary function of marking direct discourse in a narrative, we have identified at least four other functions of the quotative: (1) The verbal reference function, which is evidenced in elicitations, a large percentage of which Ishi marked with ~ti. One can infer that Sapir was asking him how to say something (either in English or by demonstration—often the latter, since Ishi’s English was poor), with Ishi responding with a sentence tagged with ~ti, meaning “That’s how it is said.” (2) The object-naming function, where noun ~ti might be translated as “the so-called “noun”.” (3) The narrative evidential function, which we ascribe to a number of cases where it is not otherwise clear why the quotative is present; the most likely suggestion is that the function as a narrative evidential that might translate roughly as ‘it is said’. (4) The illustrative function, which seems to refer deictically to accompanying movements or gestures, where we believe that the quotative is being used to mark an illustrative gesture by Ishi during the performance of telling rather than referring to the oral text itself. We discuss the semantic relationships among these usages of ~ti and contrast them to the usage of the fully inflected verb *tii*.

Daniel J. Hintz (University of California-Santa Barbara/Summer Institute of Linguistics)  
*The emergence of adverbial clauses in Quechua*

This paper examines a particular use of the Quechua genitive (NP) construction, referred to here as the ‘substitutive’ construction. Unlike other genitive constructions that function as core arguments or obliques, the substitutive functions as an adverbial clause. (1) Kanan-qa marqa-man aywa-na-yki-pa ranti-n-mi papa-kuna-ta alla-shun-na now-TOP town-GOAL go-NOM-2PERS-GEN trade-3PERS-EVID potato-PLUR-OBJ dig-12FUT-NOW ‘Today, instead of you going to town, we will harvest potatoes.’

Our claim about clauses of this type (italic above) is three-fold: (1) ranti, a lexical noun meaning ‘trade’, has been reanalyzed as a grammatical morpheme; (2) grammaticization involves other elements of the genitive construction where ranti is the possessed element; and (3) specifically, VP-na-PERS-pa ranti-n functions as an adverbial clause, with -pa#ranti-n becoming fused as a postposition adverbializer. The emergence of the substitutive construction sheds light on the development of other adverbial clauses in Quechua. The substitutive marker -pa#ranti-n, and also the more highly grammaticized adverbial clause markers, developed via the pathway of grammaticization:

(2) nominalization in genitival > postposition adverbial relationship with lexical noun head clause marker (GEN+noun+PERS)

Our continuing research examines the following: What is the nature of the genitival relationship between NPs that motivates this pathway of grammaticization? What nouns tend to participate in this pathway of grammaticization? Is semantic change idiosyncratic or are there cross-linguistic tendencies?

Mark Honegger (University of Louisiana-Lafayette)  
*Negation as a challenge to embodied reason*

Lakoff and Johnson argue for embodied realism, the claim that our reasoning and conceptual abilities are mediated and determined by our bodies. Their approach works as a program for investigating language and human cognition but not as a worldview for these reasons: (1) Reasoning from our bodily experience does not allow us to say that there is or is not transcendent reason or anything else not based on our embodiment. (2) Lakoff and Johnson base their claims on a realist view of our bodies and our cognition, but then they use their view to undercut a realist stance towards the outside world. (3) They claim the link between human categories and basic-level objects and relations is quite accurate; this presupposes that we do have a realist grasp of the external world that is not harmed by the mediation of our bodies. (4) One serious exception to the claim that reason is determined by our embodiment is negation. Negation is not embodied; it is posited on the basis of a priori logic; for example, I don’t perceive that John is not present. I perceive an empty room and then reason that John is not present.
Certain English lexemes (including *due*, *like*, *near*, *opposite*, and *worth*) appear to exhibit hallmark properties of both adjectives and prepositions. Twenty years ago, Joan Maling discussed them in a thought-provoking paper focused on whether English has transitive adjectives. We argue (expanding upon the treatment given in *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*) that her proposed categorizations were incorrect. Standard adjective diagnostics (inflection, premodification, occurrence in *seem* complements) are unreliable, as Maling noted, and we find that her test based on *enough*-placement also has vitiating problems. We employ another test, hitherto overlooked, that uses control in fronted adjuncts to identify adjectives. Various facts about prepositional syntax reinforce our results: Prepositions take premodifier RIGHT; pied-pipe in interrogatives; occur (if locative) as PUT complements; extrapose from NPs; never head BECOME complements; and never strand under heavy NP shift. These criteria leave no doubt about how the problematic lexemes should be categorized under traditional and generative assumptions alike. However, it remains clear that these items are eccentric: Maling was right to judge them anomalous. We speculate that (as others have occasionally suggested) the notion of syntactic category may need reconsideration in terms favoring syntactic properties that are considerably finer-grained.

**Jianhua Hu** (City University of Hong Kong)  
**Hailhua Pan** (City University of Hong Kong)  
*Constraints on wh- scope-taking from an island in Mandarin Chinese*

We argue that a *wh-* element in Mandarin Chinese can take a scope out of an island only if it can range over a set of entities, and the fact that only Mandarin *wh-* adjunct *zenme* (*yang*) 'how' but not *wh-* adjunct *weishenme* can be interpreted out of an island is due to the inability of *weishenme* to range over a set of entities. Our analysis is supported by the fact that the focus marker *shi* 'be', which cannot focus on an element other than the *wh-* word (Huang 1982), cannot focus on *weishenme* 'why'. Since the focus marker test is similar to the English cleft construction which can only mark a contrastive focus that presupposes a set of entities, we know *weishenme* cannot be a contrastive focus and thus cannot range over a set of entities. Although *zenme* (*yang*) cannot range over a set of individuals in the world, it can range over a set of lexical items, as it can be answered by *zheme* (*yang*) 'like this' or *name* (*yang*) 'like that'. The present set-based account can provide a simple and consistent explanation to the behavior of *wh-* adjuncts like *zenme* (*yang*) and *weishenme* because only the first *wh-* adjunct patterns with *wh-* arguments in Chinese.

**Malcom D. Hyman** (Harvard University)  
*Greek & Roman grammarians on motion verbs & place adverbials*

We present a case study that illustrates the fashion in which the Graeco-Roman grammatical tradition dealt with the interaction between syntactic and semantic phenomena. Local adverbs (*topika epiirrhmata, adverbia localia*) were assigned to semantic place categories (*topikai schesis*es) such as 'place-in-which' (*schesis en topU*) or 'place-to-which' (*schesis eis topon*). The grammarians recognized, moreover, that motion verbs typically patterned with 'place-to-which' adverbials, while locative verbs patterned with 'place-in-which' adverbials. Co-occurrence of a motion verb and a 'place-in-which' adverbial was held to constitute ungrammaticality (*soloikismos*). Linguistic developments in popular Greek and Latin (which differed from the prescriptively sanctioned classical form of these languages) motivated a concern with such 'ungrammatical' constructions. The whole analysis, however, suffered from various limitations and failed to accord with much empirical data--as some ancient authors recognized. Attempts to reconcile the theory with the data demonstrate both the potentials and the limitations of the linguistic framework within which Greek and Roman grammarians worked.

**Stephanie J. Hysmith** (Ohio University)  
*Appalachian discourse strategies in the literary dialect of Charles Frazier's Cold Mountain*

Authors often use traditional literary dialect to add regional flavor to their characters and to demonstrate social class. The most common forms are 'eye dialect', and other misspellings which attempt to represent regional, often nonstandard, pronunciation. Some authors' attempts may render a text nearly incomprehensible or at least momentarily confusing. Because of the use of these forms, Appalachian literature has been less widely read than other genres. So why was the first novel by an unknown Appalachian author--Charles Frazier's Civil War novel, *Cold Mountain*--so phenomenally successful, appearing on the *New York Times* Bestseller List for 82 weeks? One of the reasons is the paucity of 'eye dialect' or other misspellings. Frazier masterfully demonstrates that an author need not resort to such manipulations in order to portray the language of a region. Instead, language distinctions emerge through the discourse strategies of the main characters, who show a propensity for indirect speech acts and hedging, for example, which conveys a kind of politeness and indirectness embedded in mountain culture. We show what this indicates about the personal characteristics of the characters, how they conduct their lives, and how the Appalachian value system is reflected in their verbal interactions.
Terumi Imai (Michigan State University)  (Session 4)
Social aspect of Japanese vowel devoicing

Japanese vowel devoicing has been studied by many researchers but given sociolinguistic orientation by only a few. This study focuses on even less-studied social factors--age, gender, and style. The data come from younger and older middle-class Tokyo residents. The results confirm some of the gender and style differences reported by Yuen 1997; males devoice more than females, and devoicing is promoted as the formality of the speech decreases. Additionally, younger respondents devoice more than older respondents. There is, however, an age and gender interaction. Younger males devoice most while younger females devoice least. Older males and females fall in between, with little difference between them. Since it is a standard Tokyo dialect feature, the devoicing of /i/ and /u/ was expected to be sensitive to social factors. However, our study shows a very odd pattern because the devoicing increases in more casual styles, and young men lead and young women lag in the use of this standard feature. One possible explanation may be that there is a dual standard regarding this phenomenon; vowel devoicing may be a covert or overt norm which is accessed differently by different groups.

Tania Ionin (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)  (Session 14)
Kenneth Wexler (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
The role of specificity in article choice in L2 English

Article use in L2 English is examined with regards to definiteness and specificity, the latter defined as the speaker's ability to identify the referent (see Fodor & Sag 1982). A forced choice task with 37 intermediate/advanced adult L1 Russian learners of English found that overuse of the was significantly higher in specific indefinite contexts (1a, 44%) than in nonspecific indefinite contexts (1b, 11%). The learners also appropriately used the in definite contexts like (1c) 85% of the time.

(1) a. [discussion of Professor Jones's whereabouts].
   This morning, she met with (a, the, --) student - he is in my physics class.
   b. [discussion of Professor Clark's whereabouts]
   This afternoon, she met with (a, the, --) student - but I don't know which one.
   c. [previous mention of a dog]
   I took (a, the, --) dog for a walk.

We conclude that specificity, which is morphologically encoded in the article systems of some natural languages, e.g. Samoan (Lyons 1999), also plays a role in L2 English article choice. We propose that the L2 learners are sensitive to UG-based semantic distinctions (definiteness, specificity) but do not know which distinction is appropriate for English. We suggest that L2 learners are insensitive to discourse-based triggers involving speaker/hearer knowledge.

Daniela Isac (University of Quebec at Montreal/Concordia University)  (Session 9)
Charles Reiss (Concordia University)
A partitive analysis of else

We examine referentially dependent elements other than pronouns and anaphors, focusing on the syntax-semantics interface of `X else' elements:

(1) I visited Mary, and Peter visited [someone else]
We build on Culicover and Jackendoff's (CJ) 1995 proposal that 'X else' is compositional and that it contains an anaphoric element of the standard type. We show, contra CJ, that (1) the anaphoric element is not 'else', but 'X'; (2) 'X else' cannot be assimilated to 'exclusion' predicates (Safir 1992, Keenan 1988) such as 'other than'. Syntax: We propose that 'X else' has a partitive syntax, and that X takes a partitive PP complement. Semantics: We propose that 'else' is a Q, and that partitivity is directly relevant for identifying the scope of 'else'. In agreement with CJ, we believe that 'X else' is a complex expression containing a covert anaphoric element. Contra CJ, who take 'else' to hide the anaphoric element, we argue that it's X that contains the covert anaphor. We take 'else' to signal the set theoretical operation of relative complementation and to correspond to the residue operator discussed by Zamparelli 1998 for partitives. We show that 'else' does not range over individuals, but over properties.

Michael Israel (University of Maryland-College Park)  (Session 3)
Jennifer Riddle Harding (University of Maryland-College Park)
Vera Tobin (University of Maryland-College Park)

On simile

Metaphor and simile are typically viewed as twin manifestations of a single phenomenon, differing only in form. Yet, as 1-2 suggest, similes often lack clear metaphorical counterparts, and vice versa.

(1) a. The windshield wipers made a great clatter like two idiots clapping in church.
   b. =??The windshield wipers were idiots clattering and clapping in church.
(2) a. I found the argument to be flat-footed.
   b. =??I found the argument to be like a flat-footed runner.
We draw on a corpus of attested examples to demonstrate that these figures differ fundamentally in conceptual structure and rhetorical purpose: Metaphors map properties from one domain to another while similes match properties across domains. Because similes highlight salient attributes, they may feature rich structure not mapped to the target, instead rendering relevant attribute(s) more vivid. The mapping/matching distinction is also reflected in two constraints: simile's preference for end-of-scale instantiations of a domain of comparison in the source position (the superlative source constraint) and metaphor's requirement that the source denote a type, while the source in similes may denote a token (the specific source constraint). This analysis demonstrates real cognitive differences between the figures and provides the basis for a new approach to research on simile.

Winford James (University of the West Indies-Trinidad)  
*The grammatical identity of the morpheme a in Tobagonian*

The basilectal grammatical morpheme *a* is homophonous in Creole Tobagonian speech. In different syntactic contexts, it occurs with the following different readings or 'meanings': (1) copula; (2) imperfective; (3) highlighter/front-focuser/topicaliser; (4) perfect; (5) preposition; (6) 1st person singular pronoun; and (7) partitive. Most of these seven different designations have been used in the literature on creoles where they give the impression that the morpheme in question is actually seven different morphemes. But they raise the question, which has generally neither been posed nor answered (certainly not in the case of Tobagonian), whether *a* is one gramatically monosemous form with different contextual/pragmatic interpretations or readings or whether it is seven different forms with seven different grammatical meanings. We seek to answer that question regarding the first five 'meanings' by reference to Tobagonian data. We analyze *a* in its appearance with each of these 'meanings' in the relevant syntactic contexts and identifies as many similarities and differences in those contexts as the data suggest to see if they are underlain or tied together by some common quality (inherent) in the form. In particular, we investigate whether its positions in the syntax unify the different 'meanings'. We conclude that the morpheme has one grammatical identity and 'meaning', something like 'prelexical marker', but that such a meaning is pragmatically subcategorizable in particular syntactic contexts, thereby inviting new thinking about *a*.

Bill Jancewicz (Summer Institute of Linguistics/Naskapi Development Corporation)  
*The East Cree Lexicon: Second edition for the digital world*

The first lexicon of East Cree, published in 1987 in traditional book format, contained 16,000 words with English glosses in two dialects and two orthographies. This very useful and necessary first step in Cree lexicography no longer meets the needs of the increasingly literate communities. In the 10 years since the Cree School Board of Quebec has implemented Cree as the language of instruction in most schools, demand for resource tools such as a searchable lexical database has increased, as has people’s competence with computer programs. Speakers from all sectors of the community are anxious to have access to a lexical database which allows searching by English keyword and by dialect, verification of spelling and provision of sound files for pronunciation. While addition of new lexical items is an important goal, much of the revision work focuses on checking and refining the English definitions of words. Working groups, which routinely include elders, carry out extensive discussion of the cultural context and parameters for the use of particular words and morphemes. Linguists give guidance by suggesting parameters, providing English lexical items, or by confirming that there is no single English lexical item. One result of the process is the improvement of speakers' grasp of derivational morphology. Recording of discussion and clarification of traditional words offered by elders during the workshops can now be added to the database as sound files, allowing immediate access to the encyclopedic information without waiting for the long process of transcription to be carried out.

Heidi Johnson (University of Texas-Austin)  
*The Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America*

The Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA) at the U TX-Austin is a digital repository of multimedia resources. AILLA has two primary goals: to preserve irreplaceable materials in and about Latin American indigenous languages and to make these materials widely available by means of a web-based interface (http://www.ailla.org). The collection consists primarily of audio recordings of discourse, with accompanying textual annotations. Digital archives provide a means of dramatically improving our efforts to document endangered languages and collaborate with speakers of those languages in creating records of linguistic practice as well as descriptive and educational materials. Archives allow scholars to publish their data in its original form--sound, text, and images--and distribute it to a worldwide audience, and most importantly, share it back to the communities that helped to produce it. Archives are a secure and permanent repository, ensuring that recordings of nearly-extinct languages can be preserved for future generations. The digital formats produced by archives can be used directly by software programs for transcription, analysis, and the development of teaching materials. AILLA’s database includes a system of graded access to resources which allows depositors of resources finely-grained control over who will be able to use their resources. We provide an overview of the AILLA system, the current collection, and plans for the near future and discuss in some detail issues of concern to potential depositors such as the metadata schema and the graded access system.
Departures ~ incompletions ~ smallness: Polysemy, homonymy, & metaphorical extension in Cherokee

Cherokee is an Iroquoian language spoken in Oklahoma and North Carolina. Like many North American languages, it is polysynthetic with complex allomorphy and notable variation between speakers and communities. Although it is common for Cherokee verb roots to be, in essence, the sum of their affixes, those roots which are morphologically distinct tend to carry generalized meanings which are elaborated and shaped by affixation and compounding. It appears that one such verb root \(=yo=\) occurs in a range of words carrying diverse, but related, meanings, from breaking and incompletion to smallness, absences and departures of a sort. For example:

- \(a =yo= gi\) he broke it
- \(a =yo= logv\) wane
- \(a =yo= stodi\) erase
- \(a =yo= hi\) he shoots (him, it)
- \(a =yo= stanoi\) damaged
- \(u =yo= husv\) he lost it
- \(ati =yo= sti\) quarrel
- \(daji =yo= svgi\) released

Using Langacker’s cognitive linguistics, this study investigates possible relationships between these and other words formed from \(=yo=\). In particular, we examine the possibility that \(=yo=\) constitutes a discrete root and that polysemy and metaphorical extension of \(=yo=\) account for a network of related yet distinct meanings which form a unique schema. The presentation ends with discussion of results and implications for production of research and learning materials. Examples of results and learning materials will be provided to the audience.

Re-examining the role of gender in linguistic change: A case study in Martha's Vineyard

Contribution to the discussion concerning the role of gender in linguistic change, we investigate gender-based variation patterning in an island community on Martha's Vineyard, MA, and focus on the quantitative analysis of 'centralization', of the /ay/ diphthong as previously discussed by Labov 1972 and Blake and Josey in press. In examining phonetic variation between women and men, we also consider variation with gender among different age groups. Present results indicate that Vineyard women have never adopted centralization. However, like the men, there is evidence of CR in the speech of women. What is most surprising in this study is that, contrary to previous studies, women use CR at rates comparable to men. Moreover, there is no discernable distinction in CR use according to age. Whether linguistic change on Martha's Vineyard is from above or below, these results show that women are not favoring prestige forms more than men, nor does it seem that a specific gender group is responsible for innovating CR. Conclusions suggest that, for this local community, we should look past social factors (gender, age, etc.) that are traditionally responsible for linguistic change; rather, we should consider specific social practices, attitudes, and networking within the community, which may prove to be more significant to members themselves (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992, 1999; Fought 1999; Eckert 2000).

Parameterization of the obviative/proximate index in argument structure

Hale and Keyser 1998 claims that the contrast between 'verbs of getting (1a) and 'verbs of putting' (1b) is due to a 'manner' index determining two possible structures. Such an index is either proximate (bound by the internal argument), or obviative (bound by other than the internal argument):

\[
(1) \quad \begin{align*}
\text{Obviative} & \quad \text{Proximate} \\
\text{put} & \quad \text{rociar} 'spray' \\
\text{get} & \quad \text{echar} 'pour' \\
\end{align*}
\]

Second, we account for two alternations: unergative-unaccusative in Italian (Borer 1994) and unergative-transitive in English (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995). While both emerge by adding a goal phrase to the basic structure of unergatives, the cross-linguistic difference shows the parametrization of the indexes associated with the structure, Italian having a proximate index and English an obviative one.

Preverbs & event specification in Apache

The verbal lexicon of Apache consists of approximately 400 simple roots. The lexicon is vastly expanded by a large set of preverbs denoting primarily spatial concepts. They also introduce other oblique relations such as associatives or instrumentals. This type of
word formation, i.e. the use of complex predicates, is highly productive synchronically as it has been diachronically leading to specific patterns of lexicalization. The particular range of combinatory expressions is dependent on the verb class. For example, in the class of motion verbs, besides the common spatial specification, an associative expression is frequently used as further elaboration of an event (cf. shi-lh-naa-0-‘aash 1SO-ASSOC-ASP-3SS-walk.DUAL ‘s/he (sg) walked (dl) with me (sg) ’). For the change in the argument structure an applicative analysis is proposed especially for those preverbs which are historically related to pronominally inflected postpositions.

Marie-Odile Junker (Carleton University)

Acknowledging the other: Obviation & external possession constructions in East Cree

We examine the syntax and semantics of what traditional grammarians and linguists in the Algonquian literature have called the ‘relational’ and the ‘obviative’ verb forms. Using elicited and text-based data from East Cree, a parallel semantic treatment of these forms, as external possession constructions (henceforth EPCs) is advocated. However, unlike EPCs in other languages, Cree EPCs code only third person referents, that is, in contexts when the rules of Algonquian obviation apply. Obviation is thus confirmed to be one of the underlying principles governing Algonquian grammar.

Patrick Juola (Duquesne University)

Temporal factors underlying linguistic change

That language changes is obvious, but how, where, when, and why it changes are very active research areas. Recent work in authorship attribution has shown that feature differences can be observed automatically in individual documents; we extend this to measurements of linguistic ‘distance’ between these documents. We apply this to studying the rate of language change; measuring dated documents, we can get the rate of increase in distance/year. Using articles from National Geographic magazine 1939-2000, we observe, among other findings, that the rate during 1949-1958 is significantly larger than that of any other (measured) period, and that language change during 1939-1948 did not differ significantly from zero. Similar findings from an unrelated corpus covering 1900-1939 reveal that language change during WWI was again near zero, followed by a decade of rapid change. We show a relationship between technological and language change years later. These findings not only show a direct (and possibly causal) link between technological linguistic innovation, but they also demonstrate a previously unknown and counterintuitive effect of war on linguistic innovation. This study provides a novel framework to study other aspects of language change.

Elsi Kaiser (University of Pennsylvania)

When salience isn’t enough: Pronouns, demonstratives, & the quest for an antecedent

According to many researchers, the form of a referring expression is connected to the accessibility/salience of its referent, and the most reduced referring expressions refer to the most salient referents. Data from Finnish—a flexible word-order language without articles—show that the relation between referring expressions and salience is more complex. In Finnish, human referents can be referred to with the gender-neutral personal pronoun or the proximal demonstrative. We present psycholinguistic and corpus evidence that the referential properties of these two expressions are not subject to a single common factor. Results of sentence-completion experiments show that the pronoun is sensitive to grammatical role (prefers to refer to subjects, regardless of word order), and the demonstrative is sensitive primarily to linear order (prefers postverbal, discourse-new elements). Furthermore, corpus data show that, in contexts with only one third-person referent, the demonstrative is sometimes used—even though a pronoun would have unambiguously picked out the referent. We suggest that this ‘unnecessary’ use occurs when the antecedent is low in salience as a result of its information status, degree of embedding, and/or thematic role. Thus, the pronoun is associated with the high end of a grammatical role scale, and the demonstrative with the low end of a salience scale.

Elsi Kaiser (University of Pennsylvania)

John Trueswell (University of Pennsylvania)

Using word order to anticipate upcoming referents in on-line processing

On-line comprehension studies of flexible word-order languages find that noncanonical sentences induce more difficulty than canonical structures, with this difference being attributed to the structural complexity/infrequency of noncanonical forms. However, by presenting sentences in isolation, most studies do not take into account that word-order variation is guided by discourse/contextual factors, e.g. in Finnish, an articleless, flexible-word-order language with canonical SVO order, word order encodes given/new distinctions: OVS marks O as old and S as new; SVO is more flexible, being used when S is old and O is new, when both are old or both new. A self-paced reading study we conducted shows that an appropriate context greatly mitigates processing difficulty associated with OVS. Reading studies, however, cannot easily reveal the referential processes which occur in SVO/OVS comprehension. Given the description above, the [OV... ] configuration predicts the postverbal constituent to be discourse-new, whereas [SV... ] makes no such predictions. By recording participants’ eye movements as they heard stories and viewed pictures, we tested whether Finnish listeners use this information on-line to predict referents of upcoming constituents. The results indicate that they do. Compared to SVO, OVS sentences showed anticipatory eye movements to the discourse-new referent at the second-noun
onset before participants had enough phonetic information to recognize the word. Thus, comprehenders use discourse-status, encoded in object-verb order, to predict that the upcoming postverbal subject is previously unmentioned.

Mia Kalish (Red Pony Heritage Language Team)  
Depree ShadowWalker (Red Pony Heritage Language Team)  
*The history & politics of fonts: Building digital learning materials*

Language on the Mescalero Apache reservation is still going through the process of adding a textual component to an oral and pictographic culture while, simultaneously, the Tribe is actively engaged in revitalization efforts. We discuss the technical issues of supporting this revitalization effort, examining how fonts are at the root of material production in a digital world, and detailing impacts not only in modern document production using MS Word, email, and web pages, but also in scanning, spell-checking, and interactive lexical materials. We demonstrate resources that have been developed to support these processes and show how specialized fonts can be converted to standardized fonts.

Susan Kalt  
(University of Southern California)  
*Southern Quechua contributions to child Andean Spanish clitic interpretation*

The role of L1 experience in acquisition is hotly debated among psycholinguists (Epstein, Flynn & Martohardjono 1996 and commentary.) English is frequently the target language studied. Here we consider L1 contributions to the interpretation of Spanish clitics by Quechua-speakers, measured in a picture selection task administered to 100 Bolivian schoolchildren ages 5-15 years--16 urban Spanish monolinguals and 84 Quechua speakers who had first exposure to Spanish in rural and urban-peripheral classrooms. We compare the structure of Quechua and Spanish locative and possessor object constructions and predict that locatives should be easier to interpret if the full transfer/full access theory of L2 acquisition (Schwartz & Sprouse 1996) is correct. Results were the opposite: L2 speakers interpreted Spanish possessor clitics with greater ease than locatives. We also compare developmental stages in L2 grammar with those documented for monolinguals. Deutsch, Koster, and Koster 1986; Chien and Wexler 1990; Padilla 1990; Balsam, Philip, and Escobar 1997; and Bauw 1999 found that Dutch and English monolinguals ages 5-10 years are better able to rule out nonreflexive readings of reflexive elements than vice versa; Spanish speaking children do not show this effect. Our monolingual group patterned with other Spanish monolinguals, but the L2 group had more difficulty interpreting oblique clitics than reflexives starting at age 8. We conclude that functional features do not transfer directly from L1 to L2; there is nonetheless a difference in the course of acquisition which is evidence of indirect Quechua influence.

Yoonjung Kang  
(University at Stony Brook-SUNY)  
*Frequency of use & t-to-s alternation in Korean*

In Korean, nouns that end in a coronal obstruent show an optional variant with final [s] before vowel-initial suffixes: pat[h]-il ~ pas-il 'field', ACC', natsh-[h]il ~ nas-il 'face', ACC', nats-il ~ nas-il 'day, ACC.' These nouns all end in [t] in isolation form due to coda neutralization. The proclivity to [s] is found also in loanwords; when English words are adapted as [t]-final, they are realized as [s]-final before a vowel-initial suffix: 'cut' -> kh[t], kh[s]-il, 'David' -> teipit, teipis-il. We argue against a phonetic explanation for the change to [s] and propose that the change is analogically motivated. Korean nouns are very often used without a suffix. Therefore, frequently, given a noun ending in [t] in isolation, children do not hear enough of a prevocalic form but have to guess what the prevocalic form would be. Since /s/-final nouns are the most common, [t]#-[s]V alternation serves as a default pattern and is used in the absence of sufficient evidence otherwise. The analysis predicts that the more frequently a prevocalic form of a noun occurs, the less likely the speaker will resort to the default[s] pronunciation. The prediction is borne out by an experimental study and data from an on-line corpus.

Jeffrey P. Kaplan  
(San Diego State University)  
*Absolutes & Second Amendment interpretation*

The US Constitution's Second Amendment--in form an absolute adjunct and a main clause--was last definitively judicially construed as baring the right to bear arms only on its relation to a militia (307 U.S. 174 [1939]). This semantic relationship cannot be cancelled, hence is entailed, supporting the 1939 Court's construal: 'A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed, but such a militia being necessary to the security of a free state is not a reason for not infringing that right.' The Court's providing just one rationale implicates that it relied on no other. Because the absolute in the amendment neither encodes a stage-level predicate nor is augmented by with, it is entailed (Stump 1985). However, today that proposition is false, if (1) the U.S. is free and secure (since the U.S. has no militia), or (2) if the U.S. is not secure but a militia is not necessary for security. Since a false antecedent in a conditional argument renders the consequent truth-valueless, falsity of the absolute would mean that the Amendment does not guarantee a right to bear arms.
The theory of realizational morphology presented by Stump in *Inflectional morphology* (2001) describes the derivation of inflected surface forms from underlying lexical forms by means of ordered blocks of realization rules. The theory offers a rich formalism for expressing generalizations about phenomena commonly found in the morphological systems in a wide variety of languages around the world. We demonstrate that, in spite of the apparent complexity of Stump’s formalism, the system is no more powerful than a collection of regular relations. Consequently, a Stump-style description of the morphology of a particular language such as Lingala or Bulgarian can be compiled into a finite-state transducer that maps the underlying lexical representations directly into the corresponding surface form or forms, and vice versa, yielding a single lexical transducer. A finite-state implementation of realization rules has a fundamental advantage over implementations in systems such as DATR. A DATR theory can be used to generate an inflected form from its lexical representation, but it is not directly usable for analysis. In contrast, lexical transducers are bidirectional. The same transducer can generate a surface form from its morphological description or map an inflected form into the proper lexical root or roots and the associated features.

Tomoko Kawamura (University at Stony Brook-SUNY)

**Scrambling, interpretation, & the nature of feature checking**

Japanese scrambling exhibits a complex relation between distance and semantic result. Saito 1989 observes that scrambling outside the minimal clause (A'-scrambling) does not change interpretation. So, an A'-scrambled wh- phrase is not interpreted at its scrambling site; in this respect A'-scrambling differs from typical A'-movement, such as English wh- movement. By contrast, scrambling within the minimal clause (A-scrambling) may change interpretation; the scrambled element can be interpreted in its overt site, e.g. when an object quantifier is scrambled higher than a subject quantifier, the object can take scope over the subject, even when this reading is impossible in unscrambled sentences. These facts are analyzed under two proposals: (1) Scrambling is driven by the need to check a purely formal feature (labeled [], following Grewendorf & Sabel 1999); (2) Feature interpretation obeys the feature interpretation principle (FIP): Checked features are LF-interpreted at their checked position; unchecked features are LF-interpreted at their base position. Under (1), since [] is formal and erased upon checking, scrambling can never in itself affect interpretive possibilities. Under (2), however, scrambling can affect interpretation if the scrambled phrase can check an independent interpreted feature at the scrambling site.

Robert Kennedy (University of Arizona)

**Emergent prosody in Kosraean (Kusaian) reduplication**

We offer a complete account of reduplication in the Oceanic language Kosraean (Lee 1975), whose reduplicative prefix indicates repeated action, as in fo-fos ‘to smoke repeatedly’ and fal-falis ‘to mend repeatedly’. A templatic approach cannot handle the distinction between fal-falis and fo-fos; if it allows a closed syllable prefix in fal-falis, it cannot prevent a similarly closed prefix in fo-fos. Still, a constraint-based account is possible using non-morpheme-specific alignment constraints instead of templates. Syllable-sized reduplication follows from alignment of all morphemes to prosodic edges. Kosraean's reduplicative prefix illustrates an emergence of FOOT-BINARITY. Monomoraic stems like fo receive a monomoraic prefix, creating an ideal bimoraic foot (fo-fos). In contrast, the stem fal is already bimoraic so the prefix includes an additional segment for a second bimoraic foot, as in (fal)(falis). We extend the account to subpatterns for which other concerns override FOOT-BINARITY, such as onset maximization and reduplicative anchoring. We conclude by showing how the Kosraean system is fundamentally similar to the patterns of languages related to it, like those of the Trukic and Ponapeic continua. Our account thus characterizes these languages as members of the same typology since their distinct surface patterns are functions of the same formal principles.

Tiffany L. Kersner (Carleton College)

**Dissociativity in Chisukwa future expressions**

We extend the account to subpatterns for which other concerns override FOOT-BINARITY, such as onset maximization and reduplicative anchoring. We conclude by showing how the Kosraean system is fundamentally similar to the patterns of languages related to it, like those of the Trukic and Ponapeic continua. Our account thus characterizes these languages as members of the same typology since their distinct surface patterns are functions of the same formal principles.

In Chisukwa, an endangered Bantu language spoken in northern Malawi, remoteness is found in both past and future expressions. We discuss two different kinds of ‘remoteness’ distinctions in future expressions. There are four simple future constructions in Chisukwa (1-2). Three of these, those in 1b and 2, are considered to be remote futures. Remoteness thus appears to be marked in two different ways: by an auxiliary element tiise in 2 and by the verbal prefix -ka- in 1b and 2b. Issues addressed include: What is the difference in meaning, both semantic and pragmatic, between the tiise and -ka- remote forms? How does one account for these distinctions within current theories of tense/aspect/mood? We claim that ti and -ka- refer to conceptually distinct domains: -ka- encodes dissociativity. The auxiliary ti is a marker of contingency within each domain.

(1) a. Ti isabe munyaanja. 'S/he will swim in the lake.' (later today or tomorrow)
   b. Ti akasabe munyaanja. 'S/he will swim in the lake.' (after tomorrow)
(2) a. Tiise isabe munyaanja. 'S/he will swim in the lake.' (after tomorrow)
   b. Tiise akasabe munyaanja. 'S/he will swim in the lake.' (after tomorrow)
Silent verbs in Northern Mandarin: A silence neither gaps nor emptiness can fill

We reanalyze Northern Mandarin examples where a verb goes missing. Northern Mandarin rejects any object nominal phrase after a silent verb. Furthermore, this dialect forbids a verb inside an island to be silent. These restrictions suggest a grammatical process at work that silences verbs. We propose that these restrictions are the result of VP-topicalization followed by ellipsis. This analysis accounts for the island sensitivity of these constructions: Since VP-topicalization feeds ellipsis, constructions with elided VPs are not derivable from configurations where movement is not possible. The restriction on the argument status of the nominal after the silent verb also follows: To avoid topicalization (and elision) along with the VP, the object phrase needs to move out of VP; the subsequent topicalization of the VP, which contains the object's trace, would then give rise to a configuration where the object's trace c-commands the moved-out NP. Adverbs do not pose a problem because they are not subject to the same requirement that they bind their trace. The data presented here cannot be accommodated by either of Tang's (2001) proposals for silent verbs (gapping and empty verbs). Instead, Northern Mandarin provides support for a third source for silent verbs, VP-ellipsis via topicalization.

Contacts & language intermixing among Chaco indigenous populations: 16th-19th centuries

Samuel Lafone Quevedo, writing in 1894 in his introduction to Los Lules, noted 'Todo esto nos prueba que las lenguas del Chaco han sufrido las más violentas mezclas... Cuanto más conozco la historia de nuestras lenguas más me convenzo que todo es mezcla...'

[All this proves to us that the languages of the Chaco have undergone the most violent mixtures. The more I know the history of our languages the more am convinced that everything is mixed.] Taking his comments as a point of departure, we consider the mixing and contacts in Chaco indigenous languages, utilizing historical documentation from the 16th-19th centuries. The geographic area encompassed in this study includes parts of Argentina, Paraguay, Bolivia, and Brazil and is inhabited today by about 260,000 Indians, speaking at least 30 different languages. Available linguistic sources include several latinate grammars, linguistic sketches, short vocabularies, lists of plants and animals, and translations of religious tracts. Ethnographic descriptions provide information on the different types of contact that occurred between indigenous groups—those who were in regular social contact and those who had sporadic and often hostile encounters with each other. Both types of contact led to language change. We conclude that 'las violentas mezclas' in Chaco languages have led to three types of results—to essentially discrete languages with little or no admixture, to one of the indigenous languages prevailing, and/or to languages which are some type of mixed or intertwined language.

Creole phonology typology: Evidence against the simplicity hypothesis

Synchronic work on the typology of creole phonologies is virtually nonexistent. We present results from a comparative study of the segmental and syllabic inventories of a typological sample of creole languages and compare them to the phonology of noncreole languages. The size of phoneme inventories in noncreole languages ranges from 11 to 141 phonemes, with the typical size between 20 and 37 segments (Maddieson 1984). However, the vast majority of creole languages sampled (c. 90%) shows phoneme inventory sizes typical of noncreole languages, that is, 20-37 phonemes. Concerning vowel quality inventories, the great majority of creole languages (c. 85%) shows five or seven qualities, just like typical noncreole languages. No creole language shows the simplest inventory of noncreoles, i.e. /i, u, a/. Much has been made of the creole tendency to adjust superstrate lexical items towards CV shape. However, the great majority of creoles in the present sample (c. 85%) allows syllable-initial CC clusters and a single non-nasal consonant in the coda. In contrast to McWhorter's (2001) creole simplicity hypothesis, the results from this study show that creole phonologies are not simple. Instead, creole segmental inventories fall within the range considered typical for noncreole languages, and the creole CCVC syllable template is of medium complexity. Overall, creole phonologies appear to occupy a narrower range and, hence, seem structurally more alike than noncreole languages.

Grammaticalization of body-part prefixes in Upper Necaxa Totonac

Body-part morphemes in Upper Necaxa Totonac (UNT) display a wide range of usages, from literal to figurative to grammatical. The literal senses (1) apply to both parts of the body as well as parts of inanimate objects. Figurative usages range from active-zone (Langacker 1988) specification, to spatial location, to manner specification. Some of the manner-specifying usages are distinctly noncompositional and require an analysis based on cultural context. In 2, the body-part morphemes relate fear to the speaker in a manner specific to the cultural context. Grammatical usages that increase verb valency can be seen in 3. This variety reflects a cline of grammaticalization with multiple stages of development still in use.
Two ways of licensing 'why' in Korean

'Why' in Korean can be licensed by two mechanisms--external-merge in [Spec, CP] or LF-movement to an interrogative head. The crucial evidence for this claim comes from the word order restriction between 'why' and an NPI in Korean: 'Why' may follow an NPI in a local construal (Cho 1998) but not in a nonlocal construal. We propose that 'why' in Korean undergoes LF-movement as other wh-phrases but is initially merged in [Spec, CP] unlike other wh-phrases (cf. Rizzi 1999). On this account, 'why' in a nonlocal construal must undergo LF-placement as other declarative heads do not contain the licensor for it. An NPI may not precede 'why' in a nonlocal construal since it is directly merged into [Spec, CP] of the interrogative clause, it is licensed by the external-merge operation itself (contra Chomsky 1998). 'Why' in a local construal, on the other hand, does not move at all. Since it is directly merged into [Spec, CP] of the interrogative clause, it is licensed by the external-merge operation itself (contra Chomsky 1998). An NPI may not precede 'why' in [Spec, CP]. The scrambled NPI, however, does not pose any problem for 'why' licensed by external-merge. Thus, an NPI may precede 'why' in a local construal without triggering the intervention effect.

---

The Stressmatica stress generator: Constrained without constraints

We describe and demonstrate a rule-driven stress generating program (written in C++) based on a modified version of the Halle-Idsardi stress theory. Given an input string of segments, Stressmatica generates a word stress grid for a wide range of data including languages with diverse syllable structure, quantity insensitive languages and various types of quantity sensitive ones, languages with lexical accents, and languages in which morphological and syntactic structure influence stress. We also discuss projected improvements to Stressmatica. Ultimately, the system will contain only rules—no avoidance or well-formedness constraints. We argue that such a system is computationally simpler and conceptually superior to models based on well-formedness constraints with or without a mixture of rules. We thus provide philosophical and empirical arguments for favoring a rule-based approach to expressing phonological knowledge. We show that it is possible to approach a definition of 'possible phonological rule' within the domain of word stress, at least.

Dhegiha dative verbs

The three varieties of Mississippi Valley Siouan—Dakotan, Dhegiha, and Chiwere-Winnebago—all distinguish transitive verbs from dative transitive verbs and reflexive possessive transitive verbs. Dative verbs are verbs with object possessor or beneficiary raised to object. In reflexive possessive verbs, the subject possesses the object. In the three varieties of Mississippi Valley Siouan there are four overall patterns of inflection for these stems, two being found within Dhegiha. Analogies between the second Dhegiha dative pattern, found in Kansa, Osage, and Quapaw, and the general Dhegiha ‘striking’ instrumental paradigm help explain some of the oddities of the Winnebago-Chiwere paradigms, including the surprising substitution there of the possessive of the ‘striking’ instrumental for the general possessive.
Craig Kopris (Montgomery College)  
*Three Wyandot Paternosters*

Wyandot is an extinct Northern Iroquoian language. The last extensive fieldwork on the language was performed by Marius Barbeau in 1911-1912, producing around 253 handwritten pages of texts, with word-by-word glossing and a separate free translation (Barbeau 1960). Since there are no more speakers, there are no new materials for analysis. However, three different unanalyzed Paternosters exist: (1) Connelley 1928 reproduces an earlier separately published Paternoster by the same author. Connelley was a folklorist and historian who spent considerable time among the Wyandots in Kansas. (2) Haldeman 1860 gives a phonetic analysis of a translation taken down before 1843. Haldeman was a phonetician who spent only a short time with Wyandot speakers in Ohio. (3) Unknown provides a manuscript version only, of uncertain date. It was possibly taken down in Ohio. These translations by different researchers with different training and exposure to the Wyandot language show interesting similarities as well as profound differences. On the one hand, although the first verse is similar, the rest are distinct, translating the same concepts quite differently. On the other hand, some of the same errors permeate across translations. For instance, the word ‘our father’ has been translated with ‘your pl. father’ instead. It is rare that unanalyzed material becomes available in an extinct language; in this instance we have the opportunity to compare three variants of the same text.

George Kotzoglou (University of Reading)  
*Particles, affixes, & the limits of head movement: The case of Greek*

We examine the status of verb movement and the distribution of preverbal particles in Greek within the minimalist program. We note the ungrammaticality of sequences in which the subject intervenes between a fronted wh- element and the verb (an already well-known pattern in Romance). We first reject the I-to-C movement account of this phenomenon, based on the different behavior of preverbal particles and clitics in questions and in imperatives. We also reject the relativized minimality account which posits that the CLLDed preverbal subjects act as blockers of wh- movement. We conclude that what seems to be the equivalent of the ‘wh- criterion’ in Greek is a requirement on linear PF adjacency between the C head and the verb group and not the presence of the verb in C. Two theoretical implications of our findings are: (1) The different ways in which the imperative affix and the Q-morpheme are accommodated in Greek, as well as the fact that particles act as blockers of head movement show that there is narrow-syntax V-movement in Greek (apart from the requirement of linear adjacency). (2) The different behavior of affixes and preverbal particles leads us to interesting conclusions with respect to the structure of morphology.

Paul D. Kroebner (Indiana University)  
Robert E. Moore (University of Chicago)  
*Particle-verbs in Chinookan*

Particle-verb constructions (PVCs) as defined here combine an uninflected particle-verb (PV), which carries most of the predicate’s semantic load, with a fully inflected but semantically minimal auxiliary verb. PVCs are pervasive throughout the Chinookan family, alongside the fully inflected, semantically nominal verbs for which these languages are better known. The inflected auxiliary of PVCs is almost always built on a single lexical root (of the ‘be.make/do’ sort) though, thanks to the rich inflection of Chinookan, a range of construction types can be observed (e.g. intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive). We draw on textual and elicitation data from various periods to sketch the morphosyntax of PVCs in the Chinookan family, noting patterns of variability between languages. Attention is given to distinguishing the PVC from related constructions and to the range of functions of PVs and of the auxiliary outside the PVC proper.

William Labov (University of Pennsylvania)  
*The reinterpretation of social categories in the course of linguistic change*

We deal with the mechanism by which a linguistic change in progress becomes generalized to the speech community as a whole. The first stage of a change involves increasing diversity in the speech community, which becomes differentiated by social class and gender. Eckert 1999 showed that the latest stages of the Northern Cities Shift in Detroit are correlated with social class while the earlier stages are correlated with gender. These findings have now been replicated in the *Atlas of North American English* for the entire Inland North. It is proposed that the shift from social class to gender correlation may be a process general to linguistic change. The salience of gender as a social category can lead children to reinterpret social class differences as gender differences; change will then be accelerated among females in all social groups. In a second stage of reinterpretation, male children treat the gender-specific level acquired from their mothers as the unmarked level for the speech community and so consolidate the rising levels of change for the community as a whole.

Mariana Lambova (University of Connecticut)  
*On the representation of topic & focus*

Since Rudin 1988, fronted wh- phrases in Bulgarian are taken to be in specCP where they form an inseparable constituent, a wh-
cluster. Noting that moving one wh- phrase should satisfy the strong [+wh]-feature of C, Boskovic 1998/2002 treat multiple wh-fronting as an epiphenomenon consisting of wh- movement for only one wh- phrase and focus movement for the rest. Both movements land in SpecCP as for him C also licenses focus. Unexpectedly for Boskovic, some speakers allow intervening lexical material in the wh- cluster but only after the first wh- phrase. We argue that focus movement is to a projection below C where wh-phrases cluster initially, and only the highest one undergoes further movement. Interestingly, the presence of a topic blocks the wh-cluster separability for all speakers. We propose that topics adjoin to the lower projection, and while the highest wh- phrase still moves to SpecCP, intonation forces the pronunciation of the wh- cluster below the topic. Now we can derive dialect variation on splitting the wh- cluster. After showing that fronted wh- phrases right-adjoin to one another in the lower projection, we motivate obligatory excorporation of the highest wh- phrase. Excorporation is allowed from one of two possible adjunction structures. Where it is impossible, the whole wh- cluster moves to SpecCP.

Meredith Landman (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)  
Marcin Morzycki (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)  
Reference to event kinds & the representation of manner

In English, expressions introduced by such--as in such a dog--can be taken to involve realizations of a contextually-provided kind (Carlson 1977). Such an understanding is quite natural in part because it is well-established that reference to kinds is possible in the nominal domain. In a number of languages, though, analogues of English such also occur in the verbal domain, referring to a contextually-provided manner. In Polish, for example, taki 'such' occurs in an uninflected form (tak) as a manner adverbial, e.g. tanczyc tak, literally 'dance.INF such'; 'dance that way'). It is possible to extend the kind-reference analysis of these adnominal modifiers to their adverbial counterparts by exploiting the parallelism between individuals and Davidsonian events (Davidson 1967). But this quite straightforward path leads to an understanding of these adverbials in terms of a less well-established notion--reference to event kinds (cf. Barwise & Perry 1983, Hinrichs 1985). We formulate an analysis framed in these terms and explore its consequences for the semantics of manner.

Richard K. Larson (University at Stony Brook-SUNY)  
Franc Marusic (University at Stony Brook-SUNY)  
Two sources for postnominal adjectives?

In English, adjectives appear postnominally in two cases which are usually given two quite different analyses. Cases like the stars visible, with an independent noun, are typically viewed as reduced relatives (Hudson 1973). By contrast, cases like something red, with a clitic or dependent noun, are often analyzed as the result of noun-raising over a prenominal adjective (Abney 1987, Kishimoto 2000). The latter are called 'indefinite pronoun constructions' (IPCs). On these proposals, cases with independent noun contain an underlingly postnominal adjective whereas IPCs contain an underlingly prenominal adjective. We present evidence showing that the latter idea is incorrect. Adjectives in IPCs do not pattern like prenominal adjectives but rather like postnominal ones. For example, recursion is possible with prenominal attributive adjectives but illicit with postnominal adjectives. This is unexpected if IPC adjectives derive from prenominal adjectives (something big red); there is no reason why noun could not raise over multiple adjectives (cf. verb-raising, which crosses multiple adverbs). This and other arguments (including semantic and cross-linguistic evidence) show the noun-raising analysis is not correct: The adjectives taking part in IPCs behave like postnominal adjectives, not prenominal ones.

Richard K. Larson (University at Stony Brook-SUNY)  
Miyuki Sawada (Ming Chuan University)  
Adjunct clauses, presupposition, & root transformations

Hopper and Thompson 1973 (H&T) observe that root transformations in English are possible only in adjunct clauses whose content is not presupposed and blocked in when-, before-, and after- clauses, whose content typically is presupposed (Heinämäki 1978). We suggest a solution how a semantic/pragmatic phenomenon like presupposition constrains syntactic operations like root transformations. Johnston 1994 argues for a semantic difference between because- adjuncts vs when-/before-/after- adjuncts. According to Johnston, because takes a closed event sentence as its complement and expresses a relation between closed event sentences. By contrast when, before, and after take an open event sentence as complement, yielding an open event sentence that typically functions as a restriction on an adverb of quantification. We propose that the extra semantic element in Johnston's analysis of because complements--the event quantifier--corresponds to an additional layer of syntactic structure, and that the latter explains the availability of root transforms. In brief, the complement of because is a larger syntactic domain than that of when-, before-, and after-, and this extra layer of structure is the domain of root transforms. We cite a variety of cross-linguistic data supporting the view. These include Swedish, Japanese, Haitian Creole, and Sakha.
We discuss lexical data gathered in the Snake River region of southeastern Idaho by students at Idaho State University using the vocabulary portion of the questionnaire from Hall 1985 and compare the results of their surveys with Hall's results. Using both sets of survey results, a comparison of the overall totals of frequency of responses for items reveals three basic trends in frequency of responses: (1) There is no real change in highest frequency term for the questions (often accompanied by some shift in order of secondary terms). (2) There is a rearrangement in the order of frequency of the terms. This has two main variations: terms 1 and 2 switch places, or there is an overall rearrangement of the terms. (3) There is a rise in the responses of 'don't know', where 'don't know' is the highest or a high frequency term for a question. In addition to these observations, some new terms have been introduced. The paper will present examples from each of these types of shifts. In addition to shifts in frequency for usage of terms, there has been a loss of terms associated with a more rural lifestyle. This finding gives us insight into the urbanization of speakers in this region. It is hoped that this study will help expand our knowledge of western US dialects and that by looking at comparable data collected 30 years apart, shifts in the dialect of eastern Idaho can be documented.

Chungmin Lee (Seoul National University)  
Contrastive topic or contrastive focus?

When a potential topic in the question is understood as a sum of partitions, i.e. as conjunctive, and the speaker responds to a part of the whole, then it becomes a contrastive topic (CT) (Lee 1999). Example 2 has a CT (coins) for the Q in 1:

(1) Do you have money?
(2) na 'I tongceon 'coins'-UN 'CT' iss 'have' --e 'DEC
'I have coins (but not bills),'

In contrast, if some matters of concern are poised as disjunctive, and the speaker responds to a disjunct of the Q, then it becomes a contrastive focus (CF), e.g. for the question

(3) Did the baby pick the money first or the pen first?

the reply in Korean is:

(4) ton -ul / ?*ton-un mence cip --ess -e.
money-ACC/money-CT first pick-PAST-DEC
(It) picked the money first/?*CT

CT typically conveys a contrasted negative proposition and predicates also take CT cross-linguistically. In CF there occurs exclusion of other alternatives and the choice is exhaustive. The focus value is a set of propositions whereas the CT value is a more complex set of sets of propositions (Buring 2000). An alternative question in Korean/Japanese consists of two full question sentences, only superficially unlike in English (disjunction wider scope than Q). All CFs can be reduced to alternative questions for their previous contexts, as in reciprocally contrastive focus 'I told you: CarlF sued the companyF', which follows an alternative disjunctive Q 'Did Carl sue the company, or did the company sue Carl?' CF has not been so far adequately characterized and many linguists (e.g. Gundel 1999, Choi 1999) treat CT as CF.

Peppina Lee (City University of Hong Kong)  
Association with focus or association with focus phrase?

Although different semantic frameworks have been proposed for the interpretation of focus (cf. Chomsky 1977; Jackendoff 1972; Kratzer 1991; Krifka 1991, 1992; von Stechow 1981, 1983, 1991; Rooth 1985, 1992, 1996; Wold 1996, Pulman 1997), Krifka 1997 shows that none of them can assign correct interpretation to the only- sentences with focus embedded in complex NPs or in Spec of NPs, both being syntactic islands. In order to correctly predict the unique meaning of only- sentences, Krifka posits a hybrid framework of focus interpretation which has only directly associated with focus phrases (FPs) instead of focus. Our argument that associations with FPs and foci are both necessary is governed by the following condition: If the focus-sensitive operator in question is a negative quantifier, association should be with focus; otherwise, the association should be with FPs. Hence, our condition suggests that it is the semantics of the focus-sensitive operator that determines whether the relevant association is with focus or FP. Finally, our account also casts doubt on the analysis of focus movement since an obligatory association of a negative quantifier with a focus in a syntactic island involves moving the focus out of the island.

Heike Lehnert (University at Buffalo-SUNY)  
Discrete & gradient aspects of devoicing in Hungarian, Thai, & English stop-liquid sequences

It is a well-known coarticulatory phenomenon that liquids preceded by voiceless stops partially devoice, e.g. English clash /kla / [kla ] ( symbolizes here partial devoicing). The results of an experimental investigation of voiceless stop-liquid sequences in Thai, English, and Hungarian reported here show that liquid devoicing exhibits a systematic pattern in English but not in Hungarian or Thai. The experiment investigated the amount of devoicing in /pl/, /pR/ (R = any rhotic), /kl/, /kR/, and /tR/ sequences with respect to two parameters--the influence of a syllable/morpheme boundary, and the effect of speaking rate. Liquid devoicing in English shows
sensitivity to prosodic boundaries (consistent with Docherty 1992), but neither Thai nor Hungarian show the same systematic effect of the boundary on the amount of devoicing. Speaking rate correlates positively with voice onset time (Pearson's r = 733) in the English 'within boundaries' condition, but not in Thai (Pearson's r = .552) or Hungarian (Pearson's r = .541). While it is generally assumed that gradient phenomena like liquid devoicing are part of the phonetic rather than phonological component of the grammar, the results of this study suggest that at least some quantitative phenomena are phonological in nature.

**Philip LeSourd** (Indiana University)

*How to swear in Maliseet-Passamaquodd*

Three morphemes, -liq(e)-, -noq(e)-, and -alkittiy(e)-, are employed by speakers of Maliseet-Passamaquodd to express anger or to indicate the intensity of some feature of an event, e.g. a resounding crash. These morphemes are typically inserted within a verb stem: Corresponding to mace-wa 'go away' (literally 'start to walk'), one may say mace-liq-wa, mace-noq-wa, or macy-alkittiy-wa with something of the same force as English 'get the hell out of here!' Comparable forms are made from nouns by suffixing -alkittis: espans 'raccoon', espans-alkittis 'damned raccoon'. The same element may be added before -alkittiy(e)-, apparently as many times as desired, to indicate additional anger or intensity: macy-alkittis-alkittiy-wa. The intensifiers that appear in these formations have no literal meaning, a fact to which speakers point with some pride, noting that their language, unlike English, gives them a way to curse without using either 'dirty' or sacrilegious words. The forms in question are nonetheless regarded as off-color. Thus, for example, their use by children is frowned upon. Unlike the unrelenting expressions of English, such as 'fian-fuckin'-tastic, which are inserted at prosodic boundaries, the intensifiers of Maliseet-Passamaquodd are inserted into stems at morpheme boundaries. In terms of the usual analysis of Algonquian verb stems into initial, medial, and final components, these elements may be analyzed as medials.

Ordinarily, however, only one medial may appear within a stem while the intensifiers may co-occur with medials. Thus -alkittiy(e)- precedes the medial -ahqelw(e)- ‘tail’ in the stem of the verb ‘qon-alkittiy-ahqelw-a-n ‘it’s (a rat’s) tail was (that) damned long’ and may either precede or follow the medial -tun(e)- ‘mouth’ in ‘kop-alkittiy-tune-n-a-l ~ kop-tun-alkittiy-n-a-l ‘he or she cover’s the other’s mouth (forcefully) with his or her hand’. As productively derived forms, intensive stems provide a useful probe for investigating the synchronic status of stem-internal boundaries.

**Rose Letsholo** (University of Michigan)

*Acristo Pires* (University of Michigan)

*A'-movement & agreement in Ikalanga* (Session 8)

We propose an overarching analysis for the complex morphosyntax of A'-constructions in Ikalanga, a Bantu language spoken in Botswana. An A'-moved object agrees in person/number with an A'-agreement morpheme (Aagr).

(1) Ndi-ani bo-Neo wa ba ka bona?
    Foc-who and-others-Neo2a A'agr SA2 past see

    'Who did Neo and others see?'

However, A'-movement of subjects triggers A'agr only if it is from embedded to matrix clauses. In-situ wh- objects and A'-moved matrix clause subjects do not trigger A'agr (2). Crucially, ba in 1/wa in 2 are subject agreement, obligatory in Ikalanga.

(2) Ndi-ani wa ka bona mbisana?
    Foc-who SA past see boy

    'Who saw a/the boy?'

We show that A'agr is triggered by overt A'-movement from an A'-position lower than TP to an A'-position in the CP-domain. Overt subjects in Ikalanga, a null-subject language, are base generated in an A'-position (cf. Baker 2002 and refs. therein). Therefore, matrix clause subjects (2) do not A-move across the A'-agreement projection, which is below their base-position, but embedded clause subjects do. This analysis illuminates phenomena also observed in other Bantu languages (see Letsholo 2002 and refs. therein) and contributes to our understanding of the morphosyntactic interface of the human language faculty.

**Yan-kit Ingrid Leung** (McGill University/University of Southern California)

*Feature strength in L2 & L3 interlanguage grammars* (Session 6)

We address the issue of variable feature strength in the initial state of postcritical period nonnative language acquisition. Two experimental studies involving L2/L3 acquisition of English and French by Cantonese and Vietnamese speakers are presented. Study 1 looks at the initial state of L2 English of 32 native speakers of Cantonese while Study 2 compares the initial state of L2/L3 French of 12 native speakers of Vietnamese who do not speak any English and 44 native speakers of Cantonese who are also proficient L2 English speakers. Both studies examine verbal feature strength by focusing on adverb placement using two tasks—an elicited written production task based on Herschensohn 1998 and a preference task adapted from White 1991. Results of Study 1 show no variable feature strength in the L2 English initial state of the Cantonese speakers while results of Study 2 indicate that both groups of French beginners have variable adverb placement in their L2/L3 interlanguage grammars. These findings are not totally consistent with Eubank 1993/1994 and 1994 who argued that feature strength is 'inert' (i.e. optional verb movement) in the L2 initial state. Implications of our data for the 'inertness' theory will be discussed.
Phonologists have not yet reached a consensus on how to represent underlying distinctions between vowels and glides. One possible representation is to mark some high vowels as unlinked to a nuclear slot, the converse of prelinking to N (Guerssel 1986, Harris & Kaisse 2000). Such an analysis, however, is unable to account for the transparency of the glide in Turkish. A second representation uses the feature [consonantal] (Kaye & Lowenstamm 1984, Hyman 1985, Hayes 1989). This constrictions-based definition requires that glides be made with more constriction than vowels though palatograms show this is not always the case (Straka 1964). A third way to represent the distinction between underlying glides and vowels is with the C/V segmentation version of feature geometry (Clements 1991). This can be extended to represent glides with C-place features. Such a theory accounts for the nontransparency of glides in Sundanese (Cohn 1993), for the two different glides in Karuk (Hume 1995), for word final glide deletion in Cree, and finally for the transparency of the glide in Turkish vowel harmony. Utilizing the distinction between C/V-place to represent glides is a natural extension of FG and the only way to account for the behavior of glides.

**Anthony M. Lewis (Syracuse University)**

*Continuancy & the aerodynamics of /r/ production in Spanish*

An acoustical study was conducted to determine how the continuancy values assigned to vowels, /s/, /l/, /n/, and postpausal position may influence the phonetic realization of a following word-initial /r/, reported to surface as the voiced alveolar trill in these contexts. Four Spanish speakers produced sequences of /N# /, /s# /, /l# /, /n# / and /## /, exemplifying five distinct points along a continuum of continuancy. Three measures were obtained--duration, intensity, and number of apico-alveolar contacts. The results indicate that lesser degrees of continuancy associated with prerhotic segments correspond to more continuan production of the following trill--a finding inconsistent with autosegmental spreading of continuancy values. It is hypothesized that the postpausal, postnasal, and, to a somewhat lesser extent, postlateral contexts are those most conducive to speakers' regulation of airflow and their establishment of appropriate aperture size, resulting in a higher percentage of sustained trills. Conversely, speakers' control over aperture size and airflow is significantly diminished following highly continuan segments due to the difficulty of appropriately modifying the airstream. It is proposed that trills are complex speech sounds which phonologically pattern as a single segment but are phonetically comprised of a series of microsegments vacillating between [+cont] and [-cont] gestures.

**Byung-jin Lim (Indiana University)**

**Kyoko Nagao (Indiana University)**

**Kenneth de Jong (Indiana University)**

*Phonology & orthography in lexical access: A case study of Korean perception of syllable affiliations & voicing contrasts of English stops*

We examine the relationship between phonology and orthography, and their interaction in lexical access of a word presented auditorily. Korean phonemic contrasts in syllable initial position are transparently represented in both phonology and orthography. However, contrasts in coda position undergo syllable final neutralization in the phonology. This neutralization is not reflected in the orthography. We examine perceptual responses by Korean listeners to repetitive speech where repeated singleton coda consonants get perceived as onset consonants as repetition rate increases. There are 336 stimuli recorded by Americans at various rates controlled by a metronome. Two groups of 20 Koreans were asked to identify syllable affiliations and voicing of stops with two different orthographic displays--English and Korean. Results showed: (1) Koreans were very similar to English listeners in resyllabification perception whether or not they were assessed under the English display condition. (2) Syllable final stops, due to the phonological neutralization rule, were not well distinguished, and there was a bias toward /b/ over /p/. (3) Using Korean orthography reflects frequency of characters contributing to bias toward /b/ over /p/. This suggests that even though the /b/-/p/ contrast is maintained in the orthography, the phonological neutralization is more present.

**Chienjer Charles Lin (University of Arizona)**

*Event integration of Mandarin compound verbs*

Two opposing stances have been taken regarding the syntax-semantics interface--the lexicalist approach (e.g. Chomsky 1981, Levin & Rappaport-Hovav 1995) vs the constructionalist approach (e.g. Borer 2001, Harley & Noyer 2000). We argue for the latter stance by looking at how event structures denoted by the morphemes of a Mandarin compound verb are integrated into the event of the compound. A majority of Mandarin verbs are compounds made of two morphemes. We argue that different classes of Mandarin compounds integrate the events of the morphemes differently within distinct internal constructions. In a V-O compound like *guo44 p2* (pass-date) 'to expire', for example, the object morpheme affects the telicity of the verb morpheme, thus changing the eventuality of the compound. In V-O compounds and resultative compounds, the event types of the morphemic verbs are transformed to make compounds of different event types through morphosyntactic operations. This analysis supports the constructionalist stance that the event structure a verb denotes is not inherent to the lexicon but 'fundamentally computational' (Borer 2001) based on the ingredients (i.e. morphemes) and morphosyntactic (constructional) operations in a language.
We investigate Americans’ ideologies about nonnative English, examining the relationship between categorization and evaluation of nonnative speakers. Listeners appear to respond to native varieties in the same stereotyped ways regardless of whether they can identify the variety correctly (Milroy & McClenaghan 1977, Dailey-O’Cain 1999); this study suggests that nonnative varieties, which are relatively unfamiliar to listeners, may be perceived as largely undifferentiated and less closely linked to specific stereotypes. Native speakers of US English were given a list of countries to rate in terms of how ‘correct’, ‘pleasant’, and ‘friendly’ they believed the English spoken by people from each country to be. They then listened to voice samples of speakers from a subset of these countries (US and Italy, rated positively on the first task, and Mexico and Korea, rated negatively on the first task) and were asked to evaluate each speaker on the same attributes and guess where they were from. Ratings of actual voice samples did not always correspond to ratings made based on country names; nor were listeners’ guesses as to the nonnative speakers’ place of origin accurate. Comparison of data collected from respondents both imagining speakers from various countries and actually hearing them sheds light on the relationship between identification and evaluation of nonnative speech and more generally on the information used to categorize and evaluate nonnative language varieties. We thus ultimately address not only US English speakers' evaluations of varieties but also their perception of what constitutes these varieties and who speaks them.

Joanna Lowenstein (University of Chicago)  
Acoustic analysis of the speech of adults with cochlear implants

We present acoustic analysis of the speech of three postlingually deafened adults with cochlear implants (CIs), from preimplant and one-, three-, and six-month postactivation recordings. As neither intonation nor vowels provide physical landmarks to aid articulation, and stops have physical landmarks but require precise articulation and timing, these factors should be most affected by recovery of (partial) hearing after implantation of a CI. Articulatory changes that follow experience with a cochlear implant are characterized via acoustic analysis of vowel formants and duration; stop VOT, duration, and burst spectra; and sentence F0 peaks and contours. Subject data are analyzed for individual longitudinal trends and implant effects. Trends are compared across subjects and to those found in the MIT group studies. Preliminary analysis of one subject’s vowel formant data reveals an increased use of acoustic space in postimplant sessions, a departure from very tightly clustered tokens preimplant. There is a tendency towards change away from preimplant values at one month postactivation and back towards preimplant values at three months and six months for vowel duration and VOT. An overall increase in fundamental frequency with CI experience can be observed in both vowel F0 data and sentence intonation data.

Barbara J. Luka (University of Arizona)  
Cyma Van Petten (University of Arizona)  
Qualitative types of relatedness: Event-related potential (ERP) differences for semantic similarity vs lexical contiguity

Semantic priming paradigms demonstrate facilitated lexical comprehension in the context of single words (i.e., the target word ‘beer’ is recognized faster in context of ‘wine’ vs the unrelated context of ‘clock’). Relatedness between words is usually measured by association strength, normatively defined for a word pair AB as the percentage of subjects who produce word B given word A as a cue. However, semantic priming studies using reaction time measures have not conclusively or consistently demonstrated reaction time differences across relatedness types. Event related potential measures were used to investigate three qualitatively different types of semantic relatedness: similar (child-baby); event (deliver-baby); phrasal (adorable-baby). A subset of phrasal targets included noncompositional combinations (gravy-boat, elbow-grease, brain-storm). Electroencephalographic activity was recorded continuously as subjects read the word pairs and performed a subsequent letter search task. We found that word pairs related by contiguity (event, phrasal) elicited more positive ERPs, supporting the conclusion that different types of association do not share the same underlying processes. Frontal positivities and prefrontal latency differences were elicited by noncompositional phrasals, supporting the conclusion that noncompositional meaning is an exception-based process but that it does not require initial failure of literal comprehension nor subsequent reanalysis.

Martha J. Macri (University of California-Davis)  
Victor Golla (University of California-Davis)  
The J. P. Harrington Project: A progress report

When John Peabody Harrington was hired in 1915 by the Bureau of American Ethnography as a research ethnologist, he had already devoted nearly a decade to fieldwork on Native American languages and was to continue this work for over 40 years. The goal of the J. P. Harrington Database Project, funded by NSF, is to increase access to the linguistic and ethnographic field notes he collected. The database will provide a continuous text in an easily readable form and will be used to generate lists of words and phrases. It can be searched for specific words or by categories such as plants, animals, personal names, place names, and cultural items. The response of native communities in California has been enthusiastic! The project staff has been energetic in community outreach, and many graduate students have joined the project, coding data for independent study units, many working on languages directly related to their
own research and/or their own heritage languages. We discuss two early accomplishments of the project—the development of keyboard equivalents for Harrington’s phonetic symbols (using Times font extended ASCII characters, equivalent on both Mac and PC platforms), and the creation of a confidentiality policy, the goal of which is to protect both sacred and private information contained in the notes.

**Candace Maher** (University of New Mexico)  
*Conceptualization & categorization: Jicarilla Apache classificatory verb stems*

We examine the Jicarilla Apache (Southern Athabaskan) classificatory verb stem (CVS), an extremely rare type of verbal classifier in the languages of the world. Young and Morgan 1980 defined CVSs as ‘stems . . . [that] restrict such expression to specific classes of object or subject’ (p. 367). According to many (Basso 1990, Rushforth 1991, Hoijer 1954, Young & Morgan 1992, Axelrod 1993, Aikhenvald 2000, Craig 1987, Mithun 1984) CVSs found in Athabaskan languages designate two types of action: (1) stative, in which CVSs incorporate subject/object (S/O) physical characteristics and spatial orientation, and (2) motion in which CVSs encode a S/O involved in an event. Semantic parameters, domain overlap, and role of prototype theory are explored in the formation of categories. We explore the underpinnings of the Jicarilla Apache conceptual system and the use of these CVSs and demonstrate that Jicarilla Apache has several categories that the other Southern Athabaskan languages do not possess. Basso 1990 worked on the semantics of classification of Western Apache, which is relevant to our research. Axelrod 1993, 2000 also researched semantic parameters and domains in the Koyukon language. Rushforth 1991 found relationships between Bearlake (Slave) CVSs and literal and metaphorical use. Craig 1986 discovered the underpinnings of the Jacaltec classifying system. Mithun 1984 looked at synchronic and diachronic factors involved in noun classification systems.

**Paula Marentette** (Augustana University College)  
*Embodied phonology: The nature of location in the acquisition of sign phonology*

Children are very accurate in their production of the location aspect of signs in American Sign Language (ASL). We demonstrate that, for three signing children, these errors are systematic and provide insight into the nature of location as a phonological element of ASL. We argue that location is embodied in a manner distinct from handshape and movement and that this embodiment explains both ease of acquisition of location and the nature of the errors produced. Most of the errors produced by two children involved a physical proximity to the target location. One child's pattern was distinct: He produced many errors involving loss of body contact. These errors mirror the two types of location used in ASL—a body-grounded space and a planar signing space. Children generally master the body-grounded location with ease. While this aspect is central to the phonology of ASL (change from CHIN to NOSE alters meaning), it is limited by the nature of its embodiment. It is inherently an n-ary list of holistic units that has never succumbed to a feature-based description. These holistic units happen to be familiar to young children, hence the ease of acquisition.

**Stephen Marlett** (Summer Institute of Linguistics/University of North Dakota)  
*Surface contrast without phonemic contrast: Theoretical & practical implications*

In Seri, a native language of Mexico, a lengthening rule does not apply to suffixal segments. It applies to C in the context ‘V__ except when C is a suffix’. It applies to V in the context ‘VC__ except when V is a suffix (or epenthetic)’. The rule, in essence, requires the absence of a morpheme boundary before the target segment. The theoretical problem is that it has been claimed implicitly (in classical phonemics), or explicitly (as in generative phonology [Chomsky & Halle 1968:67] and lexical phonology [Mohanan1986:9] ), that morphological information such as ‘not a suffix’ is not available to subphonemic (or postlexical) phonological operations. We explore this matter and argue that (1) this is indeed a postlexical operation in Seri, and that (2) phonological theory must provide some mechanism for accessing morphological information at this level. We also discuss the practical consequences of a decision to not represent lengthening in the practical orthography.

**Hirokuni Masuda** (University of Hawaii-Hilo)  
*The PAG hypothesis: What pidgens & creoles tell us about our evolutionary pathways*

Pidgin and creole linguistics is rising as an impending epicenter at the scene of the biological study of language. This paper applies the idea of the life-cycle to the research on language evolution. Originally, the early-stage pidgin refers to the variety with no explicit grammatical rules while the stable pidgin begins to be recognized as a tool of communication. A major shift, however, takes place in the next extended pidgin, which attains a grammatical complexity and is socially accepted for a wider socialization in a speech community. When a pidgin language is acquired as a native tongue by children, it becomes a creole, being furnished with a full representation of the I-Language faculty. According to the previous research (Bickerton 2000, Masuda 2002), it is first hypothesized that the linguistic form of our predecessor, homo erectus, was a type of the early-stage or stable pidgin, constituting part of the protolanguage [PL]. Secondly, the language of our direct ancestor, homo sapiens, is regarded as the archetypal language [AL] that possesses syntax. A careful examination of the P-C life-cycle now reveals that the [AL] could further be divided into two stages, which are comparable with the extended nurtured pidgin and the full-blown nativized creole. The major difference between the two is determined not by the capacity of syntax but by narrative superstructure. The system of narrative superstructure only appeared in the secondary stage with the emergence of the modern homo sapiens sapiens some 50,000 years ago. This particular linguistic form is now named the genuine language [GL].
Joyce McDonough (University of Rochester)  
*Role of paradigm charts in word-based dictionaries: Learning from Young & Morgan*  
(Session 46)

This year is the 60th anniversary of the publication of the first Young and Morgan grammar of Navajo, an Athabaskan language of the southwest with a highly productive and complex morphology. The grammars and dictionaries are remarkable for their level of detail and organization. Despite the productivity of the Athabaskan morphology, in which a verb is a proposition, which mitigates against word-based entries, *The Navajo Language* lists fully inflected word forms as its main entries in deference to speakers’ stated preferences. Listing complex words is made possible through the use of extensive and interrelated paradigms which represent a well-articulated and elegant theory of the lexicon of a morphologically complex language. We lay out the structure of the paradigm system Young and Morgan have invented for their dictionary.

John E. McLaughlin (Utah State University)  
*Numic final segments or morpheme classes: The importance of parts of speech*  
(Session 54)

Numic final segments have been mainstays of theoretical phonology since Edward Sapir first discussed them in *The psychological reality of phonemes*. In all this work, however, there was no consideration of different parts of speech until Wick Miller’s work with Central Numic languages. Miller clearly described the differences between morpheme classes and final segments in verbs and nonverbs as early as 1972, yet the majority of Central Numic publications since have continued to treat verbs like every other part of speech. We demonstrate the clear differences between Central Numic final segments on nonverbs and morpheme class membership on verbs. Comparative/historical evidence will also demonstrate that this part of speech distinction is valuable in solving some of the problems found in the final segment/morpheme class systems of Southern and Western Numic as well.

Rocky R. Meade (University of the West Indies-Mona)  
*Socioeconomic status & language acquisition in Jamaica*  
(Session 33)

Various researchers have found that a positive/supportive style of caregiver-child interaction, as opposed to frequent caregiver use of directives, impacts positively on various indicators of the child’s language development. There are also indications that some characteristics of caregiver-child interaction vary with socioeconomic status (SES). Generally, it has been found that middle SES caregivers’ talk shows more positive/supportive style characteristics than does that of lower SES caregivers. The implication is that children from lower SES families can be expected have a slower rate of language acquisition than middle SES children (Kloth, et al. 1998: 163). We demonstrate that there is evidence of differences in the rate of phonological development between the two SES groups in Jamaica. We look at aspects of the acquisition of phonology by Jamaican children from middle and lower SES groups. Children between the ages of 1:0 and 2:6 were recorded longitudinally over two years, up to the ages of 3:0 and 4:6, respectively. The middle SES group showed a tendency to acquire the phonological phenomena slightly earlier than the lower SES group, but, notably, the sequence development is very similar.

Alissa Melinger (Max Planck Institute-Nijmegen)  
*Subcategorization frames & an hierarchically organized lexicon*  
(Session 12)

We provide evidence that the locus of the syntactic priming effect (cf. Pickering & Branigan 1999) is lexical by demonstrating that the selection of competing subcategorization frames is influenced by prior exposure to a single verb. We presented Dutch native speakers with drawings depicting three-participant events of giving and showing which can be described with either a DO or a PP structure, e.g. *The boy gives the woman some flowers vs The boy gives some flowers to the woman*. Before each drawing was presented, speakers read ditransitive verb primes that are restricted either to a prepositional (dative, PP) or double object (DO) construction, e.g. ‘transfer (PP only) vs ‘refuse’ (DO only). We find that a single verb prime is sufficient to bias speakers’ preferences for a particular sentence frame. Following verb primes associated only to the double object subcategorization frame more pictures were described with a double object construction than following a control condition or following verbs associated with the dative subcategorization frame. This result shows that morphosyntactic features in the lexicon can be primed. The result adds to the growing body of experimental evidence suggesting that morphosyntactic features serve an organization function within the lexicon.

Luisa Meroni (University of Maryland-College Park)  
*Every child knows all about every*  
(Session 14)

Andrea Gualmini (University of Maryland-College Park)

Previous research has argued that children and adults assign different semantic representations to sentences with the universal quantifier *every* (Philip 1995, Drozd & van Loosbroek 1998). A common assumption to these accounts is that children fail to distinguish between the restrictor (roughly the NP) and the nuclear scope (the VP) of *every*. The present work demonstrates that children know that the restrictor, but not the nuclear scope, is downward entailing. The relevance of the findings is twofold. First, they show that children's knowledge of the universal quantifier *every* runs deeper than is anticipated by recent linguistic accounts of children’s nonadult responses in some contexts. Second, they illustrate another abstract semantic phenomenon that children master at
a young age in the absence of decisive evidence in the input, a finding that is difficult to explain on learning-theoretic models of
language acquisition (e.g. Tomasello, 2000, Pullum & Scholz 2002).

D. Gary Miller (University of Florida) (Session 17)
The origin of Romance conjugated infinitives

Several Romance languages attest conjugated infinitives (CIs), inflected for subject agreement. There are two main hypotheses of their
origin: (1) the nominative subject hypothesis, which makes the CI a spontaneous creation which accidentally looks like the Latin
imperfect subjunctive; and (2) the imperfect subjunctive hypothesis, which derives the CI from the Latin imperfect subjunctive.
Nuorese Sardinian confirms hypothesis 2. The forms that are indistinguishable from Latin imperfect subjunctives occur not only
where an imperfect subjunctive might be expected, as in 1 (cf. Latin s Joannes esset domi ‘if’) but also where an imperfect subjunctive
would not be expected (2), and where no subjunctive would be expected (3).

(1) si Juanne esseret in domo ‘if (only) John were at home’
(2) non keljo a cantares (tue) ‘without them eating’
(3) kene mandicaren ‘without eat.Cl.3plural’

In Old Portuguese, the highest percentage (95.4%) of CIs occurs with prepositions (3). In archaizing legal documents, the CI
alters with subjunctives in the same contexts (1) where uninflected infinitives were always excluded. The most decisive arguments
for continuity are the use of the same forms for imperfect subjunctive (1) and CI (2-3) and the unusual use of the CI after prepositions
(3), a direct reflex of the Vulgar Latin infinitive/imperfect subjunctive. Other languages with CIs, such as Welsh and Hungarian, have
nothing like this.

Philip Miller (University of Lille III/CNRS) (Session 19)
Individual level predicates in direct perception reports

It has often been claimed that stative predicates cannot appear in direct perception reports (DPRs) (e.g. Higginbotham 1983). Felser
1999 claims that the appropriate restriction is that only stage level predicates can appear in DPRs, to the exclusion of individual level
predicates (ILPs), and she provides a syntactic explanation. She claims that the main apparent exceptions (irrealis contexts, cf. Gee
1977) involve a special interpretation of the bare infinitive complement under which it is not a DPR. On the basis of a large corpus
of naturally occurring data, we show that the class of contexts allowing ILPs in DPRs is broader than usually recognized.
Specifically, irrealis contexts are a subclass of a more general type where what is directly perceived is the degree to which a certain ILP
holds, given an implicit scale. A semantic explanation is then provided for the restrictions on ILPs in DPRs, based on a simultaneity
condition that requires that perception-time include a portion of eventuality-time sufficient to recognize the nature of the eventuality, as
determined by a granularity function. Prototypical ILPs are barred from DPRs because they are permanent and homogeneous. This
causes the granularity function to return an infinite time-interval, which cannot be included in perception-time.

Marianne Milligan (University of Wisconsin-Madison) (Session 49)
Leonard Bloomfield’s Menominee fieldwork

In Bloomfield’s publications on Menominee--texts (1928), grammar (1962), lexicon (1975), and various articles--he presents what he
considers to be ‘standard’ Menominee. Since all examples are given in his normalized phonemic orthography, his publications do not
show phonetic realizations, phonetic variation, or exceptions to his rules. He does describe phonetic variation and exceptions in
Chapter 1 of the grammar, but he states the frequency with terms like ‘now and then’ and ‘occasionally,’ and the chapter is filled with
hedges such as ‘perhaps’ and ‘probably.’ Furthermore, even in this chapter he gives examples in phonemic transcription. Therefore,
the data are far from clear. We describe phonetic variation based on an examination of Bloomfield’s original fieldnotes housed in the
National Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian Institution. Examining the fieldnotes reveals the frequency and contexts of the
phonetic variation mentioned in Chapter 1, clarifying much of the data for theoretical analysis. Bloomfield also made morphological
and syntactic changes to the texts he published (see Goddard 1987). These changes can be identified by comparing the published texts
to his fieldnotes. Not surprisingly, Bloomfield made changes to texts by those whom he did not consider to be good speakers, but he
also made changes to texts by even his best speakers. Regardless of speaker, though, phonetic variation occurs frequently in all the
texts.

Eleni Miltsakaki (University of Pennsylvania) (Session 3)
The syntax-discourse interface: Reference in subordinate clauses

The problem of proposing referents for pronouns has been researched extensively. However, no single model accounts for the data.
Structural focusing (Grosz, Joshi, & Weinstein 1995) suggests that pronouns resolve to structurally salient entities, e.g.
subjects.
Semantic/pragmatic focusing (Stevenson et al. 1994) suggests that pronominal interpretation is determined by the focusing properties of verbs. Both approaches are challenged by data such as 1c and 3b respectively.

(1) a. Dodge\(_i\) was robbed by an ex-convict\(_j\).  
b. The ex-convict\(_i\) tied him\(_i\) up,  
c. because he\(_i\) wasn't cooperating.  
d. Then, he\(_i\) took the money and ran.  

(2)  

(3) a. John\(_{agent}\) criticized Bill\(_{patient}\) because he\(_j\) arrived late.  
b. Then, he\(_i\) insulted Susan.

We propose that topic continuity and intrasentential anaphora are distinct discourse processes. We argue that a main clause and its tensed subordinate clauses belong to a single attention update unit. We show that anaphora resolution across units is affected by topic structure, best modeled by structural focusing. Within a single unit, it is affected by semantic factors. The interpretation of subject pronouns was quantified in two conditions (main and adverbial clauses) in two experiments and a corpus study in English and Greek. This work contributes to pronominal interpretation and opens new directions towards understanding the effects of subordination on attention.

Marianne Mithun (University of California-Santa Barbara)  
*The referential status of pronominal affixes*

Pronominal affixes are often assumed to represent an intermediate stage of diachronic development between independent pronouns like English *he* and redundant inflectional markers like English *-s*. The path of development involves changes in distribution, form, and function. Recently it has been proposed that pronominal affixes are functionally closer to the redundant subject agreement markers of English and other European languages than to independent pronouns because they cannot distinguish referentiality or definiteness. An examination of the use of pronominal affixes in natural speech in Mohawk and Navajo indicates that the affixes are actually essentially equivalent in referentiality and definiteness to independent pronouns. Reference and definiteness are established in Mohawk and Navajo in all of the same ways as in English and other languages, plus one more. Alternative constructions are used for nonreferential mentions. In some cases the Mohawk and Navajo systems show even finer distinctions of referentiality and definiteness than those of English and other European languages.

Philip J. Monahan (University of Florida)  
*Backward object control in Korean*

We argue that Korean object control predicates license backward control. Specifically, the ‘persuadee’ DP of a Korean ‘persuade’ predicate exhibits a nominative/accusative case alternation that equates to a difference in structural position. First, we illustrate that Korean persuade is not an ECM predicate, using evidence from noncontrol structures, passive/active synonymy, and selection restrictions. Korean persuade selects for three semantic arguments while Korean ECM selects for only two. These facts, coupled with assumptions from the theta criterion, lead us to a control analysis. Next, we argue the difference in case equates to a difference in structural position. Particularly, the nominative DP is a constituent of the embedded clause, whereas the accusative DP is a constituent of the matrix clause, each binding a null element in the other clause. This is supported with evidence from a monoclausal structure, temporal adverb distribution and scrambling. Finally, we provide evidence for the null element using postnominal quantifier case agreement and reflexive binding into matrix adjuncts. Korean persuade licenses backward object control. This adds to the growing catalog of backward control configurations (Polinsky & Potsdam 2002) that challenge our understanding of control and control theory.

Patrick Moore (University of British Columbia)  
*Siri G. Tuttle (Technical University-Berlin)*  
*Kaska tone & intonation*

We analyzed the acoustic record of a Kaska narrative text in order to define the relationship between high tone and intonation. Kaska, an Athabaskan language spoken in the Yukon and northern British Columbia, has phonemic high tones. Short vowels and syllabic *n* can have either high or low tones phonetically, and long vowels can have low, high, rising, or falling tones. In extended speech, intonation is used to indicate phrases. We find that high tones remain consistent throughout intonational phrases defined by pause, with no downdrift or final lowering. For low tones, however, falling pitch is common in final position. There is also significant phrase-final lengthening of vowels, though we do not find evidence for phrase-final consonant lengthening.

David Mora-Marín (University of Kansas)  
*A Pre-Ch’olan model for the standard language of Classic Lowland Mayan texts*

We examine morphosyntactic data relevant to the reconstruction of the historical stage of the standard language of Classic Lowland Mayan (CLM) hieroglyphic texts (A.D. 200-900). Recent debate has centered on the specific historical stage of the Ch’olan language that served as the standard of the texts: One proposal, which we term the ‘weak Ch’olan hypothesis’ (WCH), suggests a standard based on a Ch’olan(-Tzeltalan) language that preceded the breakup of proto-Ch’olan into its Eastern (Ch’olti’, Ch’orti’) and Western (Ch’ol, Chontal) branches; the other, which we term the ‘strong Ch’olan hypothesis’ (SCH), suggests a standard based on an Eastern Ch’olan.
dialect (‘Classic Ch’olti’an’). Assuming that some form of Ch’olan was used as a standard, we analyze four lines of morphosyntactic
evidence to test both hypotheses--markers unique to Eastern Ch’olan, markers unique to Western Ch’olan, markers likely inherited
from proto-Ch’olan but present today in only one branch, or markers common to neither branch but reconstructible to pre-Ch’olan
based on external evidence and the evidence from the ancient texts. We show that there are more cases of markers that are not attested
in any of the modern Ch’olan languages, or of markers attested in just one branch but which are reconstructible to pre-Ch’olan based
on external evidence, than cases of markers unique to either branch of Ch’olan with now external cognates. Following a conservative
approach we propose a pre-Ch’olan language as the standard of CLM texts, and suggest that evidence of proto-Ch’olan markers first
appear around A.D. 500-600.

Bruce Moren (Cornell University)
Elizabeth Zsiga (Georgetown University)
The mora is the tone-bearing unit in Thai

At first glance, the five tone system of Thai looks quite simple! However, a detailed description of the phonological distributions of
segments and tones combined with a careful examination of the phonetic realizations of duration and pitch in both citation forms and
connected speech leads to the conclusion that things are much more complex and interesting than is usually assumed! Based on data
from an acoustic experiment, we claim that Thai is a mora-timed language with clear isochrony between moras and rhyme segments;
that the tone bearing unit is the mora, not the syllable; and that previously unexplained restrictions on the distributions of tones in
syllables closed by obstruents are the result of a relationship between the glottal feature and low tones.! In addition, we describe and
explain unexpected differences in the realization of tones in different phrasal positions in connected speech and show that there are
nonneutralizing contour tone simplifications that take place nonfinally at the postlexical level.! Descriptive phonetics and phonology
with both representational and constraint-based explanations combine to provide a unified account of the Thai tonal system. Our
analysis supports a view of the grammar in which phonetics and phonology are separate, yet intricately related.

David Mortensen (University of California-Berkeley)
Kenneth VanBik (University of California-Berkeley)

Vowel quality & quantity in Hakha Lai: A perceptual study

As in many languages, the long and short vowels of Hakha Lai (a Kuki-Chin language of Chin State, Burma) are distinguishable not
only by different characteristic vowel durations but also by differences in the spectral qualities of the vowels. In order to establish the
relative importance of vowel duration and quality in this phonemic system, we conducted a perceptual experiment. The subjects (18
speakers of Hakha subdialect, 18 speakers of Thantlang subdialect) were asked to identify tokens of /lam/ ‘road’ and /laam/ ‘to dance’ the
vowel durations of which were varied along an incremental scale (80-360 ms). There were important differences between the perceptual
strategies employed by speakers of the two (nearly identical) subdialects. Speakers of the Thantlang subdialect were largely insensitive
to cues other than vowel duration. However, for the Hakha subdialect speakers, instances of the /laam/-derived tokens having a vowel
duration below a certain threshold were consistently perceived as /lam/, but /lam/-derived tokens were seldom perceived as /laam/
regardless of vowel duration. We propose that vowel length in Proto-Central-Chin was marked primarily by duration (as in Thantlang
subdialect), with spectral differences emerging epiphenomenonally. The speakers of Hakha subdialect reinterpreted this epiphenomenon
as a criterial cue for vowel quantity.

Mary B. Moser (Summer Institute of Linguistics)

Anthropological & linguistic aspects of personal names in Seri culture

We present a historical overview of the ways personal names are given and used in Seri culture. Topics we cover include: how last
names and Spanish first names entered into Seri culture historically and how they are passed on presently; how and when nicknames
are given and used; and disuse of words relating to names for people when they die and the use of euphemisms for them. We also
discuss a list of Seri names from four censuses taken in the early 18th century and a preliminary analysis of those names.

Pamela Munro (University of California-Los Angeles)
The clausal status of Chickasaw want

The Muskogean language Chickasaw verb banna ‘want’ can be the only verb in its clause:
(1) Hattak-at ofi’ banna
man-NOM dog want
‘The man wants a dog’
but its use as with an associated verbal ‘complement’ is problematic:
(2) Hattak-at ofi’-at wooch-a’ni banna
man-NOM dog-NOM bark-MOD want
‘The man wants the dog to bark’
The *banna* complement in 2 does not behave like other embedded clauses in Chickasaw: (1) It is not marked for switch-reference. (2) It cannot be marked independently for TAM. (3) It cannot be preposed or postposed. (4) Extraction and movement from it do not work normally. For example, a Chickasaw *wh* word can be preposed to the front of its clause but not out of that clause. So 3 is bad—but 4, where the higher verb is *banna*, is fine:

(3) *Kata-hta* John-at Bill-at *ismo-ka* pis-tok?
who-INT.ACC John-NOM Bill-NOM hit-cmp.ds see-pt
(intended: ‘Who did John see Bill hit?’)

(4) Kata-hta John-at Bill-at *iss-a’ni* banna?
who-INT.ACC John-NOM Bill-NOM hit-MOD want
‘Who does John want Bill to hit?’

But *banna* ‘want’ also behaves like a normal complement-taking verb—consider the fact that the verb before *banna* in sentences like 2 and 4 has a nominative subject, just like the verb before *pis-tok* ‘saw’ in 3 (thus, if 2 and 4 are single clause sentences, they contain two nominatives). We consider the clausal status of *banna* and compare its syntax with that of more prototypical auxiliaries.

**Pamela Munro** (University of California-Los Angeles)  
**Felipe H. Lopez** (University of California-Los Angeles)

*Can there be a Valley Zapotec orthography?*

The Zapotec languages of the Tlacolula Valley of Oaxaca (from pueblos like San Juan Guelavía, San Lucas Quiaviní, Santa Ana del Valle, Teotitlán del Valle, and Tlacolula de Matamoros) are classified together by the *Ethnologue* (code ZAB). While loyal to their home pueblos, speakers of all these languages share the desire for a standard writing system. However, the languages show considerable local differentiation at all levels of grammar and are not fully mutually intelligible. Further, the phonological complexity of the languages makes developing an orthography that is easily learned by speakers while reflecting phonological contrasts extremely difficult. We discuss two orthographies at different ends of this spectrum (Jones et al.’s for San Juan Guelavía and Munro and Lopez’s for San Lucas Quiaviní) and consider how to balance the conflicting orthographic needs of speakers, learners, and comparative scholars for the development of a unified dictionary and other progress toward literacy.

**Carol Myers-Scotton** (University of South Carolina)  
**Creole formation & the divide in morpheme types**

The creole system morpheme hypothesis predicts which of the different morpheme types of the 4-M model can appear in creole formation. This paper shows how some early system morphemes in creole data pattern similarly to content morphemes in certain ways and in contrast with late system morphemes. Quantitative data come from Gullah and St. Kitts Creole. The 4-M model differentiates content morphemes and system morphemes of three types. Early system morphemes pattern with content morphemes because they are conceptually-activated. They are called ‘early’ to imply their early access in the language production process along with their content morpheme heads. For example, *up* occurs with *took* in ‘I took up me children...’ (Gullah, Turner 1969:266-7). Content morphemes and early system morphemes also can be reconfigured to serve as late system morphemes in the creole. The two types of late system morpheme are accessed late (at the formulator level). The creole system morpheme hypothesis predicts that superstrate late system morphemes cannot function in creole formation because of how and when they are accessed; earlier quantitative work strongly supports this claim (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2002).

**Michiko Nakamura** (University of Hawaii-Manoa)  
**Gap asymmetry in the processing of long-distance dependencies in Japanese**

We examine an asymmetry in the online processing of double-gap relative clauses (DRCs) in Japanese. DRCs have two gaps and two fillers for the gaps, a closer filler and long-distance filler. When the two gaps are a subject gap and an object gap, there is a general preference for the long-distance filler to correspond to the subject gap. The results of a self-paced reading experiment confirmed the general preference: Distant filler associated with a subject gap was read faster than one linked to an object gap. However, this was the case only when the two fillers differed in animacy (and plausibility as the subject vs object). When the two fillers were both animate (and equally plausible in each role), both subject-gap DRCs and object-gap DRCs became equally difficult. The pattern suggests an early use of pragmatic information during processing. Assuming the processor must assign thematic roles rapidly to develop a syntactic structure and its interpretation, easy NP-role identification facilitates parsing of the preferred interpretation. When the two entities are syntactically similar and there is no pragmatic aid to distinguish their roles, the processing load increases and the interpretation
It has been shown that the children acquiring English can use the number of arguments co-occurring with the verb to identify its event type (Fisher 1995). In a language such as Hindi, arguments are ellipsed relatively freely, and the number of overtly realized arguments is not directly related to the event semantics of the verb but is also influenced by discourse-pragmatics. We address three questions: Is the pervasive ellipsis of arguments found in adult Hindi also found in caregivers’ input? If so, do children, assuming that argument number is linked to verb meaning, make transitivity errors? If not, do they additionally exhibit sensitivity to discourse-pragmatic influences on argument realization? We find that Hindi caregivers’ input is characterized by massive ellipsis; however, children make no transitivity errors. Additionally, the 3- to 4-year-olds show sensitivity to discourse pragmatics in their own speech. Children acquiring Hindi are not using the surface realization of arguments as a direct cue to verb transitivity and, additionally, have learned the role of discourse pragmatics in influencing the number and form of overt arguments. Our findings suggest that children acquiring different languages do not use surface syntactic cues in similar ways in acquiring verb-argument structure.

The Hindi case system is characterized by morphological split-ergativity and split-accusativity. Transitive subjects can occur in nominative or ergative case; objects in nominative or accusative case. We propose that case assignment is based on ranked constraints augmented with the notion of argument strength. Languages with no morphological case satisfy an economy constraint penalizing morphological case. In nominative-accusative languages, this economy constraint is outranked by the avoid-ambiguity constraint which case marks patients. In ergative-absolutive languages, the economy constraint is outranked by an avoid-ambiguity constraint which case marks agents. In both systems, the remaining arguments remain null-marked. We propose additionally a language-specific notion of argument strength triggered by features such as tense/aspect, volitionality. In Hindi, perfectivity makes an agent strong; animacy/specificity makes a patient strong. Assuming that only strong arguments receive case marking, split-accusativity occurs if the distinction between strong and weak patients does not correlate with the distinction between patients of a two-place relation vs patients of a one-place relation. Split-ergativity occurs if the distinction between strong and weak agents does not correlate with the distinction between agents of two-place relations vs agents of a one-place relation. In Hindi, both the avoid-ambiguity constraints on case marking of strong patients and strong agents outrank the economy constraint.

Studies of American English dialect variation have delineated three general regions: the North, the Midland, and the South, with subregions marking internal differences and continua of change. However, the existence of a South Midland subarea has been questioned, with boundaries redrawn repeatedly since Carver 1987, Davis and Houck 1992, Frazer 1994, Flanigan and Norris 2000, and, most recently, the *Atlas of North American English* (Labov, Ash, & Boberg, in progress) have debated the validity of the original lines proposed by Kurath 1972, Kurath and McDavid 1961, and others. Such divisions and redivisions have been based largely on lexical and phonological differences across boundaries. Our study focused on the morphology and syntax of vernacular speech in southeastern Ohio. Ten long-term residents of working class background and ranging in age from 18 to 65 were interviewed in familiar and casual settings. In addition, a questionnaire on recognition and use of 40 grammatical constructions was given to 50 students at a local vocational high school. Results show the continued use of forms traditionally labeled South Midland or Appalachian in this hilly and relatively isolated part of Ohio. These include leveled and regularized verb forms, perfective *done*, a-prefixing of progressive verbs, the personal dative, existential *it* and *they for there*, uninflected plurals of measure, and subject relative pronoun deletion. It would appear that grammar, like pronunciation and lexicon, justifies the inclusion of southern Ohio in the South Midland area and, more specifically, that a trans-Appalachian subarea can be identified in the upper Ohio River Valley.

There is less discussion of the privativity vs equipollence of features in morphology than in phonology (but cf. Zwicky 1977, Noyer 1997). A domain and range of person/number features are often assumed for the expedience of particular morphological analyses, with little discussion of attendant typological predictions or learnability issues. We present a feature-geometric theory of operations on monovalent morphosyntactic features and possible verbal agreement syncretisms. Characterization of person features as \{[+/-1], [+/-2], [+/-3]\} incorrectly predicts the existence of languages making an 8-way person distinction. However, in the feature geometry of Harley and Ritter 2002, syncretisms needn't follow from negative characterizations of two paradigm members, but rather shared
featural specifications, independently required for discourse organization. Moreover, vocabulary items that pair phonological material with feature subtrees can be underspecified, leading to 'elsewhere' insertion characteristic of heterogeneous paradigm distribution. 1/3 syncretism (Germanic) results from marking one vocabulary item for [Addressee], while another is simply a default. Impoverishment (Bonet 1991) can simplify featural content of terminals prior to vocabulary insertion, leading to syncretism in, e.g. dual and plural number (Vinka 1999). Conceptual arguments and privative analyses of well-known cases for equipollent person/number (Algonquian, Mam) are offered, questioning the necessity of negative values in morphosyntax.

**Michael Newman** (Queens College-City University of New York)  
*Youth cultural identity & dialect differentiation in New York Latino English*

We present initial results from a variationist study of the English of generation 2 and 1.5 Latino New Yorkers. Data include LPC analyses of vowels of 12 adolescent males and ethnographic analysis of their school. Results show variation corresponds most robustly to four youth-cultural divisions--hip-hop, skater, geek, and no peer culture (NPC). NPCs show the most contact features, e.g. monophthong mid and high peripheral vowels, merger of (ɔ) and (u). Skaters and geeks show moderate local European American influence, e.g., some (oh) raising, (ae)/(aeh) splitting. Hip-hoppers show the widest variation. AAVE features are mostly limited to consonants, e.g. /l/ vocalization), and there is considerable diversity in the vowel systems. Some display local European American features while others have some contact features. These findings are related to peer cultural ideologies. Although hip-hoppers have considerable interaction with AAVE speakers and little with European American peers, the emphasis on autheticity discourages 'sounding Black' and encourages sounding like a New Yorker. Skater and geek networks are diverse ethnically but tend to discourage 'ghetto'-oriented identities. NPCs tend to be family and ethnically identified, and so there is little opportunity or desire for assimilation to local European American or national norms.

**Nancy Niedzielski** (Rice University)  
**Alexis Grant** (Rice University)  
*N/o:/ W/e:/ J/o:/ s/e:/: A look at monophthongization in two NCCS dialects*

Discussions of monophthongization of diphthongs tend to focus on the low vowels, such as the monophthonization of /æj/, in various dialect shifts in American English. However, we have found evidence for significant monophthongization of the mid-tense vowels, attested in basically anecdotal descriptions of Minnesota English. We present the results of research based on 20 speakers from two dialect regions participating on the Northern Cities Chain Shift. We analyzed and charted the vowels for 10 speakers from Mankato, MN, and 10 speakers from Detroit, MI, and found several differences in the progression of the vowel shifts in the two groups of speakers, particularly with regard to the monophthongization of the mid vowels /e/ and /o/. We found that while the Minnesota speakers demonstrated clear monophthongization for both the mid-front and mid-back vowels, Michiganders only demonstrated this process for the mid-back vowels. In addition, the Michiganders produced a more fronted /o:/ than the Minnesotans and a more raised nucleus in /ej/ than the /e:/ produced by Minnesotans. We suggest that such patterns of monophthongization are important features of the NCCS, and systematic descriptions of this in other NCCS dialects are warranted.

**Jon Nissenbaum** (Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary)  
*Covert movement & Condition A*

In contrast to overt wh- movement (1), covert movement has long been assumed not to feed Condition A of the binding theory, on the basis of examples like 2.

1)  I told the girls [[how many pictures of each other] John would buy_]  
2)  *[I told the girls [which man would buy [how many pictures of each other]]

Resolution of this problem has typically either stipulated a difference between overt and covert movement or rejected the existence of the latter. We propose an alternative resolution based on results from multiple-wh-fronting languages which call into question the assumption that covert movement in 2 would derive a representation like 1. Secondary wh- movements in Bulgarian 'tuck-in' rather than extend the tree. Interestingly, a reflexive embedded in a 'tucked-in' wh- phrase cannot be bound to a matrix antecedent. If covert wh- movement in English is similar to overt secondary movements in Bulgarian, binding should similarly fail. Examples like 3 provide better tests by factoring out the 'tucking-in' of secondary movements. In addition to yielding a surprising new generalization about Condition A, these results provide further evidence for covert movement and for an interface-only theory.

3)  [Which boy] thinks Mary was looking at [which picture of himself]?
Dynamic imaging of laryngeal gestures: Using high-speed MRI to study Cantonese speakers' production of tones

Jon Nissenbaum (Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary) (Session 1)
Jennifer Kan (Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary/Lexington, MA, High School)
John E. Kirsch (Siemens Medical Systems)
James B. Kobler (Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary)
Hugh Curtin (Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary)
Morris Halle (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
Robert E. Hillman (Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary)

Laryngeal gestures like those that underlie intonation have resisted empirical study due to the larynx’s inaccessibility. The articulations underlying speech sounds are too fast for low-risk imaging technologies: Image acquisition time for standard structural magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) is typically well over a second. At normal speaking rates, the transition of a single articulator from one target position to another is typically 80-300ms (Stevens 1998:38-48). Vowels and sonorant consonants can be sustained for longer-than-normal periods to allow imaging of static vocal tract configurations. But imaging production of artificially sustained sounds cannot reveal the dynamic articulatory patterns employed during natural speech, especially given that even small differences in timing of temporally overlapping gestures can have radical effects on acoustic output. The first goal of this study was to demonstrate that laryngeal articulations can be imaged dynamically during speech. A nonstandard technique for acquiring MR images was used, generating image sequences with a frame rate of 144 frames/second. The second goal was to test the hypothesis that articulatory parameters underlie phonological tone and register features in Cantonese. Preliminary results support the view that independent physiological mechanisms (shortening/lengthening and raising/lowering of vocal folds) function independently in the control of phonologically distinct F0 adjustments.

Peter Norquest (University of Arizona) (Session 7)

From multisyllabic to sesquisyllabic in Malayo-Chamic

We investigate the interaction between prosody and language contact in the historical evolution of the Austronesian subgroup of Malayo-Chamic. Two stages of change are examined. The first stage is from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian to Proto-Malayo-Chamic, where there was pressure to reduce the prosodic word to a disyllabic, trochaic foot. The second stage is from Proto-Malayo-Chamic to Proto-Chamic, where language contact with mainland Mon-Khmer languages induced a shift from trochaic feet to sesquisyllabic feet, with stress on the final syllable and a tendency towards reduction to monosyllables. These two stages of prosodic restructuring are analyzed within the framework of optimality theory, and a unique analysis is provided at each stage of change while at the same time maintaining the most consistent inventory of constraints possible. The data, along with the analysis to be presented, show how languages may undergo change in a principled way through the reranking of a set of common constraints. Two important theoretical points include the assertion that sesquisyllabic structure is underlyingly trochaic, and that foot binarity must be split into a syllabic level and a moraic level.

Erin O'Bryan (University of Arizona) (Session 12)
Raffaella Folli (Cambridge University)
Heidi Harley (University of Arizona)
Thomas Bever (University of Arizona)

Event structure is accessed immediately during comprehension

We present evidence that event structure, specifically telicity, is used during comprehension. Telicity refers to whether an event is temporally and spatially bounded or unbounded (‘open’ vs ‘push’). Cross-linguistic evidence that event structure determines the number of arguments that a verb licenses and requires has led Tenny 1992, Borer 1996, and others to argue that argument structure is derived from event structure. In addition to the linguistic evidence, MacDonald's (1994) study showing that obligatory transitivity affects garden-pathing in reduced relative clause sentences, as in 1, led to our prediction: Less garden-pathing should occur in reduced relatives with inherently telic verbs than in those with atelic verbs.

(1) The woman sketched in the meadow was beautiful.

To test our prediction, we reanalyzed three self-paced reading experiments on reduced relatives. We categorized the verbs as telic or atelic and reanalyzed reading times to determine the effect of telicity in comparison with other variables (transitivity and plausibility). We also conducted a controlled experiment to test for the telicity effect. The results confirm that less garden-pathing occurs with telic verbs than with atelic verbs. The evidence suggests that telicity determines the processor's search for an object and consequently reduces the garden path effect.

Loretta O'Connor (Max Planck Institute-Nijmegen/University of California-Santa Barbara) (Session 52)

Complex predicates of change in lowland Chontal

Lowland Chontal (unclassified, sometimes grouped with Hokan), an indigenous Mexican language spoken on the southern coast of the state of Oaxaca, uses a series of complex predicate constructions to express all types of state change--change of location, change of
position, and change of physical or emotional state. Verbal suffixes with spatial semantics of directional or associated motion are also used in predicates of change of state where they function as markers of inchoative change or encode a resulting state. Using data collected in primary fieldwork in and around San Pedro Huamelula, we examine the constructional properties of complex predicates in Chontal with respect to lexical class of the verbal root, morphological components, constituent and constructional semantics, the number and types of participants, and patterns of occurrence in discourse.

**Sean P. O’Neill (University of Oklahoma) (Session 51)**

*Principles of word formation in northwestern California: Hupa, Yurok, & Karuk!*

In the languages of Northwestern California, even the most common items of experience are often labeled for those roles they played in the mythology, folklore, or cultural practices of the area’s people. In this sense, even the most basic word forms are often constructed like miniature haikus—or brief, allusion-filled poetic statements, capturing in a minimum of well-chosen images, an entire episode or scene of outstanding cultural significance. Thus, while the native peoples of this region inhabited similar natural and social worlds, a range of symbolic values was assigned to those common items of perception occurring within the scope of everyday life. Some of the most gripping scenes of action are those that portray an episode or event culled from folklore or mythology. Such portraits—particularly common among the names of animals and places—refer, in essence, to unbroken streams of action, stretching across the fabric of mythic time. This tendency is strongest in Hupa, where relatively few basic nouns survive, most having been replaced with complex verbal expressions, often depicting the mythic deeds associated with particular actors. Less dramatic perhaps, if equally charged with poetic content, are those descriptive portraits created by linking some object in the surrounding universe with a related spatial feature closely connected with its basic existence. Such portraits produce, in the collective imagination of any given community, a regular connection between this thing and some closely connected property of space. This second tendency is strongest in Karuk, where spatial categories are especially elaborate throughout the language.

**Luis Oquendo (University of Zulia, Venezuela) (Session 45)**

*La anáfora en las lenguas caribes yukpa y ye’kwana*

El propósito de este trabajo es comparar los elementos anafóricos en las lenguas ye’kwana y yukpa, ambas de la familia caribe. Chavier y Oquendo 2000 han identificado cuatro lexemas anafóricos en yukpa, a saber—mavarano, tuvishi, suvara, kat, los cuales son huellas gramaticales cognitivas. Givón 1990 plantea que una situación de habla es accesible en cualquier momento de comunicación y esta depende del contexto situacional; a fortiori de la metodología utilizada, también dice Givón que los patrones de correlación discursiva y gramatical son virtualmente idénticos en textos narrativos y conversacionales. A partir de un relato en yukpa y la historia de vida de la colaboradora ye’kwana, se extrajeron los elementos anafóricos. Examiné su distribución y encontré que en yukpa los elementos anafóricos aparecen en posición inicial de la enunciación, no son de origen deíctico y pertenecen a la memoria episódica; mientras que en ye’kwana se presentan sólo al final de la enunciación y responden a la memoria episódica de lo que se ha dicho, por lo tanto, constituyen una huella gramatical cognitiva. La diferencia entre la anáfora en yukpa y ye’kwana es su distribución en el discurso.

**Heidi Orcutt (University of Arizona) (Session 16)**

*Ranking the OCP: Gikuyu (Kikuyu) tone in verbs*

In the absence of theory-external evidence, how can we rank the OCP in a language? Under optimality theory (OT) (Prince & Smolensky 1993), every constraint is universal. Conclusive language data for ranking the OCP in Gikuyu are not available, yet the OCP must be ranked. There are two logical possibilities for ranking the OCP in this context: high, or low. We compare two separate ranking analyses of the OCP (high and low) in the three Gikuyu verb root classes—high, low, and rising—in three verbal paradigms. We show that unnecessary theoretical complexity is avoided when the OCP is ranked low. The critical form is tò.t[mi.r] ‘we cut’, representing high verb roots:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. tò.t[mi.r] ‘we cut’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Underlying form + morphology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H verb root -t[mi-] ‘cut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tò.t[mi.ɾ] p.t[mi.ɾ] ‘we cut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L H₁ H₂</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A high-ranking OCP incorrectly predicts *tò.t[mi.ɾ]. A low-ranking OCP correctly predicts tò.t[mi.ɾ]. It might be concluded from the literature (McCarthy 1986, Yip 1988, Myers 1997b) that the OCP is high ranking by default. We argue that when ranking the OCP without theory-external evidence, the default ranking of the OCP is not high.

**Anamaría Ospina Bozzi (University of Paris) (Session 41)**

*Complex predicates in Yuhup Makú*

The Yuhup language, which belongs to the Makú-Puinave family, is spoken by about 500 people in the northwest Amazon region along the border between Colombia and Brazil. In this language, the verbal predicates of declarative clauses are formed by a lexical 100
stem (with an associated grammatical temporal suprafixed) to which are suffixed predicative and aspectual morphemes. The verbal stems may be simple (one lexical root) or complex (from two to four roots). Complex stems are frequently used, and they form a system that presents a variety of subgroups that may be differentiated in terms of productivity, semantics, and the degree of integration (phonological, syntactic, and semantic) of the component verbal roots. They express significations related to motion (movement and posture), aspectuality, modality, mood, sequence, manner, and cause. The system shows structures with traces of older constructions of juxtaposed verbs; more integrated structures that codify two related events; structures that codify just one event and where one of the components seems to be in process of grammaticalization (directionals); and structures that are completely lexicalized.

Thomas Paikeday (Lexicography, Inc.)

'Jew' vs 'Gentile'

This paper arises from an informal email debate with a Jewish linguist on the proposition that gentile is an exclusionary term like outsider, foreigner, and heathen and hence properly used only in Jewish circles; non-Jews may find it objectionable when used in their hearing in reference to them. Evidence of the claimed meaning is adduced from recorded usage since the beginnings of Modern English, as in Jeremy Taylor, 1649, Gt. Exemp. xvii, par. 6: 'The primitive Christians when they had washed off the accrescences of Gentile superstition,...' down to Hermione Lee's review of Rabbit at Rest in The New Republic (Dec. 24, 1990, p. 34: 'Harry has this gentle prejudice that Jews do everything a little better than other people, something about all those generations crouched over the Talmud and watch-repair tables, they aren't as distracted as other persuasions, they don't expect to have as much fun. It must be a great religion, he thinks, "once you get past the circumcision"'. Since this is a socially sensitive subject, the presenter would like to take a secret vote of the audience by passing ballots around before the presentation and announcing the results at the end.

Anna Papafragou (University of Pennsylvania)

Aspectuality & conversational implicature

Aspectual verbs (begin, start) and degree modifiers (halfway, half) consistently give rise to scalar implicatures (SIs; e.g. The girl began painting the star The girl did not finish painting the star). Three experimental studies were conducted with speakers of Modern Greek to investigate how children acquire the semantics of aspectual/degree expressions and the corresponding SIs. The results show that preschoolers display knowledge of the semantics of aspectual/degree expressions, but the derivation of the noncompletion SIs which such expressions typically carry in discourse is fragile. Perhaps the most striking finding of these studies is that half seems to give rise to noncompletion inferences more readily than other degree expressions. As our findings suggest, this asymmetry cannot be due to children's lack of semantic knowledge. We propose that the reason for children's successes with half lies with the fact that this modifier is 'discrete'--a proposal which seems to receive support from children's successes with the pragmatics of other discrete modifiers such as numerals (cf. Papafragou & Musolino 2002). We discuss implications of these findings for the early development of the semantics and pragmatics of aspectuality.

Anna Papafragou (University of Pennsylvania)
Felicia Hurewitz (Rutgers University)
Lila Gleitman (University of Pennsylvania)
Rochel Gelman (Rutgers University)

Number/quantifier asymmetries in language acquisition

In terms of their syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties, number terms (one, two, three) have been considered similar to quantifiers (some, most, all). On the basis of these similarities, it has been suggested that knowledge of quantifiers may help children bootstrap into an understanding of the linguistic semantics of cardinality at early stages of language acquisition (Bloom & Wynn 1997, Carey 2001). If this hypothesis is correct, knowledge of quantifiers should precede competence with cardinal numbers. We present results from an experimental study which tested this prediction. Three-year-olds were given a sentence-to-picture matching task that tested their comprehension of the quantifiers some/all, and the cardinals two/four. Results indicate that children perform reliably better at the comprehension of sentences containing numbers than quantifiers. These data support the conclusion that knowledge of the linguistic meaning of numbers develops independently from that of quantifiers (cf. Gelman & Cordes 2001). Our findings are consistent with recent proposals which have argued for the presence of differences in the semantic representation of numbers and quantifiers in the adult grammar (Horn 1992, Carston 1998).

Hyeson Park (University of South Carolina)
Lan Zhang (University of South Carolina)

Verb copying & situation delimiters in Chinese

Chinese has the verb copying construction in which a verb is copied after a direct object in the presence of certain elements such as frequency and duration adverbials and the complex stative construction. Huang 1982 suggests that verb copying is utilized in order to satisfy a language specific word order rule in Chinese while Yi 1990 proposes that verb copying is required to satisfy the case filter.
Incorporating Yi's case approach and Wechsler and Lee's (1996) theory on 'situation delimiters', and in comparison with Korean data, we propose a new analysis of verb copying. In order to account for accusative case marked adverbials in Korean, Wechsler and Lee propose a universal principle, case domain generalization (CDG), which states that the domain of direct case for a predicate may be extended to include situation delimiters such as frequency and duration adverbials. Contrary to Wechsler and Lee, however, we propose that CDG is not a universal principle; rather, it is parameterized depending on the availability of multiple accusative case checking in a language. Since Chinese does not allow multiple case checking, verb copying is used to license the situation delimiters.

Mee-Jeong Park (University of California-Los Angeles) (Session 16)
The domain of prosodic boundary tones: A case study of Korean

In Jun's model of Korean intonation (1993, 1998), there are two intonationally defined prosodic units: the accentual phrase (AP) and intonational phrase (IP). In this model, the right edge of an IP is marked by one of the nine boundary tones (BT) such as H%, L%, HL%, LHL% etc, which is realized on the last syllable of the IP. However, based on the analyses of controlled and naturally occurring conversation data, we claim that the domain of the BT realization is not limited to the last syllable of IP, but can go as far as antepenultimate. This claim is supported by a phenomenon we call 'tone split', which can be observed in two consecutive IPs formed by a predicate and a postpredicate item, respectively, as in the case of after-thoughts! In such an environment, the BT can be split into two different elements when the BT of the first IP containing the predicate is bitonal (HL% or LH%).! For instance, the first component, H, of the bitonal HL% is assigned onto the first IP containing the predicate, and the second component, L, is assigned onto the second IP containing the postpredicate item, resulting in tone split.

Douglas R. Parks (Indiana University) Wallace E. Hooper (Indiana University) (Session 51)
The Indiana University model for language documentation, archiving, & dissemination

Since its founding in 1985, the American Indian Studies Research Institute (AISRI) at Indiana University has been engaged in several long-term language documentation projects that closely integrate lexicography and the archiving of cultural and historical information and records in support of linguistic research and language stabilization. From the outset we have made every effort to exploit technology, including sound and video recording and in-house software tailored to the special needs of language documentation and analysis. AISRI has established partnerships with Native American communities and school districts to develop curricula in native languages. The demands of those educational projects for cultural and linguistic data have strengthened and facilitated AISRI’s efforts to document the languages and cultures. The result is a large archive of sound data and historical records for Siouan and Caddoan languages and cultures. We have also developed a set of software applications that create and manage bilingual dictionaries; create, process, and annotate interlinear text corpora; and catalog and provide access to archived collections. We are presently participating in new projects to build web-accessible digital libraries. We discuss our procedures and experience with archives and electronic dictionaries, text corpora, and catalogues in the contexts of our research and educational programs and describe the facilities and software applications we have built up. We include our techniques for collecting, processing, and archiving sound and video data collected from native speakers. We describe our multimedia dictionary-database software (IDD) and linguistic text processor, (ATP), both of which are capable of playing and linking sound and video data with text data that can produce searchable bilingual dictionaries in camera-ready or web-ready outputs in a wide range of user-definable formats.

Asya Pereltsvaig (California State University-Long Beach/University of Southern California) (Session 14)
The role of L2 in the L1 loss of aspect in Diaspora Russian

It has been suggested in the previous literature that speakers of Diaspora Russian (DR) exhibit transfer from English, e.g. when using perfective where imperfective is appropriate in Contemporary Standard Russian (CSR) and vice versa. We argue against this conclusion. The following four arguments support our position. The parallelism between the aspectual system of AR and that of English breaks down when the data are considered more closely. For example, the parallelism between the AR use of the imperfective and the English use of progressive breaks down with stative verbs. Speakers of DR make the same types of errors regardless of their level of proficiency in L2, the length of exposure to L2, or the context of acquisition. Speakers of DR exposed to different L2 environments (e.g. English, Hebrew, German, Swedish) make the same types of errors. The same association between morphological aspect and lexical semantic properties of the verb is found in the production of monolingual children at a certain age (circa between 2 and 3 years old) and in colloquial speech of monolingual adult Russian speakers.

Karen Petronio (Eastern Kentucky University) Valerie Dively (Gallaudet University) (Session 27)
Gender variation in the use of yes and no in Tactile American Sign Language

During 12 one-hour interviews conducted in Tactile American Sign Language, female interviewees used the signs yes and no almost twice as often as male interviewees. The interviewer, a Deaf-Blind woman, was fluent in Tactile ASL as were the 12 Deaf-Blind participants, 6 men and 6 women. In Tactile ASL, the receiver places their hand on top of the signer's hand and receives language
tactilely. In the 12 interviews, focusing only on the data from the interviewees, yes and no occurred over 1,200 times (averaging over 100 times per interview). The instances of yes and no can be categorized into at least 10 different functions, including use as an answer to a question, as feedback, as a noun, as an agreement verb, as a predicate, in a preverbal position and at the end of sentences. Note that while a few of these functions also occur with English yes and no, most do not. In addition to providing brief descriptions and examples of the many functions of yes and no, we will show correlations between sociolinguistic factors such as gender and age, and the frequency of use for the different functions. For example, the women's more frequent use of yes and no for feedback purposes is one of the factors which resulted in the signs yes and no occurring almost twice as often among the female interviewees.

Michael D. Picone (University of Alabama-Tuscaloosa)  
Anglophone slaves in Francophone Louisiana

The 19th-century 'local-color' tradition of literary production usually depicts slaves and former slaves in Francophone areas of Louisiana (e.g. Kate Chopin, George Washington Cable) as having complete command of varieties of English similar to what is depicted in the literature of their Anglocentric homologues (e.g. Joel Chandler Harris). One might plausibly attribute this phenomenon to a combination of factors, some artificial, some real, e.g. the artificial invocation of literary license corresponding to the need to make the literature understandable to an Anglophone audience in conformity with stereotyped expectations; the real, documented immigration of Anglo planters with their slaves into Louisiana. However, early 19th-century documents from the Cane River area, a Euro-Creole and mixed-race Creole stronghold, may vindicate the local-colorists to a significant degree because they indicate that some Francophone planters bought Anglophone slaves, either as a matter of preference or of necessity (or both). This dynamic represents an understudied avenue of encroachment of English within Francophone/creolophone areas of Louisiana, helping to explain the demise of both French and creole in the very areas where it disappeared the most rapidly. The purely linguistic consequences of language contact between French, English, and creole among slave and ex-slave populations in Louisiana is also of considerable interest because it may explain features of some varieties of AAE, e.g. the French-style tagging in the English of ex-slaves, 'I was fur gittin, way quick me' (from Chopin), which is still current in Louisiana.

Marc Pierce (University of Michigan)  
The maximal onset principle in early Germanic

The status of the maximal onset principle in the early Germanic languages remains controversial. We return to this thorny issue, focusing largely on three sources of evidence: (1) word breaks in Gothic and Old English manuscripts, (2) vowel lengthening in Icelandic and Faroese, and (3) metrical patterns in Germanic verse. Barrack 1998 notes that all four of the languages mentioned above tend to tautosyllabify stop + r clusters and therefore reconstructs the same pattern for Proto-Germanic. Furthermore, he claims that this syllabification entails that consonant + semivowel clusters were tautosyllabified as well, in accordance with the synchronic maxim proposed by Vennemann 1988:3. While this argument is elegant, it ultimately cannot be sustained, for a number of reasons. For instance, the orthographic evidence for Gothic syllabification contradicts Barrack's proposal that stop + semivowel clusters were tautosyllabified; such clusters are almost invariably heterosyllabified in the Gothic manuscripts.

Marc Pierce (University of Michigan)  
Recent trends in the analysis of Sievers's Law in Gothic

In 1878 Eduard Sievers proposed his eponymous law in order to account for certain vowel/semivowel alternations found in a number of Indo-European language families (certainly in Germanic, Indic, and Iranian, possibly also in Baltic, Celtic, Hellenic, Italic, and Slavic). Sievers's own formulation of his law--‘unbetontes i oder u ist consonant nach kurzer, vokal nach langer silbe, ohne rücksicht auf die sonstige accentlage des wortes' (Sievers 1878:129)--was intended to account for the variation between forms like Gothic nasjis 'thou' savest' and sokeis 'thou seekest'. Despite the massive body of literature on this topic, a comprehensive survey of the history of Sievers's Law as a scientific concept remains a desideratum. This paper represents a first step towards this goal. It examines various recent trends in the analysis of Sievers's Law in Gothic. Analyses discussed include Kiparsky 1998, an optimality theory analysis; Barrack 1998, which relies largely on the Syllable Preference Laws codified in Vennemann 1988; and Kim 2001, a lexical phonology analysis. The goal of the paper is, however, not merely to recount various recent analyses but rather to highlight some of the trends discernible in recent research.

Jorge E. Porras (Sonoma State University)  
Temporal frames in narrative discourse: A comparative analysis of three Afro-Iberian creoles

Andersen 1990 and 1999 argue for a comparative tense-aspect analysis of the Portuguese- and Spanish-based creoles, especially at the discourse level. We expand the scope of Andersen's analysis to include the entire TMA system in the narrative discourse of three Afro-Iberian creoles: Palenquero, Papiamentu, and Cape Verdean. We show that (1) these creoles share common semantic and pragmatic properties; (2) these creoles exhibit substrate-based pre- and post-verbal TMA affixes at the clause and sentence levels while exhibiting superstrate-based markers at the discourse level; and (3) their narratives typically replicate functional strategies of their corresponding lexifiers. Our analysis comprises two comprehensive temporal frames: (1) a morphosyntactic frame that ranges...
over temporal meanings within the clause and sentence scope; and (2) a discourse-functional frame that ranges over temporal meanings
within the intersentential and whole text scope—such as S(peaker)-R(eference)-E(vent) relations—including deictic information about
distance and perspective. As for the discourse-functional frame is concerned, our analysis involves semantic as well as pragmatic
considerations according to a version of Reichenbach's SRE time-point scale. We conclude that, although grammatical and lexical
information contribute the raw material, notions such as temporal distance, event relations, and discourse participants' perspective play
a central role in the narrative discourse interpretation of these creoles. Our more general conclusion is that some of the above notions
are governed by universal principles of language discourse structure.

William J. Poser (University of Pennsylvania) (Session 51)
On the proper conception of dictionaries

Although it is now widely accepted that it is most efficient to prepare a dictionary by generating it from a database, the end result is
still generally conceived of as a printed work. We argue that this conception is obsolete and that dictionaries should be conceived of as
consisting of a computer database together with one or more interfaces. Databases allow linguists to search in unanticipated ways, e.g., for
particular phonological properties, and allow for interfaces to other programs such as transcription tools. However, even nonlinguists vary widely in how they prefer to make use of a dictionary. Unlike printed dictionaries, lexical databases allow the inclusion of audio and graphics, permit a choice of writing system, allow the user to select the information output and, most importantly, support multiple organizations, including phonological, orthographic, and topical. They also allow nonspecialist users access to comprehensive dictionaries of languages, such as Athabaskan languages, whose morphology makes access problematic.

Whitney Anne Postman (New York University) (Session 2)
Computation of complex sentences in a case of agrammatic aphasia in Indonesian

The comprehension of HS, an Indonesian-speaking man with left hemisphere damage due to stroke, was investigated on an act-out
task. HS was tested on coordinate and center-embedded sentences with active and passive verbs (e.g. Allen memeluk Nando dan mencium Susan 'Allen hugs Nando and kisses Susan'; Allen dipeluk Nando dan dicium Susan 'Allen is hugged by Nando and is kissed by Susan') and on center-embedded sentences where the embedded clause was object-preposed (e.g. Allen yang Nando-peluk mencium Susan 'Allen whom Nando hugs kisses Susan'). For all sentence types, he enacted the first clause accurately. Yet he consistently identified the subject of the second verb with the agent of the first verb. This strategy of using the first clause agent as 'pivot' resulted in appropriate enactments of sentences with an active verb in the first clause. However, it led to ungrammatical interpretations of sentences with a passive verb or object preposing in the first clause since the subject of the second verb should be the theme of the first verb. HS's pattern of interpretation of complex sentences supports a new computational model which makes reference to thematic roles of NPs instead of their linear or structural position in a sentence.

Christopher Potts (University of California-Santa Cruz) (Session 11)
Geoffrey K. Pullum (University of California-Santa Cruz)
Model theory & output-output (O-O) correspondence

A rich array of different types of correspondence constraints (CCs) may be found in contemporary optimality theory (OT) literature.
Descriptive coverage is impressive, but some CCs implicitly entail radical and probably unacceptable revisions in OT. We use
elementary model theory to expose the problem. We develop an extensible metalanguage (a kind of modal logic) for making precise
the content of OT phonological constraints, and specify a class of structures with which to give our language a model-theoretic
interpretation. Our structures embody standard OT assumptions about phonological candidates. We show how to state the content of
markedness, input-output faithfulness, base-reduplicant faithfulness, and paradigm uniformity constraints. O-O CCs, however, emerge
as not just complicated to restate in these terms but actually impossible. The radical difference is that O-O constraints appeal to
correspondence between distinct forms. We illustrate using a description of truncation from Laura Benua's influential dissertation,
which inspired much work on O-O constraints. We note that asking what an O-O constraint says about candidates makes no sense:
O-O CCs determine properties not of finite individual candidates but of (potentially infinite) candidate sets in which some members
may not even be grammatical. Similar remarks hold for sympathy analyses and targeted constraints.

Paula Prescod (University of Paris III--Sorbonne-Nouvelle) (Session 32)
Just what do Vincentian Creole indefinite pronouns entail?

The uses and functions of the three major series of indefinite pronouns (IPs) in Vincentian Creole (VinC) are brought to light through
a close examination of their inventory and distribution. At first glance, the system seems to be parallel to that of its lexifier language
where interrogative pronouns combine with indefinite determiners to form IPs in the ontological categories of PLACE: VinC - /we/ and
MANNER: VinC - /hau/ . IPs in the remaining categories (+HUMAN, -HUMAN, TIME) are derived from the combination of indefinite
determiners with generic ontological category-nouns (Haspelmath 1997:22):
(1) VinC - /som+/, /eni+/, /no+/ +badi/; +ting/; +taim/

104
A close examination via the application of Haspelmath's (1997) cross-linguistic typology reveals special features of VinC not common to the VinC lexifier which depend almost exclusively on the some, any series in all nine functions. In fact, the no series, which expresses only direct negation in Standard English is not exclusive to this function since this context also allows any. Conversely, VinC relies heavily on the s(m, /no/ series in all but the free choice context. These differences lead us to conclude provisionally that VinC IPs are sensitive to scale-reversibility/no scale-reversibility. We attempt to clarify and suggest reasons why the negative/positive polarity sensitive analysis presents some limitations in the analysis of VinC IPs. Haspelmath identifies nine core functions: specific known, specific unknown, non-specific-irrealis, polar question, conditional protasis, indirect negation, direct negation, standard of comparison and free choice.

Ellen Prince (University of Pennsylvania)  
The Yiddish impersonal pronoun men 'one' in discourse

The Yiddish impersonal men 'one' occurs only as subject, cannot undergo Subject-Prodrop, and isn't focusable--three apparently unrelated ad hoc facts. Inferentially, its referent may be not only specific but plural as well as singular, 1pers/2pers as well as 3pers. Why then would men be used where a pronominal subject (Spro) is possible? A corpus analysis reveals that men and Spro's differ in that men isn't referred to by a personal pronoun in the subsequent utterance (Ui+1) while Spro's are. Moreover, while the referents of NP nonsubjects are rarely realized as Spro's in Ui+1, they frequently are after being nonsubjects in men sentences. In centering (Grosz, Joshi, & Weinstein 1995), these facts follow if men represents a subject that, unlike other referential Yiddish subjects, isn't the preferred center (Cp) of its utterance or even in the forward-looking-center-list (Cf). Thus a nonsubject will be Cp and hence easily pronominalizable as subject of Ui+1. Furthermore, if men isn't in the {Cf}, it cannot be the backward-looking-center-a condition for Subject-Prodrop--or be focused. Finally, if it serves to prevent subjects from being Cp's, it isn't needed as a nonsubject, hence its defective paradigm.

Thomas Purnell (University of Wisconsin-Madison)  
Perception of acoustic cues of race & class

We examine Massey and Lund's (2001) (ML) claim that the presence or absence of morphosyntactic features distinguishes middle and working class speakers of African American Vernacular English (AAVE). This contradiction of earlier data (Labov 1966a, b; Shuy, et al. 1967; Wolfram 1969) is not without merit, reflecting a change in orientation: The work of Labov and Shuy and Wolfram involves transcription and acoustic analysis; ML is based on perceptual dialectology. Additional support for ML's claim comes from findings that there is no necessary relation between acoustic and perceptual cues. We report a forced-choice experiment examining auditory cue perception in AAVE class determination by Standard American English speakers. Tokens selected from recordings identified by occupation (Chafe 2001) were converted into a two class distinction and matched across class by the number of syllables, morphemes, and words. Additional tokens were created by removing portions of speech according to AAVE phonology. Subjects identified speakers by income, occupation, and education. MC tokens were judged more wealthy, white collar, and educated. Results confirm the earlier claim that distinguishable class differences do not coincide with one specific grammatical module, that phonetic cues are resident in the tokens and used by subjects to identify socially active boundaries, and that class indicators are evaluated in a nonuniform manner.

Clifton Pye (University of Kansas)  
Explaining ergativity: Structural accounts of Mayan ergativity

Ergative phenomena pose a formidable challenge to syntactic theory. Ergative morphology splits the core syntactic role of subject along lines of verb transitivity (Dixon 1994). Any theory of agreement which assumes a primary syntactic relation of subject is forced to add some mechanism specifically tailored to such ergative features. Such mechanisms, be they an ergative 'parameter' (Murasugi 1992) or an 'active' agreement projection (Chomsky 1995) are patently ad hoc. The shortcomings of these approaches to ergativity become obvious when one considers the forms of split ergativity found in Mayan languages. Mayan languages make use of a predominantly ergative cross-referencing morphology and display diverse forms of ergative splits (Larsen & Norman 1979). Any explanation of the ergative agreement patterns found in Mayan languages must specify how the complementizer, tense/aspect, and verb transitivity interact in assigning agreement. Such an interaction calls for a theory that integrates morphosyntactic structure and discourse within a single framework. We show how to account for Mayan forms of split ergativity by making the split conditional on [+ agentive] and [- transitive] features tied to different functional projections. Such features add a necessary semantic component to structural accounts of ergative agreement.

Robert L. Rankin (University of Kansas)  
A diachronic perspective on active/stative alignment in Siouan

Nearly all of the Siouan languages are active/stative (also called simply 'active', 'split-S, or 'split intransitive') in alignment, as signaled by the selection of patient pronominal prefixes as subjects of intransitive verbs. We examine a particular class of stative verbs, those that, although morphologically stative, seem to be active semantically. This class is examined in several Siouan languages and
subgroups, including Crow, Dakota, Omaha-Ponca, Kansa, Osage, Quapaw, and Biloxi, with a view to determining the Proto-Siouan criteria for stativity. We discuss mechanisms for changing a verb’s status within the system at some length. These include both phonological and analogical mechanisms but not mass categorial extension. If time permits, we will also survey the so-called transitive stative verbs, verbs with two patient-marked arguments.

Jeffrey Reaser (Duke University/North Carolina State University) (Session 38)

Variable patterning of copula absence in the idiolects of Bahamian speakers

The creole continuum model has been productive in documenting linguistic diversity that exists within creole varieties. Current sociolinguistic studies of noncreole varieties have increasingly recognized the multiplicity of linguistic patternings in vernacular speech communities and focused on how patterns of individual variation correlate with social factors. Both creole and noncreole studies of this manner have tended to consider only variable frequencies of features while disregarding underlying grammatical or phonological constraints that single-feature studies have been revealed to be significant. Thus, an examination of individual variation of linguistic constraints for a single linguistic variable may provide invaluable data for understanding linguistic processes and social ideologies as they are manifested in patterns of intracommunity variation. The near-canonical yet controversial status that copula absence holds in variation studies makes it an ideal feature to analyze at the level of the idiolect. Aggregate analysis of copula absence in Cherokee Sound and Sandy Point, located on Abaco Island, The Bahamas, revealed inconsistencies in variable influences that had previously been thought to be quite general if not universal (e.g. the pattern by which are is more likely to be absent than is and am). Additionally, generational analysis revealed that following verbal complements did not show consistency within the community or align with patterns in other varieties. The unique linguistic patterning of copula forms and constraints can be better understood through careful analysis of individual variation.

Melissa A. Redford (University of Oregon) (Session 20)

The relationship between syllable structure & segment duration patterns in Finnish

The relationship between syllable structure and segment duration patterns was investigated in Finnish, a language where duration is phonemic and syllabification differs from cross-language preferences. Two Finnish speakers produced the following types of nonsense words that differed in segment generation: Type 1, CV(onorant)O(bstruent)V; Type 2, CVSO:V; Type 3, CVOSV; and Type 4, CVOSV:. A first question was whether the segment duration patterns reflected speakers’ intended syllable structure. Results indicated that whereas vowel duration patterns might fit with normal Finnish syllabification, consonant duration patterns did not. A second question was whether the observed duration patterns cued the perception of the intended syllable structure. Accordingly, English-speaking listeners were asked to syllabify the nonsense words. The expectation was that these listeners would implement Finnish-like syllabification if syllable structure is phonetically transparent and the cues are universal. Again, the results were mixed. Type 1 and 2 syllabifications were more consistent with Finnish syllable structure than Type 3 and 4 syllabifications. Overall, the results suggest a weaker link between syllable structure and segment duration than might be expected from previous work. In particular, the patterns may not reflect speakers’ intended syllable structure, and the phonetic cues to syllabification may be language-specific.

Richard A. Rhodes (University of California-Berkeley) (Session 42)

Nonmedial noun incorporation in Ojibwe

The vast majority of incorporated nominals in Algonquian languages appear as medials in verb structure, sandwiched between the two parts of an otherwise bipartite verb structure, e.g. Ojibwe bookogaadeshin ‘he falls and breaks his leg’ stem: bookwa-‘broken’-gaade-‘leg’-shin-‘fall’. However, in a sizeable number of incorporated nominals, the noun is tacked onto the end of a transitive verb stem to form an intransitive verb stem, e.g. moonahapinii ‘he harvests potatoes’. stem: moon-‘dug’-ap-‘act with an instrument’-apinii-‘potato’. Many of this later type refer to actions that are arguably ordinary in the culture, one of the types Mithun 1986 identified. We discuss the morphology characteristics of this underdocumented incorporation type, including that, at first blush, it appears that animacy constraints of the stem may be ignored. Then we explore the range of actions that are given this treatment, some of which are not normally considered traditional.

Eduardo Rivail Ribeiro (University of Chicago/Anthropological Museum of RFG) (Session 47)

Nominal applicatives in Macro-Jê & Tupi

One of the few morphological pieces of evidence for the genetic relationship among the languages of the Macro-Jê stock, pointed out by Rodrigues (1992:386), is the existence, in Jê, Maxakalí, Boróro, and Karirí, of a morpheme traditionally described as a ‘marker of alienable possession’. In most of these languages, the cognate morpheme is an independent noun which may be translated as ‘thing’(ã, in Northern Jê (Apinajé, Panará, etc.), yů_~ /ô_~ /ô in Maxakalí and o in Boróro), while in Karirí the likely cognate developed into a prefix, í-. This morpheme plays a role similar to the one performed by valence-changing verbal morphemes, such as applicatives, being used not only to allow certain nouns to occur with a possessor, but also to alter the nature of the relationship between possessable nouns and their possessors. In Apinajé, for instance, the root __ô ‘basket’ can be possessed directly or with the
intermediation of the morpheme ő, a choice that signals a distinction between inherent possession and ownership: ____ ő ‘my basket (which I made)’. _≠_ ő ‘my basket (which I bought)’ (Ham, Waller & Koopman 1979: 2). Besides the morpheme ő, some Jê languages present another morpheme of similar functions: _ in Panará, _ m in Xerènte, and _m in Xavánte. This Jê morpheme finds a likely cognate in the Tupi-Guaraní morpheme e-, thus constituting further evidence for the genetic relationship between the Macro-Jê and Tupí stocks, proposed by Rodrigues (1992, 2000). Besides describing the properties of the ‘nominal applicatives’, this study presents further evidence for the genetic relationship between two of the main South American language groups.

Keren Rice (University of Toronto)

_Athapaskan incorporated verbs_ (Session 41)

Many Athapaskan languages allow for verb stems to be incorporated into the larger verb complex. While the incorporation of saying (e.g. speak, laugh, sing, whistle) is particularly common, many other verb stems can be incorporated as well. When both a ‘main verb stem’ and an incorporated verb stem co-occur, the events specified are interpreted as contemporaneous. We focus on an interesting question involving which of the two verbs in an incorporate construction is the head. Consider the following two examples from Carrier:

(1) Carrier (Morice 1932)

a. ne-tlo-dez-ya ‘I laugh walking’ II:143
   preverb-laugh-qualifier/aspect/1 sg. subject-sg. go
   3 object-preverb-laugh-qualifier-1 sg. subject-steal

b. u-rwe-tlo-ne-s-.ih ‘I stealthily laugh at’ II:143
   3 object-preverb-laugh-qualifier-1 sg. subject-steal

In these examples, the incorporate is translated as the main verb. While there would be no major meaning difference in 1a if the translation were the reverse, if the stem were translated as the main verb in 1b, then the main event would be incorrect. ‘I steal in a laughing way’ is about stealing, while 1b has as its main event laughing. Thus, simultaneity of events does not require that they be coordinate; one could still be subordinate, and it appears that it is the incorporate that indicates the primary event, at least in Carrier. The first question thus is: Which verb stem serves as the head when two verb stems are present?

Jason Riggle (University of California-Los Angeles)

_Infixed in Pima reduplication & its theoretical consequences_ (Session 17)

Pima (Uto-Aztecan, central Arizona) pluralizes nouns via partial reduplication. The amount of material copied varies between a single C (mavít / ma-m-vít ‘lion(s)’) and CV (hodai / ho-ho-dai ‘rock(s)’). The former is preferred unless copying a single C would give rise to an illicit coda or cluster, in which case CV is copied. In contrast to previous analyses of similar patterns in Tohono O’odham, and Lushootseed, we analyze the reduplicant as an infix rather than a prefix. The infixation of the reduplicant can be generated via constraints demanding that the left edge of the root correspond to the left edge of the word. Furthermore, the preference for copying the initial consonant of the word can be generated by allowing positional faithfulness to apply to the base-reduplicant relationship. We argue that the infixation analysis is superior on two grounds. First, it reduces the C vs CV variation to a familiar instance of reduplicant size being conditioned by phonotactics. Second, unlike the prefixation analyses, which must introduce a new notion of faithfulness to allow syncope in the base just in cases of reduplication, e.g. ‘existential faithfulness’ (Struijke 2000), the infixation analysis uses only existing and independently necessary constraints of correspondence theory.

David S. Rood (University of Colorado)

_Armik Mirzayan_ (University of Colorado)

_Documenting a dying language: The Wichita videotape experiment_ (Session 49)

On four separate occasions in the summer of 2002, a group of Wichita elders assembled for the specific purpose of allowing themselves to be videotaped speaking Wichita. All but two of those who are considered by their peers to be able to speak the language participated. From a total of about eight hours of taping, we recorded perhaps 30 minutes of Wichita, some of it songs, some of it isolated words, but some of it in passages of connected speech as well. We discuss the mechanics of the situation (equipment, outsider participation, physical setting, group dynamics), the types of language and discourse which were recovered, the quality of the data and documentation, and our overall experience. Despite the disappointing quantity of data recorded, we did learn some new things about the language; in particular, we comment on aspects of codeswitching, turn-taking and details of what survives as the language falls into disuse. We leave time for audience comment, in the hope that that will provide some comparison with and advice from others’ experiences in similar situations.

François Rose (University of Lyon II)

_‘Serial verbs’ & ‘ex-gerunds’ in Emerillon: A shift from marked subordination to serialization_ (Session 41)

We deal with two Emerillon constructions consisting of two or more verbs sharing the same subject, the same object when there is one, the same TAM, and polarity. They are mainly differentiated from each other by the person marker the second verb uses, according to whether it is an independent or dependent verb person marker. One construction is clearly a residue of the ‘Tupi-Guarani ‘gerund’ construction’ while the other one looks like a nice and productive serial verb construction even though it also derives from the
Tupi-Guarani 'gerund'. How can this divergence and the conservation of the 'gerund' construction be explained? For each construction, we will analyze the argument structure of the predicates, the meanings expressed by the construction, and the type of grammaticalization it displays in order to better understand where both constructions stand in a shift from marked subordination to serialization.

Kevin J. Rottet (University of Wisconsin-Whitewater)  
'SQui t’après dire?' Interrogative pronouns & dialect boundaries in Louisiana

Francophone Louisiana is traditionally home to three French-related linguistic varieties: Colonial French, Louisiana Creole (LC), and Acadian French. Most scholars acknowledge that linguistic boundaries between these varieties have faded over time due to dialect leveling and/or decreolization. Yet much regional variation remains, and some of this has occasionally been attributed to differential settlement history. For instance, in a position later challenged by Klingler 2000, Speedy 1995 sought to attribute differences between Mississippi River LC and Bayou Teche LC to (partially) separate geneses, with an influx of Haitian slaves having played a crucial role in the emergence of the Teche variety. Inanimate interrogative pronouns constitute a variable whose variants are marked by fairly clear regional distribution in Louisiana. The main variants are the *quoi* pattern (e.g. *Quoi c’est ça?*) and the *qui* pattern (e.g. *Qui c’est ça?). Byers 1988 tentatively explained some regional variation in Louisiana French (LF), including this interrogative feature, by appealing to differential settlement patterns of early 18th-century white Creoles, and mid-to-late 18th century Acadian immigrants, respectively. We revisit Byers' suggestion in a broader perspective which will also take into account the LC data and what implications these data have for his scenario. It also happens that regional variation in LC interrogative patterns provide additional evidence for the position taken by Klingler 2000 against Speedy 1995 regarding dialect differences in LC.

Catherine Rudin (Wayne State College)  
Phrasal conjunction in Omaha-Ponca

We examine the structure of conjoined nominals and to a lesser extent other types of conjoined phrases in Omaha-Ponca (Siouan). For nominals, the issue is coordinate vs comitative structure--Stassen's (2000) 'and' vs 'with' strategies). Coordinates differ from comitatives in having NPs with equal syntactic status (same thematic role, case, etc.); these form a single constituent, a coordinate structure constraint island, and governs plural agreement. Omaha-Ponca does have a comitative construction, with *zhugthe* 'accompanying/with'. Existence of a coordinate construction is less clear. Case is not marked, and number marking and extraction are minimal, making evidence of grammatical function, agreement, or the CSC hard to come by. Some agreement facts seem to support a coordinate analysis:

\[[\text{Mary } ak^3a \text{ ego}^3] [\text{wi sheno}^3] \text{ Macy ata o}^3\text{gatha}.
\]

'the I and I went to Macy.'

The plural verb suggests 'I' and 'Mary' are coordinate; however, the two nominals might be adjuncts and plural number on the verb simply pragmatic, not grammatical agreement. Deeper understanding of the syntax, including resolution of the question of pronominal argument status, is necessary to definitively answer this question. For conjunction of nonnominal categories the issue is coordination vs subordination vs strings of separate sentences. Again fundamental questions arise: how to recognize subordination in Omaha-Ponca. One piece of evidence against a coordination analysis is that clausal modifiers, which cannot be treated as separate sentences, do not conjoin.

Josef Ruppenhofer (University of California-Berkeley)  
Collin Baker (University of California-Berkeley)  
The semantics & pragmatics of implicit arguments in English

Our study of implicit argument verbs in Levin 1993 and in the FrameNet database suggests that English object omission is sensitive to the same semantic and pragmatic factors as differential object marking (DOM) phenomena. In DOM languages, overt case marking applies only to a subset of direct objects, namely those which are less prototypical by being animate and definite (Aissen 2000). These factors are at work in English object omission, too, though specificity seems to be the relevant pragmatic category. For instance, objects omitted under indefinite/nonspecific interpretation can be inanimate or animate, e.g. *Lunch did not disappoint either.* By contrast, omitted objects receiving a definite/specific interpretation are usually not animate, e.g. *Our team won.* In our database, of 218 verb types allowing definite omission of any argument, only 41 allowed omission of an argument, and of these only 7 allowed omission of a human object. Overall, our findings are similar to Schwenter and Silva's (to appear) results for lexically unrestricted object omission in Brazilian Portuguese: Both animacy and specificity are needed to account for the pattern of omissible arguments. Thus, the conditioning factors for English object omission are not purely idiosyncratic but follow broad cross-linguistic patterns.
Gijsbert J. Rutten (University of Nijmegen) (Session 29)

The concept of the 'nature' of a language in 17th & 18th century linguistics

In English grammars of the 17th and 18th centuries (e.g. Miége, Greenwood), concepts such as the ground or the nature (or the reason, the genius) of language function as a standard by which language practices are measured. In Germany, grammarians (e.g. Schottel, Morhof) appeal to Deutschheit as the main norm for Spracharbeit. French and Dutch linguists (e.g. Vaugelas, Buffier, Moonen, Ten Kate) search for the nature of their language either in the works of celebrated literary authors or in history. The highly theoretical notion of the nature of a language constantly leads to clear practical decisions on the correctness of particular usages. We show that the concept of the nature of a language dominates 17th and 18th century English, German, French, and Dutch linguistics. We also offer a typology of the different elaborations of the concept. The nature of a language is conceived as (1) a minimal set of universal logical rules (e.g. Arnauld); an ideal correspondence of language, mind, and reality (e.g. Wilkins, Leibniz); situated in the linguistic past (e.g. Ten Kate); disclosed in a certain usage (e.g. les Remarqueurs).

Jerrold M. Sadock (University of Chicago) (Session 41)

Anthony C. Woodbury (University of Texas-Austin)
The limits of complex syntactic predicates in Inuit & Yupik languages

An interesting class of Greenlandic complex predicates was identified by Samuel Kleinschmidt as ‘double transitive’ affixes, with meaning like 'cause/let', 'ask to' 'thing that' 'wait for'. This class is attested with a uniform core of properties, in all Eskimo-Aleut languages. Despite the variety of meanings that such predicates express, they seem akin in basic properties to what were called 'clause union' structures in earlier generative studies. We ourselves treated these as syntactically complex in an earlier paper (Woodbury & Sadock, 'Affixal verbs in syntax: A reply to Grimshaw and Mester', Woodbury, Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 4: 229-44, 1986), but we have subsequently explored an analysis of them as forming syntactically atomic verbs which nevertheless have complex semantics. That is, a verb like (WG) toq-qoraq-raq ‘I think he died’ would not have a subordinate compliment in the SYNTAX< but would need one in the semantic representation. We consider such an analysis and establish criteria for its acceptance and consider patterns which go beyond these criteria and allow, in limited cases, for authentic cases of complex syntactic predicates.

Gillian Sankoff (University of Pennsylvania) (Session 4)

Overcoming the transmission problem: The [r] / [R] change in Montreal French

Data from a longitudinal study of the replacement of apical [r] with posterior [R] in Montreal French (1971 - 1984 - 1995) are used to explore two problems in the transmission of language change. (1) When do new cohorts of young speakers cease to model their behavior on older speakers and themselves become the leading edge of change in progress?? The change proceeds through the addition of new cohorts of younger speakers to the pool of majority or categorical [R] users. Relatively few speakers fell into the 20%-80% [R] range; most such midrange speakers increased their use of [R] over time. We argue that children initially acquired their parents' apical variant, switching to majority posterior use as children or early adolescents. (2) In such a change from above, how can the leading phonological environment be the least salient phonetically? In codas, most variable speakers vary between posterior [R] and lenited variants, retaining apical [r] in onsets, the more salient position. Answers are provided by analyzing the linguistic and stylistic factors that condition the alternation. Variability in the social meaning attached to a change in progress is consonant with the intra-individual variability typical of language acquisition later in the individual lifespan.

Elena Schmitt (Southern Connecticut State University) (Session 10)
The art of camouflage: A study of mechanisms of language attrition

Analysis of conversations of Russian immigrant boys who exhibit signs of native language attrition demonstrate that two mechanisms—codeswitching and convergence—operate in language loss and underlie the production of nontarget forms and show that progression of language attrition may be determined by the dominant mechanism involved in production. Convergence is viewed as projection of abstract lexical structure of one language onto another. Under codeswitching, some slots in the grammatical frame constructed by one language may be filled by morphemes from another language. Results show that the subjects resort to convergence more often at later stages of the study. This results in the effect of Russian only speech that allows speakers to camouflage their loss of Russian. Overall, codeswitching points to lexical loss while convergence indicates structural attrition. Convergence combined with codeswitching is a sign of multilevel loss nearing matrix language turnover.

Eva Schültze-Berndt (Max Planck Institute-Leipzig) (Session 41)

Towards a typology of complex predicates

Linguistic research in the last decades has brought to light an enormous variety of complex predicate constructions. The task of systematically comparing these constructions has only just begun and is made more difficult by the fact that the terminology and analysis employed in the description of complex predicates is often particular to one linguistic framework or to the linguistic tradition for one language family or geographical area. We discuss a number of (interrelated) criteria with respect to which complex predicates...
can be profitably compared. These include: (1) number of constituents; (2) part of speech membership of each of the constituents; (3) tightness of nexus between the constituents (i.e. degree of their syntactic independence); (4) for free forms, morphological marking, if any (e.g. converbal or nominalized verb forms vs unmarked preverbs or ideophones); (5) size of the class of fillers for each of the constituents (open vs closed); (6) degree of grammaticalization of one of the constituents (if any); (7) semantic relationship between the constituents (e.g. sequence of subevents, manner, cause-result, classification); and (8) functional load, i.e. the percentage of complex predicates vs simple predicates in a given discourse genre in a given language. Finally, one might ask whether the presence of a certain type of complex predicate correlates with any other typological properties of the language in question.

Carson T. Schütze (University of California-Los Angeles) (Session 6)
Contrast in omissibility of finite vs nonfinite be: The role of tense

Two puzzles in young children's English are omission of finite forms of be (you lazy) and absence of substitutions of its nonfinite counterpart (#you be lazy) when root infinitives (RIs) are prevalent. We approach these using new data on nonfinite be which we show is not omitted by children when finite be omission is prevalent. This discrepancy indicates omission of finite be depends on involvement with tense, not just lack of content. Specifically, grammar disallows 'subtracting' finiteness from am, are ...yielding be; rather, corresponding RIs are [ ]. Adult data argue that the distribution of be (finite and nonfinite) results from two factors: (1) All forms of be are categorially verbs lacking meaning. (2) Tense must bind an event(uality) variable, something only verbs can introduce. Presence of be in a clause whose predicate is nonverbal is ensured by this requirement: As last resort, dummy V rescues the structure. Assume RIs involve omission of the tense head, hence absence of the need for an event variable to bind. Thus, nothing triggers the presence of be, which is then banned by economy. Since contexts requiring nonfinite be are introduced by tense elements (modals, auxiliaries, to), its omission is undetectable when tense is absent.

Armin Schweger (University of California-Irvine) (Session 34)
In search of an Afro-Cuban creole: Examining the evidence from Palo Monte (reduced Kikongo) ritual speech

While some researchers (e.g. Lipski 1994) argue that Cuba and other Spanish-speaking islands in the Caribbean probably never had a widespread Afro-Hispanic creole, others (including Schweger 1999) continue to maintain that the evidence advanced thus far is insufficient to make such a claim. The absence of a creole in Cuba is particularly puzzling since, McWhorter 2000, Ortiz 1998, and others have recognized, the island's ethnic, social, and economic configuration was once such that it should have favored creolization. Until now the search for possible Afro-Cuban creole traits has been limited to contemporary regional (Black) varieties of Spanish and Bozal speech. In doing so, scholars have, however, overlooked another potentially important source of information, namely 'African' ritual speech. As Schweger (2000, 2002) has shown recently, practitioners of Palo Monte (a ritual practice somewhat akin to but historically unrelated to Santería) employ a sacred code that is essentially reduced Kikongo. Based on the Vocabulario Mínimo del Palero (1996) by José Millet, this paper confirms Schweger's (2002) claim about the Kikongo derivation of Palo Monte speech. In doing so, it will raise several questions including: (1) Do these source materials offer evidence that the Palo Monte code was once a (creole) contact language? (2) To what extent has Kikongo been reduced and/or restructured in Cuba? (3) Is Cuban Kikongo essentially uniform throughout the island?

Tatiana Scott (University at Stony Brook-SUNY) (Session 8)
CP topic parameter & Russian wh

We present a new approach to Russian wh- movement which formulates three important claims: (1) Russian is not a wh-in-situ language, counter to previously proposed analyses. Russian is a true wh- language where wh- frenting happens for the purposes of checking a strong [+wh]-feature. Russian is not in this sense different from multiple wh- fronting languages such as Bulgarian. (2) Two different varieties exist with regard to wh- movement-standard contemporary Russian (SCR) and colloquial informal Russian (CIR). (3) These varieties differ not with respect to wh- movement per se but rather with respect to the availability of a CP-external topic position. The evidence for this claim is provided by the wh- word-ordering asymmetry between matrix and embedded clauses. Considering topicalization within the paradigms of wh- movement is not new; however, we suggest that topicalization happens not in place of true wh- fronting but rather in addition to it. The availability of the topic position as an independent category as described in Müller and Sternefeld 1993 permits an analysis of wh- behavior in Russian. Moreover, the presence of this position allows us to provide a unified analysis of these varieties. Therefore, a seemingly nonuniform phenomenon becomes elegantly simple.

Depree ShadowWalker (Red Pony Heritage Language Team) (Session 46)
Mia Kalish (Red Pony Heritage Language Team)
Language as brain candy

We present the results of several experiments that examined the differences in learning when language materials were structured to present information in terms of how the brain actually learns, based on the current research in psychology, contrasted with learning using traditionally-structured materials that present to the 'mind'. The positive results of using the brain-based structure demonstrate
how choice of materials is strategic in revitalization situations, especially when adults are learning or relearning their Native language, and also how understanding the underlying brain processes can facilitate dictionary structure and development.

Deyyani Sharma (Stanford University)  
*The development of dialect features in nonnative varieties of English*  
(Session 10)

Research has begun to distinguish postcolonial, nonnative varieties of English from second language acquisition in both structural and social terms; however, quantitative evidence of this divergence is still scarce. We present evidence from 12 adult Indian English speakers, along with secondary data on other varieties, showing how structural and social factors form a multidimensional set of constraints on the direction of change in these varieties. In the structural domain, a nonstandard system of article use is identifiable across the entire spectrum of speakers while other L2 learning features are not reinforced by the speakers' first languages and show a sharper, earlier tapering off along the continuum of speakers. However, the emergent article system is not identical to the L1 system as predicted by previous researchers. We describe how a controlled interaction of language transfer and universal discourse principles gives rise to the new grammatical subsystem. The second part of the study turns to social factors. The relative frequency of nonstandard syntactic variables is shown to relate to a speaker's educational background and functional use of English. More surprisingly, certain phonological features constitute an important exception: They do not relate to relative proficiency but rather reflect explicit metalinguistic ideologies. This difference results in a dichotomy resembling Labov's (1972) distinctions between 'indicators' and 'markers'. Thus, quantitative patterns of variation in new nonnative varieties show a range of variation types resembling the range of native variation.

Patricia Shaw (University of British Columbia)  
*Word-initial consonant clusters in Salish*  
(Session 53)

Given the striking tolerance across the Salish language family of lengthy sequences of obstruents, a fundamental question is how to assess how—or even whether—such segments are prosodically parsed. In the present investigation of initial consonant sequences in Musqueam, evidence for syllabic constituency draws on convergent implications of schwa-epenthesis, stress, phonotactic constraints, and reduplication. However, preceding the strings of what can be parsed into familiar well-motivated nuclear-headed syllables is an interesting residue of obstruents. While major asymmetries in obstuent vs resonant patterning are broadly recognized in Salish, the present analysis of Musqueam reveals substantive differences in co-occurrence restrictions that are directly correlated with the internal morphological root domain in contrast with the outer layers of word domain prefixes. Within the root domain, obstuent clusters are restricted to a maximum of two (beyond which schwa-epenthesis applies), but are subject to no sequential constraints on place or manner. In contrast, within the prefixal domain, obstuents concatenate freely (without schwa-epenthesis) but are subject to highly restrictive constraints on place (only coronals occur), and on manner (only the first may be noncontinuant). We conclude that sequences of obstruents are not uniformly parsed throughout a word. Exhaustive parsing of obstruents into nuclear-headed syllables is initiated at the left edge of the internal root domain. Syllabification of obstruents therefore correlates with the demarcative function of stress (Shaw 2002) in prosodically identifying the lexical root in this richly polysynthetic language where several prefixal layers can precede, and hence obscure, the internal root domain.

Roger Shuy (Georgetown University)  
*Tobaccospeak: Image repair as a variety of American English*  
(Session 25)

People get caught with their hands in the cookie jar. Image repair, a common speech event (Hymes 1961) that follows public embarrassment, has predictable strategies with considerable variability in the quantity and quality of how these strategies are employed. The tobacco industry, now facing a serious image repair problem, reveals its approach in its public web sites. We document the image repair strategies and language variability of Philip Morris, noting that its language strategies include mitigating its initial mea culpa, displaying its good intentions, shifting the blame to others, cataloging the good things it has done, and minimizing the problem by redefining, camouflaging, and distancing itself from its embarrassment, often using vague and ambiguous language. Although the industry can be faulted for being deceptive before and during the tobacco settlement of 1998, its language behavior during this period of image repair appears to be a more sophisticated version of what the careful person (or company) does in such circumstances.

Jeff Siegel (University of Hawaii/University of New England, Australia)  
*The role of speakers of the lexifier in deacreolization in Hawai'i*  
(Session 38)

Decreolization is usually defined as the gradual modification of a creole in the direction of its lexifier language. It is thought to occur when creole speakers gain increased access to the lexifier—for example through more widespread formal education—and change their speech to be more like the lexifier because of its prestige and practical utility. In contrast to this purported decreolization brought about by individual creole-dominant speakers, another kind of change in the direction of the lexifier appears to be occurring in Hawai'i (called 'Pidgin' by its speakers). This arises from individual English-dominant bilinguals increasing their use of pidgin and monolin-
gual English speakers starting to use pidgin, in both cases most likely because of the increasing role that pidgin plays in their construction of local identity. The linguistic results of this kind of decreolization are less obvious but nevertheless may be changing the language to be more like English. We examine evidence of decreolization in Hawai'i Pidgin brought about by English-dominant speakers, and discuss the possible role of transfer. Data are drawn from a large database of current spoken and written pidgin. The results of the analysis may explain various characteristics of 'decreolized' varieties in other contexts and point the way to future developments as creoles around the world gain more prestige.

**Jennifer L. Smith** (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)  
*The formal & the functional in onset sonority constraints*  
(Session 20)

Onset sonority constraints, which are functionally grounded (Archangeli & Pulleyblank 1994), are nevertheless defined in terms of formal syllable structure. The crucial data come from languages where liquid onsets are prohibited. A functionally grounded account for this pattern would invoke the cross-linguistic preference for low-sonority onsets, implemented by *MARGIN/X constraints in a universal ranking derived from the sonority scale (Prince & Smolensky 1993). But a ban on liquid onsets must then entail a ban on glide onsets since glides are even higher in sonority than liquids. Some languages do ban glides along with liquids, as expected, but others do not. The following solution is proposed: Define *MARGIN/X constraints with reference to formal syllable structure so that true-onset glides (daughters of the syllable node) violate *MARGIN/GLIDE, but nuclear onglides in rising diphthongs (daughters of a mora) do not. Any language that allows syllable-initial glides while banning liquid onsets is now predicted to have nuclear onglides, not true-onset glides. Support for the proposal is found in the microvariation between two dialects of Campidanian Sardinian (Bolognesi 1998) that have liquid-onset restrictions in initial syllables: The ability to have initial glides correlates with the ability to have rising diphthongs in other contexts.

**Marlene Socorro Sánchez** (University of Zulia, Venezuela)  
*Analísico comparativo de la cláusula relativa en dos lenguas arahuacas*  
[An comparative analysis of the relative clause in two Arawak languages]  
(Session 45)

El propósito de este trabajo es el análisis comparativo de la cláusula relativa en baniva y guajiro, dos lenguas pertenecientes a grupos de la familia arahuaca. Estas lenguas fueron seleccionadas en función de los diversos trabajos descriptivos existentes acerca de ellas y de nuestro trabajo de campo. En baniva, la cláusula relativa se forma agregándole el sufijo invariable relativizador –li al verbo de la cláusula. En la de sujeto, el verbo no lleva prefijo personal, mientras que en las de objeto sí, y la de oblicuo se construye igual que la de objeto con una preposición incorporada. En guajiro (Alvarez 1994) la estrategia de relativización consiste en anteponer el anunciativo o específico correspondiente al nombre dominio (chi masculino, tü femenino y na plural), nombre que va seguido por el verbo de la cláusula, al cual se sufijan -kai (M), -kalli (F) y –kana (PL) en concordancia con los anunciativos señalados. La posición relativizada se indica por el tipo de conjugación: subjetiva y objetiva (prefijada) y por la incorporación de la preposición en la cláusula relativa. Las diferencias establecidas son las siguientes: (1) en baniva el sufijo –li es invariable y en guajiro existe variación de género y número, (2) la incorporación de la preposición en guajiro se presenta tanto en las cláusulas relativas como en construcciones no relativas, mientras que en baniva sólo se evidencian en las relativas, c) el orden de la cláusula relativa en ambas lenguas es post-nominal, pero en baniva este orden puede variar.

**Hooi Ling Soh** (University of Minnesota-Twin Cities)  
*VP-ellipsis, antecedent-contained deletion, & V-raising in Mandarin Chinese*  
(Session 15)

We address two puzzling contrasts between antecedent-contained deletion (ACD) constructions and VP-ellipsis in Mandarin Chinese (MC):! (1) Unlike VP-ellipsis, the elided verb phrase within an ACD construction cannot be licensed by the auxiliary alone and must appear with a negation. (2) Unlike VP-ellipsis, the possibility of eliding a verb phrase in an ACD construction depends on the choice of the verb. While a verb phrase containing *zuo*! 'do' can be elided, others such as those containing *chi* 'eat' and *qu* 'go' cannot. Assuming that a verb phrase has the structure [vP [VP]] (Chomsky 1995), we claim that while the antecedent of the elided verb phrase in VP-ellipsis can be either a vP or a VP, the antecedent of the elided verb phrase in ACD can only be a VP in MC. ! We show how this difference between VP-Ellipsis and ACD accounts for the two puzzling contrasts above. ! This analysis supports an approach to the regress problem in ACDs in terms of object shift (Hornstein 1995, Lasnik 1999), assuming that the shifted object position is between vP and VP in MC (Soh 1998). ! It also has implication on the connection between verb position and the availability of VP-ellipsis/ACDs (Lobeck 1995, Hornstein 1995).

**Arthur K. Spears** (City University of New York)  
*Augmentation: Grammar & performativity in African-American English*  
(Session 35)

No linguistic studies of AAE have dealt at length with augmentation, but it is highly complex and mastered in the language acquisition process by every AAE speaker. Augmentation is the process of adding sounds to a word and words to a phrase or clause in a creative
process of making what one is saying more interesting, more entertaining, more in line with performance. In discussing augmentation, it is necessary to distinguish what we will call 'plain' forms from their augmented equivalents, as in 1-4:

(1) Get out of bed [plain]

Augmentations of 1:
(2) Get yourself out of bed.
(3) Get your behind out of bed
(4) Get your lazy behind out of bed.

In terms of linguistic meaning, these four sentences are equivalent. So, for example, 'lazy' in most cases in which a sentence such as 4 would be uttered, adds no linguistic meaning not present in 1: The word 'lazy' is simply a convenient and often used word in directives aimed at getting someone to get up. Augmentation is one of the most important platforms for directness (Spears 2001) in African American discourse, necessitates the speaker's acquisition of a subsystem of rule-related registers (and their appropriate use), and provides a prime site for researching how communicative practices and grammar mutually influence one another.

Kristine Stenzel  (University of Colorado)  (Session 50)

Word order variation in Wanano

We analyze the regular occurrence of a typologically rare word order—OVS—in Wanano, a Tucano language spoken in Brazil and Colombia. Wanano, like a number of other Tucano languages, has been classified as having basic SOV word order, yet textual and, in particular, conversational data reveal a great deal of variation between SOV and OVS orders. Given the identification of other OVS languages throughout Amazonia, regular patterns of variation in yet another language family lead to two hypotheses: (1) that there is a word order change in progress, with SOV representing the older order and OVS the innovation, and/or (2) that the variation indicates a stable system of both grammatical and pragmatic word order functions. We explore the second of these hypotheses through the examination of the frequencies, types, and functions of subject elements in both pre- and post-verbal positions in both discourse types. We find that Wanano employs a theme-theme organization of information in which newsworthy information is placed early in the utterance and given information later on. While not discarding the possibility that a word order shift is indeed in progress, it shows that synchronic word order variability can be analyzed as a complex system of interacting word order functions.
Kristen Syrett (Northwestern University)

The role of local context structure in stress shift

Substantial research has focused on stress shift in which lexical stress (ChiNESE) shifts to an earlier unreduced syllable (CHInese Embassy). In metrical phonology, the rhythm rule accounts for stress shift in clash situations while the intonation view describes speaker preference for early accent placement. However, little attention had been devoted to contextual factors responsible for stress shift. We present the results of a perception-production experiment which addressed the role of parallelism in stress shift. Targets were framed by words in similar syntactic position with invariable initial (I) (1a, 1c) or final (F) stress (1b, 1d). Consistency or variation of nouns modeled old/new discourse information, placing targets in nuclear (N) (1a, 1b) or prenuclear (P) (1c, 1d) position.

1) a. witty women Chinese women skinny women (N, I)
   b. petite women Chinese women obese women (N, F)
   c. witty children Chinese women skinny men (P, I)
   d. petite children Chinese women obese men (P, F)

The results (1) demonstrate the importance of parallelism, as targets in (1a, 1c) were most likely to shift and (2) support an integrated view (Bolinger 1981, Gussenhoven 1987, Shattuck-Hufnagel 1992), in which both the rhythm rule and pitch accent location determine the likelihood of stress shift.

Alice Taff (University of Washington)

4000 audio files: How to make a talking dictionary

Learners of many American languages have little opportunity to hear the target language spoken. Thus it behooves lexicographers and developers of other language materials to include audible examples in their product when possible. We address technical questions about using sound files in an electronic dictionary. What format should we save files in? What sound frequency ranges should we use? How can we link text and sound? How can our product be web and dual computer platform usable?

Azita Taleghani (University of Arizona)

Persian reduplication: An OT analysis

This paper presents an analysis in the frame of optimality theory for two Persian reduplicative strategies--emphatic reduplications and M/P reduplications. Emphatic reduplications contain adjectives and intensify the meaning of the base (sefide sefid 'shining white'). M/P reduplications overwrite a portion of the reduplicative copy with either [m] or [p] and include both nouns and adjectives. They broaden the reference of nouns and emphasize the meaning of adjectives (xunemune 'house and such', and jeddim eddi 'very serious'). When the initial consonant of the base is [m], it is substituted by [p] under reduplication (mivep pive 'fruit and such'). These reduplicative forms show that there is an additional segment in these forms: [e] in sefide sefid, [m] in xunemune and [p] in mivepive. Since these segments have no correspondent in the base, we call them 'fixed segments' (cf. Alderete et.al. 1999). We shows that Persian reduplication involves a full copying of the base that is subordinated to the morphological fixed segmentism. The analysis presented here shows how the ranking of a set of constraints and the interaction between phonological and morphological constraints may determine the proper reduplicative forms in a language.

Marie-Lucie Tarpent (Mount St. Vincent University)

The original name of the Skeena River: Internal & areal clues to its reconstruction

Many toponymic studies have shown that rivers are particularly likely to retain the names given to them by the original occupants of an area, and names adopted by newcomers are not always borrowed directly by the local inhabitants, but may come from another language group. These tendencies make river names especially interesting from an historical point of view. The Skeena River, on the Pacific coast of Canada, is a case in point. The river is situated at a crossroads of languages and cultures. Its estuary is the original homeland of the Tsimshians, whose ethnonym incorporates the name of the river, but the name 'Skeena' is a borrowing from the neighboring Haida. Comparison of the different forms of the name in local languages, both within the Tsimshianic-speaking area and outside it, shows that they have been the same originally. This allows for a tentative reconstruction of the original name, according to independently motivated historical rules. This reconstruction should be of interest for the history of Tsimshianic as well as for that of other languages of the area.

Heather Taylor (Eastern Michigan University)

A construal-as-movement analysis of a new type of tough-construction

We present new data involving tough-constructions and, to account for certain unique properties of these constructions, we propose an alternative approach to the construal-as-movement analysis of Hornstein (2001): Move! According to Move!, in a typical case like John is tough to find, 'tough to find' is not a constituent, because the embedded CP is attached high, as an adjunct. However, there is
evidence (in the form of standard tests) that it is a constituent. The new data also lend evidence against high attachment of the embedded CP:

(1) John is too tough to find to play hide-n-seek with

In 1, the adjective tough and the degree adverb too each take a complement, to find and to play hide-n-seek with, respectively; where John is understood as the object of both CPs, and also the matrix subject. We show that 1 cannot be derived with high attachment of the CP and that the Move! analysis both over- and under-generates. Our alternative analysis overcomes these problems while maintaining the advantages of the Move! account (a prime example of 'minimalist methodology', eliminating PRO and the control module). Finally, we consider the implications of our analysis for ATB and PG constructions, speculating on a unified approach.

Graciela Tesan (University of Maryland-College Park)  
Rosalind Thornton (University of Maryland-College Park)  
Speaking universal grammar: Child language & negation

In adult English, the presence of a negative element blocks lowering of inflection onto the verb; examples like 1 are ungrammatical.

(1) *He not plays basketball

Lowering of inflection over not would violate the head movement constraint, and ultimately, the empty category principle. Given that these principles are part of universal grammar (UG), the prediction is that children should not produce sentences like 1. But utterances of this kind are attested in 2-year-old children's speech. To explain these data, we propose that children might initially map not as a specifier of the negative phrase, yielding a representation similar to Swedish embedded negative sentences--the tense morpheme lowers freely over the specifier not, cf. 'He does not sing' and 'He never sings'. Crucially, do-support is absent from children's negative sentences during this period. Once children acquire do-support and start to use the clitic form n't, not is also mapped to the head position of the negative phrase. At this point, children stop producing examples like 1. The recalcitrant data support the continuity hypothesis (Pinker 1984, Crain 1994): 'errors' in child syntax are possibilities in other adult languages.

Alex-Louise Tessonneau (University of Paris VIII)  
Education aspects of the Haitian 'kont'

In former articles, we have mentioned the important role and place of mortuary vigils in Haitian society and insisted that, during those ceremonies, participants compete with one another without any taboo in various oratory contests called tir de kont. The word 'kont' means both enigma-riddles and tales or stories. This apparently banal fact led us to further investigate its unsaid and underlying meaning. Kont, which usually takes place at night, has different sociolinguistic functions in the community. The focus here is on the initiation-acquisition of this metaphorical language and how the young practice this language. We examine the following concepts: (1) pragmatics, in particular context, which plays an important role in solving ambiguities in spoken and 'scriptural' language as well as in making linguistic expressions and metalanguage understandable; (2) speech acts--as Searle wrote, 'the unit of linguistic communication is not, as has generally been supposed, the symbol, word or sentence,... but rather the production of the symbol, word or sentence in the performance of speech acts' (1969:16); (3) metaphors--how children learn to use metaphors in different contexts such as problems and difficult subject matters solving, consensus agreement, etc.

Margaret Thomas (Boston College)  
What do we talk about, when we talk about 'universal grammar', & how have we talked about it?

Western language science has variously employed the expression 'universal grammar' since at least the 17th century (Padley 1976) while conceiving of its referent variously. Continuity of use of the term--stretching across intervals when it fell out of fashion--disguises the very different matters which linguists have referred to as universal grammar. We examine several generations of statements about universal grammar up to the present day, working toward a history of the term and its referent. We attend to the implications of (1) the differing syntactic subclasses to which 'universal grammar' has been attributed (modified count noun; compound noun; proper noun; mass noun) and (2) the metaphors linguists have used to elaborate on universal grammar or deny its existence. For example, in the 1600s-1700s, universal grammar was typically contrasted with 'particular grammars', both of which were understood to reside within individual languages; in 1860 Steinthal declared that 'a universal grammar' (as he defined it) 'is no more conceivable than...a universal plant or animal form'; in 1975 Chomsky's 'universal grammar was a biologically-based system of principles, conditions, and rules'; by 1995, Chomskyan universal grammar was the 'theory of the initial state [of the child language-learner].'

Robin Thompson (University of California-San Diego/Salk Institute)  
Karen Emmorey (Salk Institute)  
The relationship of eyegaze & agreement morphology in ASL: An eye-tracking study

The licensing of agreement is a crucial feature of current syntactic theory and therefore should apply in both signed and spoken languages. Neidle et al. 2000 claim that all verbs types in American Sign Language (agreeing, spatial, and plain) must mark agreement for subject and object. On this view, verbs can be marked with either manual agreement (verb directed toward locations
associated with the subject/object), nonmanual agreement (eyegaze toward the object/head-tilt toward the subject), or through the use of an overt pronoun/nominal. We conducted a language production experiment using head-mounted eye-tracking to directly measure signers' eyegaze. The results were inconsistent with Neidle et al.'s claims. While eyegaze accompanying (morphologically) agreeing verbs was most frequently directed toward the location of the syntactic object (65%), eyegaze accompanying plain verbs was seldom directed toward the object (10%). Further, eyegaze accompanying spatial verbs was toward the locative argument/adjunct (59%) rather than the object of transitive verbs/subject of intransitive verbs as predicted by Neidle et al. Plain verbs were never produced with null object pronouns, the only environment where eyegaze would function independently from morphological agreement. These results suggest eyegaze does not function as an independent feature-checker for verbs in ASL, and that not all verbs are agreeing.

Yahor Tsedryk (University of Western Ontario)

Experiencer inversion as interaction between EPP & person feature

As an instance of A-scrambling, experiencer inversion in Russian raises two questions, identified in Bailyn 2002 as (1) 'feature problem' (what is the trigger?) and (2) 'optionality problem' (the existence of two, semantically equal, word orders). Bailyn (forthcoming, 2001) recently proposed that all kinds of inversive constructions in Russian are derived from the extended projection principle (EPP), which is viewed as a strong feature in tense. Our main argument is that experiencer inversion results from interaction between person feature and EPP. The necessity to resort to a feature other than EPP comes from the comparison between psych and nonpsych constructions in Russian of 'surprise' and 'strike' types, respectively, e.g. She strikes /surprises Ivan with a book. Being structurally identical, they differ with respect to their ability to form adversity impersonal sentences that are derived by suppression of the external argument, e.g. she (following Babby 1994, Lavine 2000). After a discussion of some problems that these constructions raise for a case-theoretic analysis, we propose an account based on the hypothesis that the nominative/accusative case is a morphological marking of an asymmetric checking relation between the person feature and an argument.

Natsuko Tsujimura (Indiana University)

Mimetic verbs as contextuals

Japanese mimetics are symbolic or iconic, and in this sense, they do not bear 'meaning' to the extent that nonmimetic words in the language exhibit. An intriguing question to be asked is how speech participants determine what the exact interpretation of a mimetic expression may be. In discussing innovative denominal verbs in English such as in He wrested the ball over the net and We all Wayned and Cogneyed, Clark & Clark 1979 argues that innovatives meet the three criteria that characterize contextuals, distinguishing them from indexical and denotational expressions: (1) Contextuals have an indefinite number of senses rather than a small number of potential senses. (2) Contextuals depend on the context. (3) Contextuals expect cooperation between the speaker and the listener. We demonstrate that mimetic verbs in Japanese share these properties of contextuals and argue that unique interpretations of mimetic verbs call for not only syntactic and morphological information of mimetic expressions but also contextual and cultural understanding between the speaker and the listener.

Benjamin V. Tucker (University of Arizona)

Moraic structure in Romanian

Previous approaches to Romanian phonology have not taken an in-depth look at the moraic level in Romanian (Steriade 1984; Chitoran 2000, 2002). Using a combination of stress and segmental distribution data, we propose that Romanian allows optionally moraic codas and prefers bimoraic syallables. The placement of stress provides evidence supporting the claim that syllable weight is encoded moraically in Romanian. Steriade's (1984) weight sensitive analysis of Romanian assigns stress to a heavy final syllable, and to the penult if the final is light. Derivational morphology supports this weight sensitive system. The word frin.gí.e 'rope': The final is light so stress is on the penult. In frin.gí.e(773,520),(835,527)(773,528),(835,529)(773,527),(835,528)(773,529),(835,530)(773,530),(835,531)(773,531),(835,532) 'rope maker' [frin.gí.e+ar] the word resyllabifies, and the stress moves to the final syllable, made heavy by the coda. This and other evidence points to interaction between weight sensitivity and prosodic structure requirements that argues for moraic structure in Romanian. This analysis provides external evidence for moraic structure lacking in previous approaches. Evidence for moraic segments in Romanian provides external evidence for a weight sensitive stress system. These data are enhanced by an OT analysis to show the interaction of the constraints to produce the effects of this distribution data.

Siri G. Tuttle (Technical University-Berlin)

Ahtna stress & intonation in narrative context

In analyses of Athabaskan prosody, it has proved difficult to substantiate claims of stem prominence separate from observations of final lengthening and phrase-level contours, which seem to be important intonational signals in some Athabaskan languages (Tuttle 2000). Nevertheless, claims of stem stress are persistent. James Kari's (1990) analysis of Ahtna, for example, crucially claims that stems are stressed. We look at vowel duration, fundamental frequency, and contouring in an Ahtna text: 'Putting up Salmon at Batzulnetas' is a narrative on upper Ahtna fishing told by Katie John of Mentasta, recorded in 1982, and recently translated by Kari, who provided the acoustic record for analysis. The main finding is that stressed vowels (segmented for inherent length) are longer than unstressed vowels, and much more likely to carry a falling contour, but they are not higher or lower in pitch than other vowels.
When phrase-final and nonfinal stem vowels are compared, position in a final stem does not add significant length to vowels nor is there an effect on the contour, although final vowels are lower in F0 both at the beginning and at the end. Thus it appears to be possible to separate effects of Ahtna stress from effects of intonation, based on a spontaneously recorded text. Stressed vowels are associated with falling tones and greater length.

Mieko Ueno (University of California-San Diego)  
Robert Klunder (University of California-San Diego)  
Are wh-movement & wh-in-situ processed alike?: An ERP investigation

To elucidate the extent to which the neural processing of wh-in-situ shows similarities to or differences from the processing of wh-movement, we investigated the processing of monoclausal and biclausal Japanese wh-questions, with both embedded and matrix clause scope, using event-related brain potentials (ERPs). We were especially interested in testing if there are ERP indices of (1) wh-element/Q-particle dependencies akin to indices of filler/gap dependencies, and (2) the interpretive process involved in calculating interrogative clausal scope in a wh-in-situ language. As for (1), both embedded and matrix wh-in-situ questions elicited greater anterior negativity (relative to control yes/no-questions) between wh-elements and corresponding Q-particles. This was similar to ERP effects seen between fillers and gaps in wh-movement languages (Klunder & Kutas 1993; Fiebach, et al. 2001) and suggests similar mechanisms, most likely related to verbal working memory, for processing wh-related dependencies across typologically distinct languages. As for (2), both monoclausal and biclausal wh-questions elicited greater right-lateralized (mostly anterior) negativity at sentence end. This effect can most conservatively be interpreted as an end-of-sentence wrap-up effect. However, since such effects have consistently been reported as right posterior negativities, the possibility exists that the effect indexes the integration of sentential wh-scope in a wh-in-situ language.

Adam Ussishkin (University of Arizona)  
Andrew Wedel (University of California-Santa Cruz)  
Gestural motor programs account for asymmetries in loanword adaptation patterns

A cross-linguistic comparison of loanword adaptation reveals a pervasive asymmetry: Local restrictions, such as final-devoicing or coda/onset restrictions, are generally enforced in loans while long-distance restrictions, such as vowel harmony or the obligatory contour principle, are routinely violated. We propose an account of this asymmetry grounded in articulatory phonology (Browman & Goldstein 1986) and research in higher-level motor organization (Willingham 1998). Research on the execution of complex motor sequences suggests that, with repetition, a motor sequence becomes consolidated into a motor program characterized by higher-level organization of the component gestures. Likewise in articulation, it has been argued that repeatedly executed sets of overlapping gestures become consolidated into gestural motor programs (Byrd 1996, Levelt & Wheeldon 1994). An utterance is then encoded into these gestural programs prior to execution (e.g. Levelt 1992). Under this view, local restrictions may result in a gap in the repertoire of gestural programs acquired by a speaker while long-distance restrictions do not. Violation of a local restriction may therefore require the creation of a novel gestural program while violation of a long-distance restriction will not. We propose that the additional markedness incurred by loans violating local restrictions accounts for the observed asymmetry in borrowing patterns.

J. Randolph Valentine (University of Wisconsin-Madison)  
Lexicography & the language learner: Ojibwe electronic lexicons

Using materials from our own research, we offer several suggestions for ways in which dictionaries of aboriginal languages might be made more useful for learners of those languages. The most important consideration is that of publishing the dictionary in electronic format. We discuss some options available for doing this. Electronic format allows for the presentation of materials in a variety of forms and formats, e.g. variant spelling systems can be implemented. Access can be made much less linear than print dictionaries, allowing for searching on the components of morphologically rich words. Electronic publication also allows for the inclusion of copious example sentences and even access to the entire texts in which they are attested. This automatically situates words in their grammatical and cultural contexts, illustrates points of grammar associated with a given word’s usage (e.g. the treatment of applicative objects), and frees the user from a strict reliance on grammatical codes for understanding how a given word is used grammatically. Electronic publication also allows for the presentation of comprehensive paradigms of forms rather than just a few guide inflections.

Pilar M. Valenzuela (University of Oregon)  
Participant orientation agreement in Panoan

In Panoan languages, participant-oriented adjuncts receive distinct inflectional morphology depending on the syntactic function of the participant they are predicated of. The agreement markers involved can be attested on word level and phrasal adjuncts providing locational, manner, and quantity information about a core argument of the clause. In addition, participant orientation agreement is
attested on complements of interest, emphatic pronouns, conjunctions, and dependent same-subject-marked clauses. The following examples from Shipibo-Konibo illustrate this feature:

**S-orientation**

(1) E-a-ra bochiki-a-x paké-ke.
1-ABS-EV up:ABL-S cause.to.fall:DETRANSITIVIZER-COMPLETIVE
‘I fell from high up.’

**O-orientation**

(2) E-n-ra yami kentí bochiki-a-0 be-ke.
1-ERG-EV metal pot:ABS up-ABL-O bring-COMPLETIVE
‘I brought the metal pot from high up.’

**A-orientation**

(3) E-n-ra bochiki-xon pi-ai.
1-ERG up-A eat-INCOMPLETIVE
‘I eat (being) high up.’

Using comparative data, we show that participant orientation agreement (POA) was most probably a feature of Proto-Panoan, reconstruct the morphemes involved, and propose a tentative diachronic path along which POA may have developed. We also highlight aspects that make Panoan unique among languages exhibiting agreement on adjuncts and propose to analyze POA as a previously undescribed type of split-ergativity.

Harry van der Hulst (University of Connecticut)  
Ann Delilkan (New York University)  
*On the prosodic conditioning of fusion in Malay*

Most past analyses of fusion in Malay have assumed that the crucial conditioning environment for the process is purely morphological. All analyses, however, suffer from incomplete coverage of the relevant data, numerous relevant instances at best being set aside as ‘exceptions’, if mentioned at all. We show that, and how, prosodic structure crucially conditions fusion. We assume, first of all, that, the Malay prosodic word comprises prefix(es) and root; suffixes each project their own prosodic word domain. This proposal is motivated with reference to stress facts and other segmental processes besides fusion. Our analysis of fusion runs as follows. Firstly, fusion is triggered by a general constraint against coda consonants. Secondly, fusion is confined to the domain of the prosodic word and thus does not apply at the root-suffix, or suffix-suffix juncture. However, fusion is blocked by a foot level constraint that prevents a mismatch between syllable weight and prosodic weight (a light syllable in head position with a closed syllable in dependent position). Finally, and this is the only morphological factor, fusion is blocked within roots, a derived environment effect.

Rik van Gijn (University of Nijmegen)  
*Grammatical relations in Yurakaré*

Yurakaré is a relatively unknown unclassified language spoken in the Amazon basin in central Bolivia. We discuss how relations between the verb and its dependent nouns are marked. A simplified template of Yurakaré verbs is:

(1) person/number - marker - root - person/number
agreement  grammatical  agreement
marker  relation  marker (subject)

We concentrate on the marking of the grammatical relations on the left (prefix) side of the verb. The relations marked there are direct object, indirect object, purposive object, affected object, and associated object. An example of a purposive object:

(2) ka- y-mala -y dulsi
3sg PO-go -1sg orange
‘I went to get an orange.’

In 2, the prefix ka- refers to ‘orange’, and the marker y- specifies the relation of this participant to the verb—purposive object. Other relations between verb and dependent noun are marked on the noun through case. Examples of case markers are –la, marking oblique case and –chi marking direction:

(3) mala -y poybolo -chi samma -la
go -1sg town -DIR river -OBL
‘I went to the town by river.’

Besides these case markers there is a comitative marker and two further locational markers (stative and ablative). This mix of head and dependent marking strategies is used to mark who does what to whom in Yurakaré. We give an overview of these strategies, their marking and their uses.
We provide arguments for abandoning OT and outline the requirements an alternative should satisfy. (1) OT fails to account for the central phenomena of phonology (those in all known languages)–opacity, optionality, unnaturalness, ineffability, and derived environment effects. (2) OT overgenerates. Steriade 1999 observes that some phonological constraints receive only one solution cross-linguistically, e.g. coda devoicing. A core tenet of OT, free ranking/factorial typology, explicitly and incorrectly requires that a wide range of repairs be employed cross-linguistically. (3) OT fails to provide satisfactory solutions to the problems it identifies in rule-based phonology, such as conspiracies (Idsardi 1998, cf. Kiparsky 1973). (4) OT fails to account for the modality-independence of language: It specifies grammars as rankings of innate constraints, many of which refer specifically to the vocal/auditory modality. In short, OT has failed to surmount the problems its practitioners associate with rule-based phonology and has created new insurmountable problems. Self-proclaimed OT successes in accounting for markedness, naturalness, and conspiracies moreover are not an exclusive OT prerogative. We demonstrate that a phonological theory based on Halle and Marantz 1993 and Calabrese 1995 meets the conditions of empirical and explanatory adequacy and accounts for the phenomena in 1-4.

Bert Vaux (Harvard University)  
Why the phonological component must be serial & rule-based  
(Session 7)

Language games can inform our understanding of how phonological operations are inferred from underdetermined data. While Pig Latin is generally considered to be straightforward, closer inspection reveals that the range of variation in treatment of vowel-initial and cluster-initial words poses a number of suggestive formal problems. We present empirical nuances of Pig Latin dialects based on a survey of 300 college students and develop an analysis for the theoretical problems raised: constituent transposition, overapplication, and ineffability. For instance, onset clusters as in *tree are given the variable outputs *ee-tray, ree-tay, and ree-tray (but crucially never *ree-tray); vowel-initial words (e.g oven) are Pig-Latinized as oven-way, woven-way, ven-oay (cf also enter → ter-entay, enter-entay). These data suggest that a constituent movement analysis (Bagemihl 1989, 1995) cannot be maintained; rather, Pig Latin involves a combination of overwriting (Steriade 1988) and subtractive reduplication (cf. Marathi samne → amne-samne; Apte 1968). A full copy of the base is generated; the first copy undergoes truncation (Benua 1995), and the second undergoes melodic overwriting. We analyze each dialect, with discussion of overapplication and ineffability, situating the locus of interspeaker variation in the target of subtraction and overwriting operations.

Andrew Ira Nevins (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)  
Underdetermination in language games: Survey & analysis of Pig Latin dialects  
(Session 11)

Expletive constructions in Papiamentu: Evidence against the subject-in-situ generalization?

Tonjes Veenstra (Free University-Berlin)  
Expletive constructions in Papiamentu: Evidence against the subject-in-situ generalization?  
(Session 37)

Alicia Beckford Wassink (University of Washington)  
An analytic geometric method for quantifying spectral & temporal overlap in vowel systems  
(Session 2)

We demonstrate a method for using ellipse geometry to display vowel distributions in three dimensions and to quantify distribution overlap. Past and current approaches to representing acoustic vowel features have had limited success in assessing the relative contribution of spectral (e.g. F1, F2) and temporal (duration) features to the overall shape of a distribution and to distinctions between vowel categories. Vowel data were analyzed and normalized for speakers of general American English (GAE), basilectal (JC), and acrolectal (JE) Jamaican Creole. Means and standard deviations for F1, F2, and duration for vowels in phonological oppositions were input to the metric to model vowels in 2-, and 3-D space. Distances between categories were calculated using the vector between distribution centers. Numerical output includes a measure of one vowel’s protrusion into the other. When vowel pairs [i:/I, a:/a, a:/u] are examined for spectral and temporal overlap separately (conventional method), duration differences between JC phonologically short and long vowels are significantly greater than those for GAE and JE. This suggests that duration differences may be more important to phonemic contrast in JC while JE relies more heavily upon quality distinctions, like GAE. However, 3-D results reveal interesting differences between JE and GAE vowels.
In teaching about 'varieties of English in America', where do creole languages fit? According to the 1999 Statistical Yearbook of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, the population of immigrants to the United States of America from the Caribbean has exceeded 100,000 in each year since 1997. For many American students, the music of Bob Marley and the allure of reggae culture constitute the extent of familiarity with 'West Indians'. Myths abound regarding these individuals and the language(s) they speak. Two specific but distinct misunderstandings are commonly encountered: that creole languages are based on French or that speech in the anglophone Caribbean amounts to a lilting accent with a few lexical differences from English. Teachers, particularly those whose classrooms contain students from the English-speaking Caribbean, need to have a more accurate understanding of creole varieties. We address the importance of discussing creole languages in classrooms in North America, both at the secondary and postsecondary level, and offer suggestions for using one variety, Jamaican Creole, for in-depth case study. Focused discussion on a single creole can serve as a way to introduce more general information about pidgins and creoles as well as to examine the specific linguistic, social, and political issues arising in locales where they are spoken. We also address more theoretical and ideological questions involved in teaching about Jamaican Creole and provide specific pedagogical applications that have proved effective in bringing the topic and the language variety itself to life for students.

William F. Weigel (University of California-Berkeley)
Encoding of episode structure in Yokuts

We examine the way in which texts in two Yokuts languages are organized into episodic blocks and how this organization interacts with the syntax. The texts employ at least three different modes of combining coordinated clauses that appear to be indistinguishable except for their differing episodic scope (i.e. whether they conjoin episodes rather than conjoin clauses within an episode). An important consequence of this structure is that interclausal coreference within episodes is determined differently from coreference across episode boundaries. Noting this difference adds some order to what appears at first glance to be a chaotic and impoverished set of resources for resolving reference in these languages. Episodic structure also has a scene-setting and scene-shifting function that may be fruitfully compared to that of languages that encode these functions more directly. In a similar vein, the relevance of the familiar notions of topic and focus to Yokuts episodic structure is examined from a comparative perspective.

William F. Weigel (University of California-Berkeley)
Patterns of borrowing in Yiddish: Light, heavy, & semelfactive verbs

Yiddish has three types of compound verbs that consist of a lexical verb plus a nonargument complement. The first two may be considered 'light' verbs in that most of their semantic content is contained in the complement rather than the lexical verb. The third type, the familiar Germanic verb-particle combination, may be considered 'heavy' in that its verbal part is semantically richer than its complement. The three types have different roles in the language, i.e. respectively they create denominal verbs, encode specific aspctual (roughly, semelfactive) meaning in existing verbs, or create new verbs from old by adding a variety of spatial, aspctual, or other meaning. However, all three types have virtually identical surface syntax and may be said to participate in the same set of constructions. It is this set of constructions that has served as the conduit for borrowing into the Yiddish verbal system in most cases although this borrowing has typically been of a very different nature in the case of the three compound verb types (i.e., lexical borrowing from Semitic, purely semantic from Slavic, and calqued grammatical meaning from Slavic).

D. H. Whalen (Haskins Labs)
Matthew Richardson (Haskins Labs)
Einar Mencel (Haskins Labs/Yale University)
Randall R. Benson (Wayne State University)
Equating the complexity of speech & nonspeech: fMRI results

Comparing speech to nonspeech perception is difficult due to noncomparable acoustics. We (Benson et al., Brain & Language, 2001) attempted to overcome this difficulty by varying complexity. Speech complexity increased from vowels (V) to CVs to CVCs. Nonspeech varied from notes to chords to chord progressions. Functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) during passive listening found brain regions correlating with each dimension, but they may not have been equivalent. Here, new dimensions were devised. Speech began with Vs, then added two other voices saying the same vowel, then had three voices saying the vowel at three pitches. The new nonspeech dimension began with notes, then added a percussion sound to their beginnings, then added another percussion to the ends. Thus one dimension added! richness in F0 and timbre, the other, distinct events. As previously, left superior temporal gyrus (STG) increased activation with increasing speech complexity. The new speech dimension correlated with a similar area, anterior to the original, suggesting vowels are not as speech-like as syllables containing consonants. The nonspeech, right STG did not achieve significance for the original dimension but did with the new. Complexity can be used to delimit regions of the brain involved in speech vs nonspeech processing.
Primary stress placement in Pulaar requires weighting CVVC > CVV > CVC > CV (Niang 1997) though most typologies of quantity-sensitive stress disallow four levels of weight. We argue that Pulaar supports accounts formalizing structural measures of prominence for weight distinctions. The generalizations for primary stress are: (1) Stress the first syllable if all are light. (2) Stress the heaviest, even if not first. (3) Stress the leftmost if two tie as heaviest. (4) Never stress final syllables. If we define PEAKPROMINENCE for four weights, then we rank NONFINALITY >> PKPROM >> ALIGN-HD-LEFT, following Prince and Smolensky 1993. Alternatively, following Moren 2000, we have normally monomoraic CVC become bimoraic when no heavier syllables are present. However, secondary stress falls on all heavy syllables in Pulaar. ‘Heavy’ includes CVC, though in Moren’s account, CVC should be monomoraic unless primary stressed. I therefore develop the first approach but replace PKPROM with constraints evaluating prominence based on structure, both segmental and moraic (deLacy 1997). These constraints allow gradations among bimoraic syllables, distinguishing the necessary contrasts though CVC remains bimoraic. Primary stress refers to structural prominence while secondary stress depends only on moraic quantity. This account of Pulaar fits into a restricted typology of quantity-sensitive metrical systems.

Donnaid Winford (Ohio State University)

Processes of restructuring in creole formation & second language acquisition

Most creolists today recognize the close parallels between second language acquisition (SLA) and creole formation, but they still disagree on issues such as the relative roles of superstrate and substrate input in creole formation; the target for creole formation; and whether creoles arose through ‘basilectalization’ of L2 varieties of the superstrate, or via elaboration of a prior pidgin. We attempt to reconcile conflicting views on these issues by examining more closely the similarities in the developmental stages and processes that characterize both creole formation and SLA. Both involve an initial stage of basic interlanguage (IL) creation followed by elaborative stages involving three major factors--input (intake) from the target or lexifier language; L1 influence; and internal innovations. These factors interact within the minds of individual learners creating IL systems (I-languages). The process of elaboration involves various types of restructuring--in the sense in which this term is used by researchers in first and second language acquisition. We examine this process of restructuring in relation to the creation of the TMA systems of Haitian Creole (HC) and Sranan Tongo (SN). What distinguishes these (and other) cases of creole formation are differences in the extent to which superstrate input, L1 influence and internal innovation played a role in their genesis. We can therefore maintain the view that all instances of creole formation were essentially cases of SLA, and reconcile the conflicting positions of scholars.

Esther Wood (University of California-Berkeley)

Nominal & verbal quantification: A typological study

We examine the distribution of certain quantificational functions across noun and verb phrases. Both NPs and VPs may contain quantification and number information. Such information in an NP may constrain the interpretation of the VP and vice versa. We address two specific questions! First, are nominal and verbal plurality independent or do they overlap in function?! The study tests Cusic's (1981) proposal that languages with pluractionals tend to have optional or limited nominal number marking!!Second, are languages with extensive pluractionality less likely than other languages to have true quantificational determiners (D-quantification)? In a typologically balanced sample of 40 languages, the presence and extent of pluractionality in each language was compared with the distribution of nominal number marking and the apparent presence or absence of D-quantification. Two main results emerged. First, full nominal number marking is very common across all types of languages, regardless of their use of verbal plurality.! We argue that this can be explained by the different functions of nominal and verbal number. Second, the results show a negative correlation between the expression of verbal plurality and D-quantification: Languages with complex pluractional systems are more likely than others to lack D-quantification.

Esther Wood (University of California-Berkeley)
Lisa Conathan (University of California-Berkeley)

Repetitive reduplication in Yurok & Karuk: Semantic effects of contact

We challenge a proposed account of the relationship between Yurok repetitive reduplication and reduplication constructions attested in some Algonquian languages (Garrett 2001). Garrett argues, on the basis of morphology and semantics, that Yurok repetitive reduplication is cognate with the Algonquian verb reduplication as exemplified in Meskwaki (Fox). We show, however, that while the Yurok reduplication is morphologically similar to that in Meskwaki, it is semantically very different. The semantics are instead remarkably close to those of a reduplicative construction in neighboring Karuk, and we argue that this is an effect of language contact. Northwestern California is a linguistic area, and Yurok and Karuk share several other contact features, including the presence of numeral classifiers, diminutive consonant symbolism, and marking of inverse argument configuration. This has consequences not only for the study of pluractionality and of the Northwestern California linguistic area but also for the methodology of historical reconstruction. When local explanations are readily apparent, especially in cases of close cultural contact, they may make more sense than relating characteristics to cognates distant in both time and space.
In pairs of names, male names often precede female names (e.g. Anthony and Cleopatra). Wright and Hay 2002 and Bent, Wright, and Hay 2002 investigated this bias and found that name-ordering preferences are constrained by a combination of phonology and gender. A phonological bias, together with an independent gender bias, leads to an overwhelming tendency to place male names first. We investigate an additional factor in this naming conspiracy--frequency. We coded the names used in the previous studies according to frequency of occurrence in U.S. social security card applications and found that frequency was highly significant in predicting name-ordering preferences: Frequent names tend to be ordered first. Thus, while there may be multiple factors for Anthony to be ordered before Cleopatra, one contributing factor is the high frequency of Anthony relative to the infrequent Cleopatra. Additionally, we argue that gender and frequency are not independent: Male names tend to be more frequent. Evidence comes from an analysis of corpus data demonstrating that over time, male names are more stable while female names often change. This finding, together with the first-position preference for familiar names, strongly reinforces the overall tendency for male names to be ordered first.

Toward a diachronic typology of infixation

We explain the typology of synchronic infixation patterns through a comprehensive study of the diachronic sources of infixation and argue that infixes come about as the result of morphological ambiguity-induced reanalysis. Five sources are identified--morphological entrapment, reduplication mutation, phonetic metathesis, prosodic stem association, and accidental convergence. We argue that this approach is superior to competing synchronic theories at accounting for the distribution of infixation synchronically; in particular, our conclusions argue against the optimality theory view that any case of infixation not accounted for by prosodic stem alignment occurs in order to optimize phonological structure, e.g. syllable coda avoidance (McCarthy & Prince 1993).

Verbs of position in Jemez Towa

Towa is a Kiowa-Tanoan language, spoken at Jemez Pueblo, New Mexico. In this language, the presence of someone or something in a place is expressed with one of three verbs-- 'ê 'be', 'é 'be sitting', k'y 'be lying down'. Animate beings normally take 'ê'. Plants and inanimate objects, on the other hand, use one of the other two verbs. The choice of the verb depends on whether the object is considered to have a vertical position ( 'é) or a horizontal position (k'y). However, some objects, which appear to be vertically positioned, take k'y. k'y is also used in a possessive construction, where the other verbs of position are not employed. We discuss these and other properties of the position verbs in Towa!!

Motion verbs in complex predicate constructions in Olutec (Mixean)

Olutec, a polysynthetic Mixean language spoken in the South of Veracruz, Mexico, has a set of motion verbs (MV) that participates in at least three types of complex predicate constructions. The first type is a nuclear serial verb construction in which the MV grammaticalized as a directional in second position.

(1) je7pi=a 7i=ya:x -mi:n7 -i
there =ANIM A3(ABS)=shout-DIR:hither-INCD
'He was screaming from there towards this way.'

The second type is an associated motion construction in which the MV follows another predicate forming a word whose argument structure is determined by the first predicate.

(2) 7i=wü:n-tak- mi:n7 -küx-u=xü                    ni7ixi  xu7ni
A3(ERG)=pull-LNKR-come-PL3-COMI=EVlike     dog
'They were coming pulling him around like a dog.'

The third construction is an analytic structure in which either manner or affective words preceding MVs form a predicate. In this last construction the MV functions as light verb necessary for the occurrence of affective words as predicates.

(3) mikit+mikit -na7              kawa:yu-mü=ak     7i= mi:n7 -nü-i
rushing+REDUP-STATZR horse-LOC=ANIM A3(ABS)=come -already-INCD
'He was trotting fast on the top of the horse.'

We discuss some of the formal and semantic properties of these three constructions paying particular attention to the issues of argument structure, morphological marking in both predicates, size of the paradigm of the motion verb in each construction, and semantic relation between the MV and the co-occurring predicate.
Lexical contour tones often have reduced pitch excursions on syllables with shorter duration. E.g. in Pingyao Chinese, contours 53 and 13 are partially reduced to 54 and 23 on the phonetically short /CV/ syllables. This process has been relegated to phonetics by traditional moraic theory of contour tone licensing as the theory proper cannot make a formal distinction between the licensing conditions of two contours that only differ in the size of the excursion. We argue that the partial contour reduction should be accounted for in phonology. The main argument comes from the observation that languages employ different strategies to resolve the conflict between time-consuming contours and short duration, and partial reduction is only one of them. Other options include: complete contour reduction (Xhosa), neutralizing (Gà) or allophonic (Mitla Zapotec) rime lengthening, and a combination of reduction and lengthening (Hausa). A theoretical apparatus couched within OT, which uses intrinsically ranked constraints that refer to normalized phonetic categories, is shown to be able to capture all the attested patterns in a unified fashion and furthermore does not overgenerate unattested general patterns.

Ke Zou (California State University-Hayward)

Causative & noncausative ba constructions in Chinese

There are two major differences between the causative and noncausative ba- constructions. First, in the causative ba- construction, the ba- NP is the logical subject of the matrix verb and embedded clause; in the noncausative ba- construction, the ba- NP is the logical object of the matrix verb:

(1) zhe jian shi ba wo ji-de shui bu hao (causative)
   this CL matter BA I hurry-DE sleep not well
(2) wo ba juizi bo-le (noncausative)
   I BA orange peel-ASP

Second, in the causative ba- construction, ba can be replaced by the causative marker shi in the noncausative ba- construction, ba cannot:

(3) zhe jian shi BA/SHI wo ji-de shui bu hao. (cf. 1)
(4) wo BA/SHI juizi bo-le (cf. 2)

Given that ba is a functional category and has no thematic relation with the ba- NP and that the matrix verb carries an aspect or resultative marker, we project a ba- phrase (BAP) with ba as its head that selects an aspect phrase (ASPP) or resultative phrase (DEP) as complement, and have the head of ASPP/DEP select a VP. Therefore, the derivation of 1 and 2 simply becomes the side effects of verb-raising and NP-movement:

(1') [BAP [NP1 zhe jian shi] [ba] [DEP w o i [DE ji-de j] [VP [NP2 t i] [V' [V t j]]
   [RC Proi shui bu hao]]]]
(2') [BAP wo i [ba] [ASPP juizi j [ASPP bo-leq] [VP [NP1 t i] [V' [V t k] NP2 tj]]]]

Ghil'ad Zuckermann (University of Cambridge)

Mosaic or mosaic?: A new, hybridizational theory of the genetics of the Israeli language.

We propose that Israeli, which emerged in Palestine at the beginning of the 20th century, is simultaneously both Semitic and Indo-European. The still prevalent, traditional view suggests that Israeli is Semitic--(Biblical/Mishnaic) Hebrew revived. The revisionist position defines it as Indo-European--Yiddish relexified. We argue that Israeli is mosaic--rather than Mosaic; both Hebrew and Yiddish act as its primary contributors (rather than substrata). Therefore, the term 'Israel' is far more appropriate than Israeli Hebrew, let alone Modern Hebrew or Hebrew. In support of this hybridizational theory, we propose an adapted version of the Founder Principle, which normally explains why the structural features of creoles are largely predetermined by the particular characteristics of the languages spoken by the first colonists. The Founder Principle can be adapted to Israeli, as follows: Yiddish is a primary contributor to Israeli because it was the mother tongue of the majority of the revivalists and first pioneers in Palestine during the period 1880-1948. All the other languages which have influenced Israeli--except Hebrew--are secondary contributors. Hebrew is acknowledged as a primary contributor, too, although it had been clinically dead (as a mother tongue) for more than 1,700 years. The reason is that the apophonic morphology of Israeli is Hebrew, as well as that Hebrew persisted as an important literary and liturgical language. We also use the Congruence Principle: If a feature exists in more than one contributor--whether primary or secondary--it is more likely to persist. Thus, the SVO syntax of Israeli is based simultaneously on standard European and Mishnaic Hebrew, rather than on Biblical Hebrew, whose typical order is VSO).

Fernando Zúñiga (University of Leipzig)

Complex predicates in the far south: Mapudungun & Kawésqar

We focus on the way Mapudungun, a comparatively healthy polysynthetic language of southern Chile and Argentina, combines verbal roots of both transitive and intransitive motion verbs, but also others like those corresponding to 'leave' and 'have', in order to form complex predicates expressing aspectual and spatial meanings. We include a survey of related phenomenon in a virtually extinct and less-known language of southern Chile called Kawésqar or Northern Alacaluf.
Abstracts of Organized Sessions
Symposium: Academic Journal Publishing in Linguistics

Ballroom B
3:00 - 5:30 PM

Organizers: Brian D. Joseph (Ohio State University)
Keren Rice (University of Toronto)
Joseph C. Salmons (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Participants: Eric Bakovic (Rutgers Optimality Archives administrator)
Colin Ewen & Ellen Kaisse (Phonology editors)
Lenore A. Grenoble & Lindsay J. Whaley (Linguistic Discovery editors)
Brian D. Joseph (Language editor)
Joan Maling (Natural Language and Linguistic Theory editor)
Keren Rice (International Journal of American Linguistics editor)
Joseph C. Salmons (Diachronica editor)

Most linguists have considerable experience with academic journals, usually as consumers, i.e. as readers or as occasional contributors of articles or notes/squibs; a smaller number have experience in some aspect of the editorial process, most typically as a reviewer of a submitted paper or a book. Far fewer are familiar with the details of the day-to-day running of a journal—the review process for submissions, the editorial stages, the physical production of an issue, and the like.

In the interest of demystifying this overall process for various parties, in particular for graduate students and junior faculty, but also for more senior scholars, this symposium offers a panel consisting of editors of major journals in the field and a representative from a major electronic archive. This group will discuss a number of issues related to journal editing and journal production.

The presentations range from the practical to the philosophical, from the historical to the predictive, and include:

1. An introduction, with some facts about the history of academic journals, especially in the western academic tradition and some reflections on the current state—are there too many journals? Too few? Too much specialization? Not enough? Do journals matter for graduate students? Should journals matter for graduate students? Should journals reflect the field or shape the field? Do all journals count equally in terms of progress through the academic ranks? What criteria should be used to determine which journal to submit an article to?

2. An overview of the basics of the editorial process: a summary of what all journals have in common in this regard (selection practices, role of editor and editorial board, style sheets, expectations of professionalism, factors determining the length of the review process etc.), followed by brief presentations by different editors about the details of their particular journals.

3. A treatment of ethical issues such as anonymity of the review process, conflicts of interest, multiple submissions, appealing editorial decisions, copyright and ownership matters, 'journal of record' matters (journal publication vs working paper publication vs conference proceedings publication vs electronic archives), democratic and free-speech concerns, reviewers' practices, the use of sound files in electronic publications and associated ethical issues, particularly in the area of endangered languages.

4. The future of the academic journal, especially with regard to electronic dissemination; this topic ties in with some of the last questions from (1) about the role of journals in the field in general and for future practitioners in the field. In addition, it addresses the role of electronic archives in the publication process.
Electronic archives exist to facilitate the exchange of research results. These archives are open to any and all who wish to make work available to their respective research communities. Archived work is unedited and unreviewed and thus is not a form of publication. Rather, electronic archiving is the equivalent of mailing out a typescript, and it shares and generalizes the advantages of private circulation of papers, in terms of rapid dissemination and maximal feedback from the entire community of interested researchers. Nonetheless, perceptions of and attitudes toward electronic archiving vary widely. Often missing from discussions of electronic archiving is mention of the advantages of the electronic medium itself, e.g., integration of raw data, sound and video, easy searchability, hyperlinks to cited sources and textual definitions, and threaded commentary. As the publishing industry migrates to the electronic medium, there is a natural place for archives; authors can experiment with different aspects of the medium while receiving feedback on their work. Journals, volumes, and other peer-reviewed publications receive a boost in quality from the broader prepublication review of work offered by electronic archiving and benefit as well from the visibility accorded the material they publish. The peer-review process is a vital (though abusable) part of research. The issues raised by electronic archiving vis-à-vis peer-reviewed publication can and must be resolved such that neither the benefits of electronic presentation and archiving nor those of peer-reviewed publication are compromised.

Colin Ewen and Ellen Kaisse (Phonology editors)
An overview of ethical issues in journal publishing

As editors of a journal, and particularly of a specialist, theoretical journal, we have found several issues falling under the general topic of 'ethics' that merit discussion. One is the question of double-blind reviewing. In a small field, and one in which many papers are posted electronically, how anonymously can an author be, and how much does the double-blindness accomplish? Even our associate editors do not know the identity of a paper's referees—is this a good or a bad policy? Another issue is overlapping submissions. What does one tell an author who has been assured publication of a portion of their work in a conference proceeding--will this harm the chances for acceptance in a journal? How should we ask authors to inform us of related earlier publications or of on-going related submissions to other journals? Should we have any objection to electronic posting of submitted or accepted papers? And finally, what is the relation between specialized and general journals? Do phonologists submit to Phonology at the rate we would hope, and do they subscribe to it?

Lenore A. Grenoble and Lindsay J. Whaley (Linguistic Discovery editors)
Creating Linguistic Discovery

In January 2002, we launched a fully-refereed electronic journal, Linguistic Discovery (http://linguistic-discovery.dartmouth). Our goal is to exploit the electronic medium to its fullest degree. Linguistic Discovery includes immediate archiving of the journal and an ability to search current issues and archived materials. We expect the journal to provide a forum for rethinking the ways we publish in linguistics, so as to make fuller use of all available technology. Conceptually, the journal derived from a commitment to the description and analysis of primary linguistic data, with a focus on lesser-studied languages. Our own experiences with publishing on minority languages have shown that there are few avenues for such publications, at a time when the need for documentation and analysis is more pressing than ever due to the accelerated rate of language attrition. A further commitment was to make the journal free to all with Internet access. Linguistic Discovery publishes less traditional kinds of research as well—reports on field conditions, issues of field methodology, and so on; downloadable data sets useful for teaching; linguistic problem sets that have been designed for varying levels of instruction; and editorials. A development team was needed with diverse skills to accomplish the key desiderata for the journal, involving wide access, searchability, and immediate archiving. Even with technical expertise on board, the project faced numerous technological difficulties, including font issues, creation of a search engine, transfer between different platforms, and others.

Joan Maling (Natural Language and Linguistic Theory editor)
Basics of the editorial process

While journals differ in detail, there are many similarities in the behind-the-scenes work. Structurally, journals have an editor or co-editors and an editorial board whose responsibilities include helping to establish and maintain the quality of the journal. Most journals have a selection process, with submissions sent out to one or more referees for appraisal, with final decisions on acceptance or rejection made by the editor or an associate editor. Most journals have a number of categories into which recommendations fall. All journals have a style sheet of some sort as well. At the same time, journals differ in many ways—in terms of what they ask of referees, whether they inform referees of what has happened with a submission that they reviewed, how long they give referees to review an article, how they involve their editorial boards, at what point in the process they ask for a manuscript to conform to a style sheet. Issues of time between submission and a decision will also be addressed.
Symposium: Innovations in Attracting Undergraduates to Linguistics

Ballroom A
4:30 - 6:30 PM

Organizer: John Kingston (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
Undergraduate Program Advisory Committee

Participants: William Frawley (George Washington University)
Mark Liberman (University of Pennsylvania)
Donna Jo Napoli (Swarthmore College)

At its meeting in January 2002, the Undergraduate Program Advisory Committee discussed at length the many innovations its members' departments had made to develop linguistics majors and general education courses and to induce undergraduate students to enroll in them. The committee also discussed applying for a grant from a government agency or private foundation to study these innovations and to experiment with them. This symposium was developed to further these goals.

Donna Jo Napoli and William Frawley, who have taken part in radically changing how linguistics fits into their institutions' undergraduate curricula, describe how and why their programs have been changed and how challenges to making those changes were overcome. They come from very different kinds of institutions (a small liberal arts college and a large state university) and brought about the changes by means that were quite specific to very different institutional demands.

Mark Liberman compares psychology's enormous success at attracting undergraduates to linguistics' comparative failure and shows how the former's success arises from its portraying itself as a bona fide alternative to a natural sciences major, especially one with a premedical focus.

Open discussion among the presenters, a number of additional panelists, and the audience about the design of a pilot project to study innovations in undergraduate linguistics education follow the presentations. Topics include what one might learn from such a project and what innovations such a project might test. The Undergraduate Program Advisory Committee will use the fruits of the discussion to prepare a grant proposal for funding a project.

William Frawley (George Washington University)
The University of Delaware experience

Linguistics courses can play a major role in a university-wide undergraduate curriculum that is built on competencies and experiences (rather than on traditional areas such as social science or humanities) and can contribute to a rigorous assessment of curricular effectiveness and outcomes. We discuss a variety of competencies that have been variously proposed as underpinning the undergraduate experience, e.g. problem-solving, collaborative group work, data-gathering and analysis, literacies (quantitative, informational, traditional), plus the experiences that have been argued to be essential to the new undergraduate curriculum--discovery and inquiry-based experiences (especially in the initial years), capstone, field experiences and service learning. We illustrate from various undergraduate courses how linguistics can provide these competencies and experiences, e.g. in elementary linguistics we have a group data-analysis with writing up of results and sometimes quantitative and informational literacy through database design and analysis; in anthropologically-oriented courses or those in dialects, we have mentored field projects; in language acquisition or applied linguistics courses, we have serviced learning in the schools and daycare centers; in senior-level courses, we could have group-oriented capstones, with students from linguistics, psychology, computer science, and other fields contributing jointly toward a common synthesizing project. We argue that, in some ways, if any discipline is relevant to the new undergraduate experience, it is linguistics, with its ability to deliver the requisite competencies and experiences broadly and as an integrated part of courses not as special 'add ons'. We also argue that linguistics is a natural ally of empirical assessment and outcomes. For example, we can test whether linguistics delivers sustainable knowledge of problem-solving by tracking the analytical performance of students before and after linguistics courses, unlike assessing say 'social science capability' which, in the end, is vague and untestable (although, in a traditional menu-driven undergraduate curriculum, the usual function of linguistics). We also offer additional examples of how linguistics might inform assessment of curricular effectiveness.
Mark Liberman (University of Pennsylvania)

The psychology model

Of the 14.3M students enrolled in US institutions of higher education in 1996, roughly 1.5M took an introductory psychology course, whereas roughly 50,000 took introductory linguistics—30 times fewer. We should see this situation not as an ignominious failure but rather as an enormous untapped resource. Relatively low enrollments in linguistics result from a series of historical accidents and political failures. We became a formal academic discipline late; we tend to define our field narrowly; we have put little emphasis on teaching nonspecialists; and we have failed to present a consistently united perspective that bridges within-field squabbles. As a result, linguistics has a long record of intellectual success, coupled with remarkably little gain in disciplinary terms. During the 19th century, philology was the core of the humanities; during most of the 20th century, anthropological linguistics was the core of the social sciences, and linguistic analysis was the core of Anglo-American philosophy; yet linguistics as an academic discipline benefited little from all of this. During the past 50 years, the study of linguistic performance has been central to the mind/brain sciences, but undergraduates mostly learn about this from courses in psychology rather than linguistics. Rhetoric, composition, and foreign language study remain central preoccupations of higher education, but linguistics as a discipline has little practical connection today with instruction in these areas, or even with the preparation of instructors. This situation can change. If we adopt attitudes more conducive to disciplinary success and reclaim the intellectual territory that is historically and logically ours, we can hope to see course enrollments similar to those enjoyed by our colleagues in fields like psychology—and hope eventually to see comparable department sizes as well.

Donna Jo Napoli (Swarthmore College)

Linguistics at Swarthmore College

Strengthening ties to other departments and alums and to the department's internal organization is essential. If other departments see the relevance of linguistics to their disciplines, they can act as allies when it comes time to argue for staffing positions. We have cosponsored many events with other departments; we have reorganized our Introduction to Linguistics class to meet the needs of the education students who are going for state certification; our introductory syntax class is on the list of classes that count toward a computer science major; our introductory semantics class is cross-listed with philosophy; other specialty classes are cross-listed with other departments, and so on. Internally our program is built around the reality that most people have no idea of what linguistics is about before they get to college, and many don't discover the discipline until their sophomore year or later. As a result we organized syntax, semantics, and phonetics/phonology courses as possible entry courses to the discipline. It has allowed us to lure in students who drop into one course because of its association with another department and then decide to take more linguistics. This happens repeatedly with students from mathematics, computer science, and philosophy.
Symposium: Practical Approaches to Incorporating Linguistic Diversity into Linguistics Courses

Ballroom A
12:00 - 2:00 PM

Organizers: Marianna DiPaolo (University of Utah)
Penelope Eckert (Stanford University)
Ted Fernald (Swarthmore College)
Lauren Hall-Lew (University of Arizona)
Emily Manetta (University of California-Santa Cruz)
Arthur Spears (City University of New York)
Committee on Ethnic Diversity in Linguistics (CEDL)

Presenters: MaryEllen Garcia (University of Texas-San Antonio)
Lisa Green (University of Texas-Austin)
Jorge Hankamer (University of California-Santa Cruz)
Tracey Weldon (University of South Carolina)
Walt Wolfram (North Carolina State University)

The most ethnically diverse student audience in linguistics is probably found in two types of courses: the introductory linguistics course because it fulfills general education requirements at many institutions, and specific courses on varieties spoken by US ethnic groups. What can instructors do to get students of color in these courses to consider majoring in linguistics: CEDL believes that more US people of color would be attracted to the field if instructors in the introductory courses made more use of course materials for the core areas based on the language varieties of US ethnic groups and the working class. Using materials of this kind demonstrates that the linguistic complexities of the students' own varieties is worthy of linguistic study. In addition, linguistics courses on ethnic varieties would best be taught using materials which address the language attitudes brought to bear on the students in their everyday lives.

CEDL recognizes that many members of the LSA would be more than willing to use materials making crucial use of the students' vernaculars and the students' speech communities but may not have the time or resources to create them. With this symposium and the website that we plan to spin-off from it, we hope to make any such existing materials readily available and to encourage the creation and dissemination of more of this type of materials. Consistent with CEDL's mandate, our primary interest is in encouraging the use of materials of interest to students of color, but the techniques for materials development presented also serve as models for incorporating linguistic data from other usually underrepresented speech communities.

MaryEllen Garcia (University of Texas-San Antonio)
Linguistics & lessons from southwest Spanish

Linguistics courses often use data from standard English to illustrate linguistic principles. In sociolinguistics courses, treatment of linguistic relativity may be limited to standard vs nonstandard English, and chapters on language contact usually use pidgin and creoles to illustrate the results of contact. However, all of these topics can also be found manifested in ethnic minority languages such as Spanish in the United States. Spanish heritage speakers often have been exposed to a speech variety in contact with English, variously referred to as 'Tex-Mex', 'Pocho Spanish', and 'Spanglish'. The popular sentiment reflected in these terms is that mixing languages is 'incorrect', so many believe that they speak an inferior dialect which is not really Spanish. Their formal studies of the language only serve to reinforce this belief. Our course on the Spanish of the southwest at U TX-San Antonio, taken by some of these same speakers, treats the dialect as an ethnic and social construct as well as a regional one. The course combines the goals of traditional descriptive dialectology and modern sociolinguistics and is one for which there is no suitable published textbook as yet. Students are encouraged to express and recognize their own unconscious language ideologies regarding the speech variety; helped to recognize and make typologies of the contact phenomena such as codeswitching, word borrowings, and phrasal calques common in this dialect; presented with data that illustrate phonotactic and morphological regularities preferred by popular dialects of Spanish, such as CV-CV structures and generalization of verb stems, underscoring their adherence to universal linguistic tendencies.
Recognizing pejorative ideologies and the dialect's linguistic regularities convinces students that the Spanish of the southwest has been marginalized for reasons other than its linguistic legitimacy. It also teaches them that linguistics has relevance for their everyday lives, lessons important both for ethnic-group insiders and for other students exposed to negative attitudes and linguistically unsophisticated evaluations of the dialect.

Lisa Green (University of Texas-Austin)

*Integrating African American English into units in linguistics courses*

African American English (AAE) data-based problem sets can be integrated into units in introductory linguistics courses to illustrate properties of human languages and teach linguistic analysis. In the morphology unit, phrases produced by adolescent and young adult speakers of AAE are used in an exercise on coining phrases. These speakers form phrasal type verbs by inserting a verb that is used as a noun in the position preceding *on* in the template get-possessive pronoun-noun-on 'to do something'.

1. a. get your drink on 'to drink'
   b. get our sleep on 'to sleep'
   c. *get your pretty on* 'to get pretty'

Students explain how phrases in 1 are formed and provide grammatical examples of similar phrases. They also apply tests to show that the phrase itself is a verb but the word that is inserted before *on* is used as a noun. Words with reduced final consonant clusters in AAE can be discussed in relation to morphophonemic rules in the phonology unit. Plural formation of words ending in -sk, -sp, and -st clusters in mainstream English which are pronounced in AAE as if they ended in -s are used to show how the morphophonemic rule that determines the form of the plural morpheme works.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General English form</th>
<th>AAE singular form</th>
<th>AAE plural form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. mask</td>
<td>mas</td>
<td>mases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. wasp</td>
<td>was</td>
<td>wases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. context</td>
<td>contes</td>
<td>conteses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jorge Hankamer (University of California-Santa Cruz)

*Three kinds of syntax problems involving data from nonstandard dialects*

The first example problem uses nonstandard dialect data for an exercise in description and analysis. The second uses a characteristic construction in the nonstandard dialect as a tool for analysis of more complex constructions. The third explores a nonstandard dialect phenomenon in light of general theoretical principles. The first type is exemplified by a problem constructed on the basis of Burling's (1973) discussion of Black English Vernacular (BEV) negative concord and is designed to lead students to progressively develop a descriptive analysis of the negative concord phenomenon in BEV, followed by an exploration of existential 'it', followed by an exploration of the ellipsis of existential 'it', and finally leading to an explanation of the famous example collected by Labov:

1. Ain't no cat can't get in no coop.

The second type is exemplified by a further exploration of existential 'it', leading to an investigation of how existential 'it' behaves in larger contexts and its potential use as a test for raising vs control structures:

2. It ain't no cat can't get in no coop.

The third presupposes access to a community of speakers of the nonstandard dialect in question. It might be regarded as more of a term paper or undergraduate thesis topic than an introductory syntax problem, though the crucial question can certainly be posed in the context of an introductory syntax class. The question: Is negative concord in BEV subject to any structural constraints, such as c-command and, if so, what are they exactly?

Tracey Weldon (University of South Carolina)

*African American English in the college curriculum: Ideological & pedagogical issues*

In recent years, there has been an observable increase in the amount of attention paid to African American English in college-level linguistics courses in the United States. The need for such courses became painfully evident during the 1996-97 Ebonics controversy as the media's treatment of the issues reinforced many of the stereotypes and misconceptions that were already so prevalent. Since that time, linguists have developed new books and courses on African American English with the undergraduate student population in mind. Such courses have been effective in bringing a more diverse student population, including African Americans and other people of color, into linguistics classes. However, such courses present a number of interesting ideological and pedagogical challenges. For example: (1) How does one break down the dialect prejudices that students bring to these courses when there are so many influences outside the classroom that reinforce these prejudices? (2) How does one engage students in open, honest discussion of the issues without allowing competing ideologies to result in open conflict in the classroom? (3) Is it possible, from the perspective of the instructor, to discuss issues of race and ethnicity in an objective manner and to evaluate students objectively even when the students' opinions are in direct conflict with one's own opinions and perspectives? (4) Is it possible to 'correct' writing 'errors' that appear to represent dialect influence without sending students mixed messages?
Most students in introductory linguistics courses, including minority students, find sociolinguistics among the most engaging topics covered in the course. At the same time, they often view the study of language variation as detached from the kind of heuristics and argumentation structure found in the 'core' areas of linguistics such as phonology and syntax. The integration of more exercises from nonmainstream dialects into phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics would serve to demonstrate that the linguistic description of these varieties requires the same set of analytical skills and rigorous argumentation as that found in the analysis of socially favored, 'standard' varieties. We offer examples of phonological and morphological datasets from various vernacular varieties of English, including ethnic varieties, that can be used in introductory courses. One set of exercises focuses on systematic differences between regional and/or social varieties in allophonic variation (e.g. alveolar vs velarized laterals and phonetically sensitive vowel mergers); a different set of phonological exercises focuses on the systematic description of various phonological processes such as prenasal stopping (e.g. doesn’t to didn’t, wasn’t to wadn’t), syllable-coda consonant cluster reduction (e.g. build to buil' but not belt to bel'). Sample sets of morphosyntax exercises may focus on morphemic alternation in plural -s attachment (e.g. the absence of plural markers with quantified, measurable nouns as in three pound of flounder but not *pound of flounder), the interaction of grammatical and phonetic constraints in licensing a- prefix attachment (e.g. She was a-workin' but not *She was a-returnin' or *She make money by a-workin'). The integration of more corpora from social and ethnic varieties of English into the study of core analytical areas of linguistics accomplishes several goals: (1) It illustrates inductively the systematic integrity of all language varieties regardless of social valuation; (2) it underscores the need for analytical rigor in the description of vernacular language varieties; and (3) it engages students from nonmainstream speech communities who may be familiar with these vernacular language varieties.
Symposium:
Probability Theory in Linguistics 2: Integrated Frameworks

Salon C
2:00 - 5:00 PM

Organizers: Rens Bod (University of Amsterdam/University of Leeds)
Jennifer Hay (University of Canterbury)
Stefanie Jannedy (Lucent Technology/Bell Laboratories)

Participants: Rens Bod (University of Amsterdam/University of Leeds)
Paul Boersma (University of Amsterdam)
Jeff Elman (University of California-San Diego)
Dan Jurafsky (University of Colorado)
Janet Pierrehumbert (Northwestern University)
Whitney Tabor (University of Connecticut)

It has long been accepted that many linguistic phenomena display properties of continua and show remarkably gradient behavior. In attempts to model the gradience of linguistic behavior, increasingly many researchers have adopted the insights of probability theory. For quite some time, the probabilistic approach has been seen in opposition to the largely categorical approach. Yet they go, in fact, very well together: While categorical approaches focus on the endpoints of distributions of linguistic phenomena, probabilistic approaches take into account also the gradient middle ground. An integrated framework of accounting for patterns in data with the help of linguistic theory as well as probabilistic models of language allows the entire linguistics community to explore data with another level of magnification.

Rens Bod (University of Amsterdam/University of Leeds)

Data-oriented parsing

A linguistic theory is usually charged with assigning appropriate linguistic representations to each and every sentence by means of rules and derivational mechanisms. Rules are typically the elements that probabilities are attached to in order to model notions of preference. The data-oriented parsing approach suggests a different view of linguistic analysis. In this view, the assignment of appropriate representations to novel sentences is accomplished by probabilistic generalizations from a given corpus of annotated sentences. After reviewing this approach, we show how it can apply to modeling linguistic gradience and what it has to say about the question of what speakers know when they know a language.

Paul Boersma (University of Amsterdam)

Stochastic optimality theory

Optimality theory is an unmistakably linguistic framework, originally designed for representing the speaker's competence. Stochastic optimality theory extends this framework to include several real-life performance issues: First, it accounts for random variation and gradient grammaticality judgments; second, it allows us to model processing systems such as speech production and perception; third it allows us to model the child's gradual acquisition. The general virtue of stochastic optimality theory is thus that it brings topics formerly regarded as 'only' performance-related into the reach of linguistic theory.

Jeff Elman (University of California-San Diego)

Usage-based models

Usage-based approaches to language have gained great popularity in a variety of domains. The evidence that language knowledge and language use are extremely sensitive to the fine details of experience is quite persuasive. Nonetheless, there are a number of important questions and outstanding problems to be considered, including: (1) What form does this knowledge take? Do language users liter-
ally record their experience in some numerical form? How do we explain abstraction and generalization beyond literal experience? (2)

How closely should we expect that language processing is predicted by the statistics of usage as estimated from large scale corpora?

Dan Jurafsky (University of Colorado)
Probabilistic modeling of language: An introduction & apologia

A wide variety of evidence suggests that humans are probabilistic reasoners and that this key role for probabilities extends to language processing and linguistic structure. We introduce probabilistic models for linguistics and also address a number of common challenges to probabilistic modeling, ranging from 'Surely you don't really believe this' to 'But this is obvious and trivially true'.

Janet Pierrehumbert (Northwestern University)
Exemplar theory

Many gradient and probabilistic effects arise in the area of sound structure. The words of a language are not, however, arbitrary points in phonetic hyperspace. The phonological principle reflects the fact that all this gradience is highly structured. Exemplar theory provides a mathematical scheme for exploring the dual nature of phonology/phonetics as simultaneously gradient and categorical, or grammatical. We review how exemplar theory can capture important features of speech perception and phonetic learning and how categorical or grammatical structure arises in the model.

Whitney Tabor (University of Connecticut)
Dynamics & connectionism

Connectionist language learning models are closely related to probabilistic language models. By tuning weighted connections between simple neuron-like units based on experience with linguistic events, they pick up on the statistical properties of a linguistic environment. But it has not been easy to find connectionist architectures that can successfully learn even very simple context free languages. Recently, new headway has been made using the tools of dynamical systems theory. After reviewing this work, we show how the dynamical insight picks up on ideas that have been developed in unification-based frameworks.
The American South provides a rich resource for the investigation of a number of issues related to the dynamics of language variation and change as well as the regional and social/ethnic patterning of English. The vowel system of Southern English, for example, has provided an empirical base for Labov's formulation of fundamental vowel rotation schema based on peripherality in phonetic vowel space. At the same time, evidence from enclave dialect communities in the South has challenged the assumption that language and dialect recession can only take place through structural dissipation. And the American South has provided critical data for examining fundamental issues related to language and ethnicity, including the origin and development of African American Vernacular English. The program features different researchers located at universities in the South who consider a range of issues related to Southern varieties of English. We conclude with a video vignette from a documentary on language variation in the South currently being produced by Neal Hutcheson and Walt Wolfram.

Sylvie Dubois (Louisiana State University)

The distinctiveness of Cajun Vernacular English: A dialect of English with its own history

Cajun Vernacular English (CVE) is spoken by French/English bilinguals and to some extent by English monolinguals living in French-dominant rural areas of south Louisiana (Reynolds 1934, Smith 1936, LeCompte 1967, Rubrecht 1971, Scott 1992, Cox 1992, Eble 1993, Walton 1994, Cheramie 1999). CVE has changed dramatically over three generations against a complex and changing social and linguistic background. Although most of the sociolinguistic variables that are characteristic of CVE are also well-known variables in Southern American English, we have argued that the origins of the sociolinguistic variables lie within the Cajun community and cannot be attributed solely to interference from French or to the spread of these features from the surrounding English dialects. CVE represents an innovation from within the Cajun community so that some of the Cajun variants which began in the accentuated speech of the oldest of the speakers in our sample have either been passed on to the next generation of speakers or have been recycled as markers of social identity by the youngest speakers. We have offered only phonological evidence so far in support of these claims (Dubois & Horvath 1998a,b; 1999; 2001). Here we focus on some aspects of verbal morphosyntax in order to test the claims further. We are interested in whether CVE verbal morphology follows Southern English patterns. We examine five morphosyntactic verbal features which are frequent in CVE and well-known features of both White Southern English and of AAVE: (1) -s absence (present tense marker in 3rd pers sg); (2) -ed absence (past tense morpheme in weak verbs); (3) is absence and (4) are absence (copula); and (5) was leveling (was in Standard English were contexts).

William A. Kretzschmar (University of Georgia)

Mapping Southern English

What would appear to most people to be a simple task--to map where you find southern English--is of course a complicated procedure which is very much tied to what one means by 'Southern English'. We review maps of two kinds: perceptual maps that chart Southern English according to speakers' cognitive placement of it on maps and feature production maps that chart associations between particular realizations of linguistic variables and geographic locations. Dennis Preston (1997) and Susan Tamasi (2001) have done the most to map perceptions of 'Southern English'; while their findings do indicate that their subjects have a notion corresponding to 'Southern English', there is little agreement among them about where it is located. Maps of linguistic features also vary substantially depending on the mapmaker's idea of 'Southern English'. The simplest maps use lines to designate a region, e.g. Labov's TELSUR
website and Labov IP, often based on diagnostic features (Kurath 1949) or a measure of frequency (Carver 1987). Also simple, and more straightforward, are plotted maps that show whether a linguistic variant is present or absent at particular locations (Pederson 1990, the Linguistic Atlas website). Pederson 1991 has also considered whether particular linguistic variants occur with reasonable frequency in different topographical regions. Another sort of graphic display related to plotting is spatial autocorrelation, in which the visualization is accompanied by an inferential statistical measure of clustering (Kretzschmar & Lee 1993). Density estimation maps show the probability that a linguistic variant might have occurred at any point within the survey area (Kretzschmar 1996). Two methods have been developed recently to assess whether the relative co-occurrence of linguistic variants from a group of variants might be used to identify regions of similar usage: Self-Organizing Maps (Kretzschmar & Thill 2002) and Levenshtein Distances (Kleiweg & Nerbonne 2002). What all of these methods tell us is that any of our individual notions of what constitutes ‘Southern English’ are apt to be our own, not entirely shared by other speakers.

Natalie Schilling-Estes (Georgetown University)

Language change in ‘conservative’ dialects: Evidence from Southern American enclave communities

It is typically assumed that the language varieties of enclave communities--communities that have been set apart for significant periods of time from more widely dispersed, socially dominant groups (Wolfram & Thomas 2002)--are more linguistically conservative than more mainstream populations. However, close examination of several enclave communities in the American South--Ocracoke Island, NC, Smith Island, MD, and the Lumbee Native American community in Robeson County, NC--demonstrates that such communities can, in fact, be quite linguistically innovative. Further, they may yield valuable insight into patterns of retention, diffusion, and internal innovation in language change, as well as the social and linguistic factors underlying these various forms of change. We focus on the synchronic and diachronic patterning of several features that distinguish these communities from surrounding varieties: the production of /ay/ with a raised and backed nucleus; the production of /aw/ with a fronted glide (and possibly a fronted nucleus); and a regularization pattern for past be in which be may be regularized to was in affirmative contexts, as in They was, but is regularized to weren't in negative, as in He weren't home.

Erik R. Thomas (North Carolina State University)

Secrets of Southern vowel shifting

Southern vowel variation has attracted the attention of dialectologists and sociolinguists for decades. As a result, it is easy to assume that little is unknown about the structure of Southern vowels; however, in actuality, many structural details are poorly known, and some of these details provide insights into how vowels and diphthongs in general operate. We discuss several issues: (1) glide weakening of /ai/, /oi/, and /au/; (2) fronting of /o/ and /u/; (3) the ‘Southern drawl’; and (4) the peripheralization of the front vowels /ı/ and /ɛ/.

Tracey L. Weldon (University of South Carolina)

Copula variability in Gullah & AAVE

We compare the copula systems of Gullah and southern varieties of AAVE to determine how similar or different these patterns actually are. Gullah data were collected along the coast and Sea Islands of South Carolina, and AAVE data were collected in mainland communities in North and South Carolina. The two data sets reveal several parallels that would offer support for the theory of an AAVE-Gullah connection. Among the most striking parallels are the distribution of the zero copula by following grammatical environment (including the gon/gonna distinction); the lack of plural 2nd pers sg forms; the correlation between ‘s and it/that/what subjects; and the widespread distribution of ain’t and the zero copula in present tense contexts. They also exhibit several parallels with one another that have not been attested in comparisons between AAVE and other creole varieties. Specifically the ADJ/LOC distinction, the use of the zero copula in _NP environments, and the NP/Pro distinction are patterns that have proved to be problematic for creolists who have compared AAVE to other creole varieties. However, the Gullah patterns found in this study match those found in the AAVE data, suggesting that some AAVE-Gullah connection exists.