Linguistic Society of America

FIFTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING
DECEMBER 28-30, 1977
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Meeting Handbook
INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The LSA Secretariat has prepared this Meeting Handbook to serve as the official program for the Fifty-Second Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America. The Program Committee, chaired by Janet Dean Fodor and consisting of James D. McCawley, Sally McLendon, Michael Silverstein, Richard H. Smaby, Bernard Spolsky, and Oswald Werner, reviewed the submitted abstracts and assembled the program for this meeting.

We would like to take this opportunity to formally acknowledge the help which has been given by the Chicago Local Arrangements Committee. This Committee was chaired by James D. McCawley, University of Chicago, and consisted of William Allan, Illinois Institute of Technology; Joseph Beever, Northwestern University; Judith K. Levy, Northwestern University; and Andrew Schiller, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle.

We hope that this Meeting Handbook will be a useful guide for those attending the meeting, as well as serve as a record of the 52nd Annual Meeting.

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

Dr. Paul Chapin, National Science Foundation’s (NSF) Program Director for Linguistics, will be available to meet with LSA members and delegates in the Columbian Room at the following times:

Wednesday, 28 December 10:30-11:30 a.m.
4:30-5:30 p.m.
Thursday, 29 December 10:30-11:30 a.m.
Friday, 30 December 10:30-11:30 a.m.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

Mitchell Schneider, Program Specialist of the Division of Fellowships of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) will be available to discuss the Summer Seminars for College Teachers and other NEH programs with LSA members in the Picasso Room on Wednesday, 28 December from 1:30-4:30 p.m.

CASH BARS

Cash Bars are scheduled from 8:30-10:00 p.m. on 27 December, from 5:30-7:00 p.m. on 28 December and from 5:45-7:00 p.m. on 29 December in the Foyer of the Ballroom Level of the hotel.

RECORDING OF SESSIONS

The Linguistic Society has made arrangements with Track 2 Taping of Rockville, Connecticut to tape record sessions at the 1977 Annual Meeting. All papers presented by authors who have given their permission will be taped, as well as the discussion periods following the papers. Cassette tapes will be available for purchase by meeting participants approximately 25 minutes after each session is recorded.
THE DISTRIBUTION OF PASS
in DANTIPASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS
I-... _ .. _... . . .

IN UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR
D(iscussants): ... 

Harald Zveukschiel (Connecticut); 
Perceptual Salience in Nasal Vowels

John Esling (Indiana U.); Voice Quali-

city Description—The State of the Art

Pater Ladegofde (UCLA); Phonetic Dif-
ferences Within & Between Languages

Charles Ferguson (Stanford U.); Low Level Phonetic Rules as Major Char-
acteristics of Phonological Systems

Richard Mohawk (Bartham C., Columbia U.); The Role of Alternations in Low Level Phonology

William Labov (Pennsylvania); Categorial Discrimination Along a New Phonetic Boundary

FUNCTIONAL DETERMINATION PHONOLOGICAL RULE INTER-

discussants: Robert King (U. Texas), Charles Kisseberth (U. Illinois), Andreas Koutsoudas (U. Iowa)

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discussants: Robert King (U. Texas), Charles Kisseberth (U. Illinois), Andreas Koutsoudas (U. Iowa)

2:00-3:30 p.m.

Sanford A. Schane

University of California, San Diego

THE RHYTHMIC NATURE OF ENGLISH WORD STRESS

discussants: Stephen Anderson (UCLA), Mark Liberman (Bell Labs), Ilse Lehiste (Ohio SU)

2:00 John Vigorita (Cornell U.); Welsh arch, drychaf and rhyd

2:05 Allan Bondard; Current Issues in Indo-European Phonology

2:30 Michael Kenstowicz (U. Illinois); Remarks on Vowel Application & the Free-Ride Principle

2:45 Jay McRoy (U. Texas); The Aorist & Imperfect in Classical Armenian

3:00 Samuel T. Hagopian (U. Pennsylvania); The Origin & Development of Greek (Ionian) Iterative Prefixes

3:15 Larsen (U. Massachusetts); On the Twofold Origin of Rigvedic Tg

3:30 Eric Hamp (U. Chicago); The Thematic Genetic Singularity in Balto-Slavic

3:45 Break

4:00-5:30 p.m.

Brent de Chene

University of California, Los Angeles

SYLLABLE AND MOR A IN VERSIFICATION AND ACCENT

discussants: Paul Kiparsky (MIT), James McCawley (U. Chicago), James Hoard (U. Oregon)

4:15 Gary Holland (UC Berkeley); Mackerras’ Law & Word Order Change in Early IE Languages

4:30 Consalves & Baat State U.); The Genesis of Prepositions in IE

4:45 George Dzul (U. Minnesota); Propositional Structure: Causal and Temporal Relations

5:00 William Doerr (Cornell U.); Romance Reflexive Constructions & the Latin Passive

5:15 John Goldberg (U. Kansas); Question Formation in Friulian
its June 1973 meeting.

Business Meeting.

1:10
11:10
10:50
10:30
9:50
9:45
9:40
9:30
9:20
9:10
9:00
8:45
8:30
8:20
8:10
8:00
7:50

Those present at the meeting are then to be submitted by the Executive Committee, consisting of three members, to the personal membership. The Historical Sources of Autonomous Phonological Theory (Cornell U); The Role of Sequential Constraint 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 be at least 25% of the personal membership. If a member wishes to introduce a motion, but prefers to avoid the delay involved in 2.c. above, he may submit his motion 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 approve the introduction of the motion at the business meeting as a motion initiated by the Executive Committee (see 2.b. above). Resolutions may be introduced at the annual business meeting or at any special meeting of the Society, as the summer meeting. A Resolutions Committee, consisting of three members, will be appointed by the president prior to the beginning of the meeting. They are to submit their report to the Executive Committee prior to its regular meeting preceding the business meeting at which the resolutions are to be considered. The Resolutions Committee may make any changes it deems necessary in the resolutions which come to it, and may also receive resolutions from the floor. They are to prepare their report for submission to the membership by mail ballot (in the next issue of the LSA Bulletin). Passage of such a resolution requires the affirmative vote of at least 50% of the membership.
### FRIDAY MORNING

**Symposium: Autonomous Phonology II**

**Chair:** Ralph Vanderslice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Lyn Waterhouse &amp; Deborah Fein (Trenton SC)</td>
<td>Sex Differences in Acquisition</td>
<td>Ballroom A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:15</td>
<td>Cei Kovac (Gettysburg U)</td>
<td>Children's Comprehension &amp; Use of In-ambient Speech Acts: The Case of Soliciting Praise</td>
<td>Ballroom A</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>Lisa Menn (MIT)</td>
<td>Parental Awareness of Child Phonology</td>
<td>Ballroom A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:45</td>
<td>Stanley Legum (SWRL)</td>
<td>The Development of Syllable Prominence in Child Phonology</td>
<td>Ballroom A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Joel Katz (Stanford U)</td>
<td>Comparability of Morpheme Acquisition Order in Child 1st &amp; 2nd Language Acquisition</td>
<td>Ballroom A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:15</td>
<td>Denise Bradshaw (UCLA); K.I.S.S. in Children's Language</td>
<td>Multilevel Theory of Phonology</td>
<td>Ballroom A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>Glenn Frankenfield (U Maine); Toward Adult Pronunciation</td>
<td>Multi-level Theory of Phonology</td>
<td>Ballroom A</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>Larry Martin, James Bradac (U Iowa) &amp; Norman Elliott (Ohio SU)</td>
<td>Explaining a Constraint on There-Insertion</td>
<td>Ballroom A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Linda Dresel (U Wisconsin); /s/ + Stop Clusters in Children's Speech</td>
<td>Explaining a Constraint on There-Insertion</td>
<td>Ballroom A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:15</td>
<td>Z.S. Bond (U Ohio); Palatalization in Hausa Child Language</td>
<td>Explaining a Constraint on There-Insertion</td>
<td>Ballroom A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>Marlys Macken &amp; David Barton (Stanford U)</td>
<td>Explaining a Constraint on There-Insertion</td>
<td>Ballroom A</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:45</td>
<td>Thomas Armour, UO (U Oregon)</td>
<td>Explaining a Constraint on There-Insertion</td>
<td>Ballroom A</td>
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<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>W.K. Knowles &amp; K.J. Cacoyannis (U Illinois); Adults' Knowledge of Syllabic Morphology</td>
<td>Explaining a Constraint on There-Insertion</td>
<td>Ballroom A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:15</td>
<td>Kathy Wheeler &amp; Donald Schumsky (U Cincinnati); The Morpheme Boundaries of English</td>
<td>Explaining a Constraint on There-Insertion</td>
<td>Ballroom A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Placement Center:**

**Registration:**

- **Tuesday, 27 December:** 7:00-9:00 p.m.
- **Wednesday, 28 December:** 8:00-10:00 a.m.
- **Thursday, 29 December:** 8:00-10:00 a.m.
- **Friday, 30 December:** 9:00-11:00 a.m.

**Book Exhibit:**

- **Tuesday, 27 December:** 10:00 a.m.-6:00 p.m.
- **Wednesday, 28 December:** 3:30-7:00 p.m.
- **Thursday, 29 December:** 2:00-4:30 p.m.
- **Friday, 30 December:** 5:45-7:00 p.m.
abstracts
of regular papers
The abstracts which appear in this Meeting Handbook are photocopies of the originals submitted to the LSA Program Committee.

Infelicities of style, grammar, punctuation and spelling are the responsibility of the authors.

The paper argues that Saussure's general linguistic thought as it emerged in the 1926 (1916) and philosopher Hippolyte Taine (1828-1893), the leading French intellectual figure during the last generation of the 19th century. Saussure absorbed this influence while in Paris 1880-1891. It covers all the aspects that are universally admitted to be Saussure's chief innovations: universality and the analysis of the sign (with the analogy of the two-sided sheet of paper, also in Taine), system and structure, diachrony and synchrony, langue and parole. The extensive literature on Saussure's background has never used his name. The argument is supported by reference to recent primary publication, such as the 1891 Geneva lectures. Recent work has argued that Saussure's results are entirely intra-linguistic. The paper argues that they are extra-linguistic, that his thought was not formed before 1880, that it did not suddenly spring up around 1891 (Gabelentz), and that the role of Whitney is problematical. The paper briefly discusses the shortcomings of previous work. Given the importance of Saussure's thought today, the historical consequences are rich, both for our understanding of the process of innovation and for our view of his achievement, which remains unchallenged.

Andreu Allen, University of California, Berkeley

Spanish Verb Stress is Morphological

Controversy has arisen over the phonological or morphological explanation of Spanish verb stress. Harris (1960, 1974; Hooper 1973). Some verb forms differ by stress alone: am-ara 'I love,' and am-ara 'he, she, she loved,' am-ara (3 pl. subj.) and am-ara 'they will love.' Phono logical description requires acceptance of arguments about the underlying structures of the future and preterite as well as incorporation of morphological information in the phonological rules (Marrin 1974). Thus, verb stress in Spanish is unlike Latin or French, where it is stated by simple phonological rules applying throughout those languages. A better explanation is that Spanish paradigms have time-based morphological stress: the present has stress on the root (am-ara 'I love'), the past, right after the root (am-ara 'I loved,') am-ara 'I used to love,' am-ara 'I had loved'), and the future, on the second syllable after the root (am-ara 'I shall love,' am-ara 'I would love'). Dialectal and historical evidence lends support, since Latin American Spanish loses am-ara 'you (pl.) love,' and Latin am-plenent and am-plenent developed into Spanish am-plenent and am-plenent 'we used to love,' while the entire future was replaced conforming to this analysis.

Jose Ard, Indiana University

Converging Results in Syntax

There are a number of different syntactic models in current use which frequently point to opposite conclusions as to the nature of syntactic representations and processes. For this reason it is particularly striking when two totally disparate approaches lead to equivalent results. As a case in point I will consider the class of phenomena which in most generative analyses of English are related by raising transformations. Thomason in his extensions of Montague grammar has suggested an alternative analysis in which both pairs of sentences are generated independently and then related by what Thomason describes as a "semantic lowering." Ard in his investigation of the diachronic origin of these constructions came to an analogous conclusion. The relevant pairs of sentences were once independent but subsequently came to be related through a "semantic lowering." Moreover, the very class of sentences that provide the most difficulty for Thomason's analyses were singled out by Ard as originating only after the semantic lowering had taken place historically.

In this paper I will compare and contrast the precise results of Thomason and Ard. Then a more general comparison will be made between analyses suggested by modling semantics through intensional logic and those suggested by diachronic syntax. In general both approaches tend to support nontransformational approaches to syntax. Finally, I will argue that these converging results are not accidental, but represent a significant generalization about the structure of English.
A preliminary analysis of the data suggests that the use and itio~ed by~
interviews recently tape-recorded in Tours, France by this author. The speakers inter­
WILLIAN ~
and by a second negative (such as ~viewed are all native Tourangeaux and represent a wide range of socio-economic groups.

In the French verb phrase, negation is often marked twice--by a proclitic element
vowels, and without regard to spelling.

In Old English there were two forms for the instrumental demonstrative
pronoun, by and ben. By is clearly related to instrumental forms in the other
Germanic languages, but ben is problematical because there were no Germanic
constructions for ben. It is usually claimed that ben was an ablative
or dative form, but this paper argues that ben was originally an adverb
and not a pronoun. The uses of the two instrumental forms, especially in the
OE prepositional phrase, are non-adverbial (Kiparsky 1966; Newsom 1972). This
study shows the interaction of the two forms by and ben were not used interchangeably and also to show how ben, originally
adverb, could have been reanalyzed as a demonstrative pronoun. Such an
analysis of ben suggests a more plausible way to analyze either 'afwen', since', a
problematical OE adverb and conjunction, than as the preposition giib 'afwen'
and ben, an early variant form of the dative demonstrative ben. In conclusion,
the paper considers the effect of having two instrumental demonstratives in the
OE prepositional conjunctions and adverbials, which seem to have been used much
more frequently in Old English than in the other Germanic languages.

The Status of the Negative Morpheme, ne, in the French of Tours

In the French verb phrase, negation is often marked twice--by a proclitic element (ne)
and by a second negative (such as pas or rien). Until the seventeenth century the
first element was obligatory, while a second negative was but optionally added for
emphasis or precision. Until the seventeenth century the
first element was obligatory, while a second negative was but optionally added for
emphasis or precision. Our data for the present report are extracted from over 100
interviews recently tape-recorded in Tours, France by this author. The speakers
interviewed are all native Tourangeaux and represent a wide range of socio-economic groups.

A preliminary analysis of the data suggests that the use or deletion of ne is con­
ditioned by a complex of linguistic, stylistic, and demographic factors. Since we can
identify an innovative and conservative variant, the use of each by different age, sex,
and community, these results will illustrate the propagation of an on-going syntactic change in French.
Leftward Movement of Ictus

The effects of intonation on the pitch contour of the word have long been recognized. In this paper it is claimed that these effects can lead to diachronic change. Of particular importance is the neutral, unmarked, rising-falling intonation. When this rising-falling intonation is superimposed upon the F0 curve of the word, the peak of the F0 curve of the word leftward away from the peak of the F0 curve, the necessity to fall at the end of the intonation curve results in the movement of the peak of the F0 curve of the word leftward away from the peak of the F0 curve of the word.

A series of examples of historical changes involving the movement of ictus towards the start of the word a presented; these are drawn primarily from Slavic and Baltic. Such a movement is assumed to be more prevalent among languages which lack ictus by peak of F0, independent of intensity. This movement can result in the change of a rising tone to a falling tone or in the previously pretonic syllable acquiring the ictus and/or accent. In many cases as a result of this leftward shift of ictus syllables acquire phonemic characteristics heretofore unknown to the system. The crises caused by the introduction of such syllables are resolved in a variety of ways. Two interesting solutions, polarization and perceptually-motivated lengthening, will be discussed.

ALAN BELL, University of Colorado

Error in Cross-Linguistic Generalizations

Linguistic generalizations based on cross-linguistic comparison are vulnerable to three sorts of errors—errors of misclassification, of overgeneralization, and errors due to the choice of languages compared. This paper is concerned with the last type of error, which is the least well understood despite the treatments of Sherman 1975 and Bell 1977, and its interaction with the first two. Our knowledge of sampling errors is more limited than in other fields largely because linguists do not yet have a heritage of comparable studies based on different kinds of language samples.

The outcomes of independent language samples are compared for two cases. Each case includes a probability sample of the world's languages of much higher quality than is found in current practice. The first is a random sample, the other a systematic sample with overlapping subsamples recently completed by the author. The main results show the benefits in error reduction and in error evaluation that such samples can provide. Such samples are particularly to both syntactic and phonological studies in which synchronous distributions of languages are assumed to be closely linked to diachronic generalizations, as in the work of Bell, Chen, Glenn, Hymam, Steele, etc. Refs.: Bell 1977. Language samples. Universal of human language. Stanf. U. Press. Perkins 1977. A holographic test of syllable structure theory. ms. Sherman 1975. Stop and fricative systems. Stanford WP17.1-3.

PETER C. KAZIAKIAN, George Mason University

Notes on Natural Phonology's Notion of Allomorphic Processes

Stampe's "natural phonology" is assumed to rest on notions about innate and natural processes (NPs) in contrast with learned and arbitrary phonological rules, with most discussion to date involving either defense or rejection of NPs as distinct phonological processes. One especially controversial issue seems to be Stampe's somewhat ambiguous notion of "allomorphic" NPs (ANPs giving rise to sounds eliminated by prior and more general processes in the system) versus "morphophonemic" NPs (NPs accounting for the derivable features occurring in underlying representation and therefore subject to neutralisations). An important constraint for Stampe is a requirement implicit here that each ANP is a "D-effect" (underlying forms at the true stem time) at some point previous to ANPs (which introduce only segments impermissible at a phonemic level and thus subsequent to any such "level"). This issue of distinct process types is the subject of the present paper. We will discuss evidence about phoneme from loanword phonology; viz., that productive NPs active in sativation of loanwords are assumed to be only of the allomorphic type (since foreign phonetic force may be lessened at the "false" stem time), we will provide evidence from loanword phonology which impurities against any such strict ordering between NP types. A relevant case is aspiration of syllable-final /s/ in Cuban Spanish borrowings, where recent disappearance of this NP even syllable-initially suggests its NIP rather than AP nature. Initial [b] may derive either from aspiration or from underlying /h/. Past speech derivations of the English word question will also be offered as yet further evidence for unpredictable intermixture of what Stampe labels NIP and AP types.

LIEBY S. BOND, Ohio University

/s/ + Stop Clusters in Children's Speech

English voiceless stops are unaspirated in word-initial constituent clusters of the type /f/s/stop. During the acquisition of these clusters, children at first eliminate the initial fricative, employing a stop as a substitute for the cluster. However, the phonological and phonetic status of the substituted stop is far from clear. Three hypothesis are possible: 1) phonological identity (the substituted stop is identical to voiceless stops) 2) phonetic similarity (the substituted stop is similar to voiceless unaspirated stops) 3) unique contrastive value (the substituted stop is a unique element, representing a cluster). The current study was designed to determine which hypothesis best fits acoustic data on children's stop productions. Ten children, 1;10 to 3;4, were recorded producing contrasting triplets such as 'Kate', 'gat', 'skate.' Voice-onset time was measured for the stop productions in the initial cluster, this stop was indistinguishable from their initial voiceless stops. When children produced the clusters correctly, the VOT values were appropriate for stops in clusters as well as for the bare stop and the traditional voice aspirates as murmured stops.

The pattern of development is considered to be very dependent upon the modification proposed that this shift of ictus in Arabic reflects a natural, universal tendency in language. In the Arabic dialects, which seem to show an ingloss between negation and a negative particle present in earlier forms of Arabic, and ma albums it is suggested that this ma albums ingloss had its origin in a different type of acquisition of pre-Islamic Arabic. The paper will conclude with data from child language, various European languages (from Jesperson 1977), and a wide range of unrelated languages (e.g. Quechua, Burmese) which support that this developmental shift of ictus in Arabic reflects a natural, universal tendency in language.

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Number Suppletion in North American Indian Languages: A Typological Survey

One of the characteristics of North American Indian languages which has been ignored by previous typological/areal studies is number suppletion, i.e., cases in which the verb root is replaced by a phonologically unrelated form which agrees with the number of the subject. This paper presents a survey of the phonological evidence for suppletion which shows that the verb root is replaced by a phonologically unrelated form in approximately thirty geographically and genetically diverse languages. Of special concern is the fact that number suppletion occurs with nonprimary stressed syllables.

Social Evaluation and Linguistic Change

This paper will correlate the results of subjective reaction tests (SRT), self-evaluation tests (SET), and vowel analysis for four communities of Philadelphia speakers. The tasks will involve vowel analysis, upper-working class, lower-middle class, and middle class--for the Philadelphia phonological variables (sah, aw, ay, ow). Of special concern will be the number suppletion forms and overt social judgments associated with the more established and stigmatized variable (sah) and the relatively more recent (aw).

ANNE R. BOWEN, University of Pennsylvania

K.I.G.S. in Children’s Earliest Words

A question has recently been raised as to whether the period of children’s earliest words is a "presystematic" one (Ingram: 1976; Ripsky and Minneapolis: 1976). I offer evidence here from studies of seven native learners of English that even during the period of (roughly) their first 20 words, these children systematically used these Keep-It-Simple-Strategy select just targets that contain one or two syllables and 5; produce words of only one or two syllables. To assure that b) results, and to simplify the structure of the non monosyllabic targets, we selected the following three procedures: i) imitate just the primed stressed syllable, e.g. child say target sad (just the sad), ii) make just the primed stressed syllable and add a copy of that syllable, e.g. child say sadada, and iii) use a combination of i) and ii). In addition, I argue that these children systematically use this strategy in formulating their under and representations: store information beginning with the primary stressed syllable.

DENISE BRADSHAW

The Interaction of Reduplication with Phonological Rules in Tagalog

Bloomfield (1933) observed that in Tagalog, certain assimilation processes precede morphological reduplication rules. Recently it has been pointed out that such an interaction is a necessary condition for the claim that all morphological rules apply in a block prior to the phonology.

In this paper I will argue against recent proposals to deal with this problem by involving rule order (Ferguson: 1974). I will examine several rules of Tagalog areal behavior and the possibility that the mapping between terms and semantic roles is cyclic. This issue will be raised and the possible implications will be identified.

JILL CARRIER, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The Patient Nominal as Initial Subject in Tagalog

Evidence is presented that the patient nominal in Tagalog is preferred as subject over the agent/actor nominal. It is shown that in a variety of constructions the natural choice for subject is patient. It is argued that examples of this are subject (John - shot - Fred) can only be expressed in Tagalog in the passive'; patient reflexives are preferred as subjects (John - hurt - himself) must be expressed, and it is shown that the patient is expressed as 'John was hurt by himself'. It is argued that the patient nominal in Tagalog is preferred over the agent nominal because the accessibility hierarchies (e.g., John is not only the agent nominal in this sentence, but also the agent nominal in the sentence 'John was hurt by himself').

R. M. CECH

There-Insertion Makes a Mistake: A Global Rule and the Validation of Intrapositive Judgments

In the familiar wh-insertion test cases, the logical subject appears in surface structure following the final negation in (1a); in contrast, in the test cases, shows the logical subject preceding the be:

(2a) There is a new book written about psycho-linguistics [hasn’t there?]
(2b) There is a new book been written about psycho-linguistics [hasn’t there?]

It is argued that there is a new book been written about psycho-linguistics [hasn’t there?]...

We thank the anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments.

ThOMAS MCNULTY, Yale University
Discourse factors may determine the choice of grammatical form. A number of languages employ logophoric pronouns to distinguish reference to the individual whose speech, thoughts or feelings are reported in a given linguistic context from reference to other individuals. In Fwe, the noun phrase is reserved exclusively for this purpose (1), contrasting with personal pronouns (2) and the reflexive pronoun (4):

(1) Kofi be ye-dzo 'Kofi said that he (Kofi) left'
(2) Kofi be me-dzo 'Kofi said that he left'
(3) Kofi be e-dzo 'Kofi loves himself'
(4) Kofi 13 e-dzo 'Kofi said that he (Kofi) left'

The use of this pronoun is obligatory in some contexts, optional in others, in which case its use always indicates that the events in question are being reported from the point of view of the antecedent. An examination of the use-conditions controlling its occurrence reveals some that are shared by the analogous forms in other languages (Latin, Japanese, Icelandic, Italian, Tuhuri): (i) there must occur an antecedent in a reportive context other than that containing the logophoric; (ii) the antecedent is plausibly interpreted as designating an individual through whose perception the events described in the reportive context are interpreted.

MARY L. CLAYTON, Indiana University

The Progress of Linguistic Changes through the Grammar in Natural Generative Phonology

Although some attention has been given to historical linguistics in the model of Natural Generative Phonology (NGP), there has not yet been time to raise a number of the many and complex questions concerning linguistic change. Reinterpretation of familiar linguistic phenomena from a new theoretical perspective provides us with some measure of the plausibility and sufficiency of the theory in question and raises new questions which may further aid the study of the theory. This study considers a number of sound changes in Latin and Spanish in the light of the NGP model, concentrating specifically on the following question: Once a sound change has occurred and has been reflected in the grammar of a language, are there further possible sound changes in that language? That is, how does the grammar react to changes in the synchronic status of the phenomenon in question as it ceases to be productive and is altered or obscured by the continuing evolution of the language in this direction? This study proposes that the morphological basis of NGP makes the study of such questions possible and that the use of NGP in this study also suggests a number of the many and complex questions concerning linguistic change that has been assumed (2) that some alternations must be simultaneously reflected in more than one component (3) that use of achievements in underlying representations as proposed by Hooper may not be compatible with NGP interpretation of linguistic change and (4) that certain claims about analogs in the framework of NGP must be revised.

GEORGE N. CLEMENTS, Harvard University

The Logophoric Pronoun in Fwe

Koutsoudas, Sanders and Noll (1974) have argued that it is possible to predict ordering relationships of phonological rules on the basis of universal principles. After defining various types of such relationships (following Kiparsky 1968), they claim (KSN: 14a) that "there can be no possible empirical consequences of different orders of application" in the case of "mutually non-affecting" rules. But this is not the case. For the following schematic example shows: (I) \( F \rightarrow P \rightarrow \uparrow X \); (II) \( P \rightarrow \downarrow X \). Since neither rule can increase or decrease the number of inputs to the other, they are, according to the definitions, mutually non-affecting yet, since non-outputs potential inputs to (II), their order of application is crucial to determining the output for an underlying sequence of \( F \rightarrow P \) when only the first of these rules changes the environment of (I) \( F \rightarrow \uparrow X \). Moreover, (II) \( P \rightarrow \downarrow X \) can be found in Lehnert's (1971) analysis of Hausa tone. Thus, either the notions of feeding and bleeding must be redefined (perhaps so that A feeds B if A feeds D and B feeds C and D), or the claim must be made that the order of application is controlled. If this redefinition is adopted, the Hausa example is a counter-example to KSN's principles, since the analog of (I) cannot apply first.
This paper is a contribution to what Basso (1976) has termed "the ethnography of writing." It introduces and typologizes the phenomenon of digraphs—the use of two or more writing symbols to represent a single semantic unit. The typology is based on specific examples of this phenomenon among languages of the world. Because of the relative paucity of such work, the publication of major dictionaries have remained to be predominant in any given area at a given time, digraphicism is much more common than synchronic digraphics in the early centuries of ethnography.\footnote{[1]} Cases of synchronic digraphics may result from a clash of literate traditions within an individual speech community (as with Hindi-Urdu or Serbo-Croatian) or from educational conventions and the use of pedagogical romanization of many Asian languages in the US or the representation of Sanskrit by various regional Indian scripts as well as Devanagari).\footnote{[2]}

How Papiamentu Relexified

Wood, in a recent article, takes issue with the long held belief (Lenz: Navarro-Tomas: Van Wijk) that Papiamentu was originally a Portuguese-based creole, but became Spanish-based through a process of relexification. He calls attention to a letter in Papiamentu, dated 1776, which is just as Spanish-based as modern Papiamentu, and concludes that Papiamentu has always been the "Pan-Caribbean Spanish-based creole."\footnote{[3]} This paper shows that Wood's "new light" notwithstanding, the relexification hypothesis comes to me as more related to Wurm's "synchronic digraphia" than to the "Roman writing system" of his recent paper. Relexification is defined, illustrated and contrasted to the opposite process of restructuring. Supporting evidence includes comparison of sentences from Papiamentu and the Portuguese-based creole of Curacao, Spanish and Portuguese; events in the sociolinguistic history of Curacaol and universal of language contact situations. References include: Lenz, Rodolfo 1929. El Papiamentu. La Rep\'blica 2:75-88. Van Wijk, H. A. 1958. "Origenes y evolución del papiamentu." Neofilologia. 42:169-80. Wood, Richard E. 1972. "New Light on the Origins of Papiamentu." Neophilologica. 56:18-30.

On Compensatory Lengthening

Processes whereby \( Wc, G > WC \) are typically said to involve "compensatory lengthening." Using \( \text{\texttt{\textipa{d\'ita}}} \) from a variety of languages, we will show that such sound changes may be understood as consisting of the transition of \( C \), through loss of occlusion, to a glide \( \theta \) (in practice, \( \text{\textipa{\v{c}}} \) or \( \text{\textipa{\v{c}}} \) ), followed by monophthongization of the sequence \( \text{\textipa{d\'ita}} \) into a syllable-nucleus which is interpreted as distinctively long.\footnote{[4]}

References

Charles R. DeRose, California State University, Fresno


The first phonological studies of American Sign Language (ASL) (Stokoe, 1960; Stokoe, Casterline, and Cronenberg, 1965) analyzed signs as having simultaneous rather than sequential sub-lexical parts. This was taken to be a key difference between oral and manual language phonology and has not yet been seriously challenged. ASL signs clearly do, however, involve sequences, at least on the phonetic level. Since any sign involves motion, some aspect of the initial state of that motion will change during its production. The phonological status of such sequences needs to be studied.

This paper presents arguments for analyzing certain signs in terms of sequential sub-parts. The motions of certain signs are shown to be profitably analyzable as the predictable consequences of sequences of locations or hand shapes, although the conventional analysis treats the motions as primitives with no explicit reference to the sequences. Other motions are shown to be analyzable as sequences as well.

It is shown that ASL and spoken-language phonology differ, not by the presence or absence of sequential structure, but by the type of sequential structure involved and the extent of its use in making lexical distinctions.
The Amazing Replicability of a Sociolinguistic Pattern

Studies of linguistic variation as it responds to social forces of the sort pioneered by Labov are based on the premise that apparently chaotic variation is in fact organized in extremely regular and replicable sociolinguistic patterns. The results so far have been impressive; Labov (e.g., 1966) and others have shown that parallel patterns exist among several variables in the speech of the same population, and the same variables (e.g., "r, d deletion") fall into the same patterns when studied in the speech of different populations. It has not yet been shown that the same patterns can be replicated when a single variable is studied in speech samples repeatedly drawn from the same population.

In this paper, the absence of the off-glide from English e is analyzed from speech samples collected by sociolinguists from different sets of speakers in Washington, D.C. over a period of years, using "random and anonymous interviewing". In spite of the fact that there are reasons why regularities might not have been observed even if they existed (lack of uniformity in phonetic ability, judgements of age and social class to have been left to the interviewers), the patterns that emerged were amazingly regular from sample to sample. In particular, glide absence was consistently found to be correlated with class and race and not to be influenced by age and sex.

Can't Anybody Know What Underlies Negative Inversion

Labov (1968) has shown that Black English has 'negative inversion,' a syntactic form in which declarative sentences have the appearance of questions. A clause-initial auxiliary is negated, and the grammatical subject is indefinite and/or negated. The question here is what the underlying form is. Is it a flip form or is there a dummy preceding the verb which has been reduced? Labov has demonstrated that NE has both dummy-deletion and subject inversion. Fraser (1971), using Labov's data, produced a solution based entirely on dummy deletion.

My study of negative inversion is based on 61 spontaneous examples from 36 speakers of Superior White English—data which supports Labov's conclusion. Evidence for a flip mechanism includes a kind of negative concord in which a negative indefinite serves as the subject of the clause followed by the negative auxiliary, as in Nobody don't come along and tell you have to move. Dummy deletion, where an initial there, or it is reduced then deleted, finds support from constructions in which a dummy precedes a verb which is neither a copula nor a 'copulas' as in There didn't nobody live up there. The data was inspected for occurrence of the same verb in both negative inversion and in the constructions supporting either argument. The pattern which emerged was indicative.

'Low Level Phonetic Roles' as Major Characteristics of Phonological Systems

In addition to constructing a general theory of language, linguistics has as a goal the improvement of means of characterizing particular languages, i.e. showing in a principled way how each language differs from all others. A 'major phonological characteristic' of a language is one which distinguishes it from other languages and is pervasive, is acquired early, is heavily utilized in stylistic variation, and is a significant source of interference. Variation in voice onset time in English is shown to be a major characteristic, being acquired at ages 1-5 to 1-7 and used in such registers as 'baby talk' and 'foreigner talk'. Data on VOT and spirantization in Spanish are used for comparison. Structuralist, generative and 'natural' phonologies are inadequate insofar as they omit or deemphasize these 'subphonemic' or 'low level' phenomena which are major characteristics. Adequate descriptions of phonological systems should identify and give appropriate salience to such characteristics.
The purpose of this paper is to show how intonation functions in discourse. Historically, those who have studied intonation have tried to show that prosodic features or holistic contours entail specific meanings. My evidence, however, shows that intonation contours function as signals for the addressee to make an implication in the Orecchia sense. Specific contours allow the speaker to suggest information that, for various reasons he does not want to make explicit. Liberman and Sag (1976) de-emphasize the role of intonation as prosodic in the verbal. I argue that intonation is a pragmatic feature in itself and is appropriate just in case it is used on a contradiction. Evidence shows that this analysis is oversimplified. The contour also occurs on assertives, imperatives, promises, protests, denials, and rhetorical questions. Its function is to signal to the addressee that some assumption held by the speaker, the addressee, or a third party is to be repudiated. Contours are not tied to specific illocutionary acts, though they are motivated by the felicity conditions on the content of the act. In question, for example, cannot be used on acts of agreement, advising, reminding, etc., because the implication it suggests is incompatible with the felicity conditions of these acts.

**Lyn Frazier**, University of Connecticut

Visual Perception of Sentences with Temporarily Ambiguous Clause Boundaries

The model of sentence perception proposed by Fodor, Bever and Garrett (The Psychology of Language, 1974) emphasizes the importance of grammatical cues signifying clause boundaries, and suggests that segmentation of a sentence into clause boundaries can be computed from the internal structure of those clauses. However, this model has nothing to say about the many sentences in which clause boundaries are not explicitly marked.

(1a) And while Mary was mending the sock fell off her lap.
(1b) While Mary was mending the sock fell off her lap.
(2a) Without her contributions funds would be inadequate.
(2b) Without her contributions funds would be inadequate.

I argue that in such cases clause boundary assignment does presuppose prior analysis of the clause constituents, and that parsing is guided by the strategy (which I call Late Closure). When possible, attach incoming constituents into the clause currently being parsed. A grammatical judgment experiment using rapid visual presentation confirms predictions derived from Late Closure.

**Alice P. Fried, Montclair State College**

The Aspect of Some Aspectual Complement Structures: begin, start, continue and cease

In an earlier paper, it was claimed that the complement structures of Aspectual Verbs could be consistently classified as "events." This paper will illustrate that the aspectual nature of these complement structures is determined, in part, by the syntactic shape of the complement. An aspectual analysis of begin, start, continue and cease as they occur with to either V or V-ing complement forms will be presented.

The claim is that to V complement form as it occurs with these aspectualizers is a generic reading. A generic reading of an event suggests a repetition (or a series) of the event in question occurring at different moments throughout an unspecified period of time. In contrast, the V-ing form has a durative reading which refers to the unspecified duration of a single event. Events which name "accomplishments" are, however, confused. For these, the V-ing form creates a magnesium reading, easily confused with a generative. The difference is that an iterative is a repetition of an event suggests a repetition (or a series) of the activity of levels is suspect since individual speakers appear to have quite constant pitch levels in neutral speech (just as they have constant vowel formants), as shown in several recent studies. Music theory suggests a different model in which individual pitches are analogous to morphemes; both music and intonation are broken into phrases by timing, and phrase-final pitches mean 'finality' (low pitch in intonation, tonic cadence in music). The tonic (low pitch) is the unmarked member of the series, opposed to the octava, fourth/fifth, and third which are marked, respectively, as dialogue-level, utterance-level, and phrase-level. These scale degrees are taken as having a wider range of realization than in music.

**Susan Case, Indiana University**

A Semantic Strategy for Relative Clause Formation

The most comprehensive and successful universal analysis of relative clause formation (RCF) is that of Keenan and Comrie (1972, 1977). They have proposed that RCF is subject to the so-called Accessibility Hierarchy (AH) and several other universal constraints. These constraints, in turn, can be violated if there is no universal constraint to the effect that if a relative clause can be formed with the anaphoric NP in the constituent clause in grammatical relation y, then relative clauses can be formed from the anaphoric NP in the constituent clause in all higher grammatical relations. Thus, if it is possible for the lower anaphoric expression to serve as a direct object, it is also possible for it to serve as a subject. This is clearly a syntactic constraint. In this paper I will demonstrate that a Philippine language, the low pitch at phrase end means 'finality'. The gestalt notion leads to a list (typically of an event) and it is impossible without certain semantic considerations.

First, it will be shown that the purely syntactic constraints on RCF involve both matrix and relative clause contents. Secondly, there is an additional, essentially semantic RCF strategy for Relative Clause Function. A theoretical assumption is prevalent in intonation analysis: (1) Pitch complexes (contours, tone-units, etc.) are taken as semantic gestalts whose components (pitch-levels, accent, rhythm) are meaningless; (2) Pitch levels are assumed relative - the contour can be identified or measured without a reference point. The reasoning behind these assumptions is that a contour is a gestalt notion and is dependent upon the disease structure of a given language. This view is incorrect for the many cases of relative clause formation. The contour-as-gestalt notion is difficult since relative components can be shown to have meaning/function - accent means 'highlighting', marking comment v. topic, etc. In addition, the RCF function is compatible with the view that the fundamental basis of Relative Clause Function is polyvalent (two functions are related).

**Krylithy G. Glenn, Georgetown University**

The Pragmatic Function of Intonation

The purpose of this paper is to show how intonation functions in discourse. Historically, those who have studied intonation have tried to show that prosodic features or holistic contours entail specific meanings. My evidence, however, shows that intonation contours function as signals for the addressee to make an implication in the Orecchia sense. Specific contours allow the speaker to suggest information that, for various reasons he does not want to make explicit. Liberman and Sag (1976) de-emphasize the role of intonation as prosodic in the verbal. I argue that intonation is a pragmatic feature in itself and is appropriate just in case it is used on a contradiction. Evidence shows that this analysis is oversimplified. The contour also occurs on assertives, imperatives, promises, protests, denials, and rhetorical questions. Its function is to signal to the addressee that some assumption held by the speaker, the addressee, or a third party is to be repudiated. Contours are not tied to specific illocutionary acts, though they are motivated by the felicity conditions on the content of the act. In question, for example, cannot be used on acts of agreement, advising, reminding, etc., because the implication it suggests is incompatible with the felicity conditions of these acts.
This paper examines the three methods of question formation in the Rivignano dialect of Friulian. Although the general format is well-known in Romance and other language families, there are modifications made to the third type of question. The first and second types present no problems; they are SRV, with initial stress assignments, and then they form questions by adding a no e var tag to the end of a statement. This is similar to the French n'est-ce pas? and Spanish ¿no es verdad? or ¿no es cierto?, respectively. This type triggers questions by adding an interrogative particle, but then a negation or affirmation and then a tag. However, with the third person singular, the presence or absence of the tag changes the meaning. With plural subjects, there is an added question particle. This particle triggers certain phonological rules, such as final obstruent voicing and converting velar nasals to dentals. In all three cases, the Rivignano dialect of Friulian, as well as other Romance and non-Romance dialects, the presence or absence of a final stress assignment is important. For example, Cymraeg /kam.ras/ 'Welsh' has stress assigned to the syllables making up the formatives on the underlying level—the root /kam.ras/ (pertaining to Welsh) and the suffix /-i/ (adjectivizing)—and it does not use a tag like 'n'est-ce pas?' or ¿no es verdad? This results in a merger of stress, not reassigned phonetically. (On productivity, see Bart Dwyer, Gwybodau Celtaidd, 1942, Dgrafr yr iaith Gymraeg, 2nd ed., Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, T.D. Griffin, in press. On phonological stress in Welsh, to appear in the Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies). In one productive process, however, two obstruents are voiceless, and in another, obstruents are voiced, with agreement with them. For example, Cymraeg /kan.ras/ 'Welsh' has stress assigned to the syllables making up the formatives on the underlying level—the root /kan.ras/ (pertaining to Welsh) and the suffix /-i/ (adjectivizing)—and it does not use a tag like 'n'est-ce pas?' or ¿no es verdad? This results in a merger of stress, not reassigned phonetically.
ERIC P. HAMP, University of Chicago

The Thematic Genitive Singular in Balto-Slavic

The problem with the ending Slavic -ag = Lith. -o has long been recognized, although handbooks persist in superficially repeating an impossible equation with the Latin -ed. Bilingual links tell the essential phonetics by suggesting a pre-form *-ok, with differential resolution of the vowel timbre; Stang updated the phonetic theory by rewriting this as *-obet. But both versions lack syntactic and ultimate semantic explanation. Moreover, Stang’s claim is phonetically unmade, since Rutigliano made it clear that *ko colored *g as well as *g to [a]. Therefore we must abandon the equation with the IE ablative.

In the IE thematic gen. sg. (*-o-da) suffered from homophony with the nom. sg. (*-o-g), Balto-Slavic, like other IE dialects, must have innovated. It is proposed that the B-S solution was one of postponing in enclisis a particle (as with the well known IE -th and *-h in cases) which otherwise appears proposed as a preposition or pre-verb. This element, established by the equation Baltic a-te-g ‘from, away, again’ = Slav. o-ti ‘from’ = Celtic an-ti ‘back, again,’ was Ubt, an ending-less loc. sg. ag. Such a reconstruction is syntactically and semantically plausible and explanatory; it respects phonetics and dialectology. Moreover, it has the additional interest of showing, with this postponed particle in case function, a very early instance of bilingual contact phenomena with the neighboring Finnic languages.

ASHLEY J. HASTINGS, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Should Grassman’s Law Be Repealed?

Sag (1974) argues forcefully that there is no way to solve the Grassman’s Law ordering paradox in the grammar of Sanskrit, and that, following Pévéri, the alternation of neutral and nasalized aspirates and non-aspirates should be accounted for by a regressive assimilation rule. The purpose of this paper is to argue that an independently-motivated constant (the “Survival Constraint,” Hastings 1974) allows Gl to be retained. The celebrated ordering paradox involves Gl and the rule of Despiration. D must bleed GL in derivations like bhudh + sya + ti > bhot SYA, but not in derivations like bhudh + a + ti > bhot A.

While a number of rule revisions have been proposed to overcome the paradox, none has been successful, as Sag demonstrates in detail. However, through the Survival Constraint, which predicts bleeding application just in those cases where underlying sets of identical elements would otherwise be deleted without any surface trace, provides for the correct interaction of D and Gl without altering their customary formalizations. This aspect of Sanskrit phonology is thus to be viewed, not as a paradox, but as a set of phonetically natural rules interacting in accordance with general linguistic principles.


BRIAN P. HEAD, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Brazil

Some Factors in the Restructuring of the Demonstrative System in Contemporary Portuguese

Descriptions of Portuguese grammar traditionally present a system of demonstratives with three distinctions corresponding to the grammatical persons: estu, esta, isto — “this,” 1st person (near the speaker); estu, esta, isso — “that,” 2nd person (near the addressee); aquele, aquela, aquilo — “that,” 3rd person (elsewhere).

Surveys of contemporary usage in Brazil reveal that the three-term system is giving way to a binary one, in which the former distinction between estu and esta (and corresponding relative social forms) is not used. The present study identifies and describes several factors in this ongoing change in the demonstrative system. Survey data are used to show the relationship of differences in usage to social factors, and other structural features are shown to favor or to parallel modification of the system of demonstratives in the contemporary language.

BRIAN P. HEAD & LARA P. VIEIRA, Universidade Estadual de Campinas,
Brazil

Properties of Obscenities in Relation to Discourse Context

This study compares the use of obscene terms in various types of discourse (poetry in Latin, medieval Romance and modern languages; verbal routines such as jokes, duelling and toasts, and observed use in colloquial language). It seeks to identify and describe the properties of obscenities and their occurrences in different discourse contexts.

The study reveals distinctions between poetic and non-poetic discourse in the relation of context to the features of obscenities. Occurrences in poetry tend to emphasize or reinforce some of the general properties of obscenities, such as special distribution in the syntax and hyperbole (through superlatives, repetition and accumulation). Moreover, obscenities in colloquial language tend to lose their literal meanings in favor of expressive values related to taboo areas, while in poetry (except in the reported speech of literary personages), the literal meaning is often sustained and reinforced through the semantic homogeneity of the discourse context. Such differences between corresponding obscenities in poetic and non-poetic discourse are amply documented in the present study by examples drawn from a wide range of sources.

JEFFREY HEATH, Harvard University

Multifunctionality of Subordinated Clause Types

Some difficulties in the study of uses of various subordinated clause types can be resolved by recognizing (at least) two levels of functional contrasts: the obvious semantic/lexical differences and some less obvious differences among them in their capabilities of expressing various (co)referential relationships. In Inyihal (Australia), for example, what appear at first sight to be “relative” and “purposive” clauses, respectively, are often manipulated to take advantage of their reference-indicating proprieties so that their semantic/functional meanings become blurred. In certain cases the network of referential relationships requires the use of “purposive” clauses instead of an ordinary conjoined clause.

FRANK HENTK, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Holland

A Model Theoretic Semantics for Comparatives within the Extended Standard Theory

Recent work in the Extended Standard Theory (EST) and Montague Grammar converges to deepen insights and solve problems in the former area, using techniques developed in the latter. The crucial links can best be made in the lexicon. A model-theoretic analysis of the comparative morpheme _er is given, with morphological (word-formation) and selectional/structural rules, as well as redundancy rules exhibiting its relationships with such intrinsically comparative forms as rather, more, better. The syntax of the comparative, while based on that of Bresnan, is simpler; and the semantics has advantages over that of Davy and Heilman, which was designed to operate on a Bresnan syntax. Crucially, deletion rules are not used; yet Bresnan’s arguments for a deletion analysis are met. Among the examples analyzed are such sentences as:

(a) A few of the men came to the party the day of the women.
(b) A few of the men came to the party than of the women came to the party.

In the widely accepted Bresnan analysis these derive from a single source and an explanation is required by no one’s independent Subject Constraint to (b). A natural account of the difference between (a) and (b) follows from the ESS-approach, which also explains a number of other, superficially unrelated problematic comparative examples. The results, if widely extendable, will force a reappraisal of much recent work within the EST arguing for yet “shallow” analyses of most constructions.
Robert K. Herbert, University of Calgary

Rule Devolution in Phonology

It is generally assumed that there is a one-way continuum of rule development which proceeds: phonetic → phonological → morphophonological → morphological. This view is made explicit in a number of publications, most recently in a lucid survey by Dressler (1977). In this paper, a possible counterexample to this view is examined, viz. the Natation Mutation of Old Welsh, a morphophonological rule which develops in the 5th century and becomes fully phonological, affecting all NC sequences by the 9th century. By examining the Natation Mutation involving the use of the consonant: N~ (N0), N~ (Nq) (Jackson 1953). Originally affecting only derived NC sequences in which N represents the final of a British proclitic or quasi-proclitic, the rule thus serves morphophonological marking functions. However, these functions are lost by the early 9th century when the rule affects derived and internal sequences similarly. A possible explanation for this course of development will be proposed, which addresses the general question of morphologization of one of competing phonetic processes as a variation-leveling standardisation. It time permits, similar tendencies involving the Natation Substitution currently exhibited in some Western Austronesian languages will also be examined.

Earl N. Herrick, Texas A&M University

New Evidence Extending the Proper Domain of Linguistic Competence

This paper argues that linguistic competence must include categorical alternations of all kinds, whether they are conditioned from inside or outside language. Many linguists, including Hymes, Labov, Halliday, and Sacks, have claimed, for various reasons, that competence includes at least some observations which are extra-linguistically-conditioned, or probabilistic, or both. Chomsky and his immediate followers, however, have claimed that competence can include only categorical, intra-linguistically-conditioned alternations, since only such alternations can be stipulated by T-G rewrite rules. Shifting network formulas, which are equal in explicitness to T-G rewrite rules, have heretofore been used only for stating categorical, intra-linguistically-conditioned alternations, since the same formulas can be stipulated by any segment perceived to be a homogeneous event is simple.

Under the assumption that any segment perceived to be a homogeneous event is simple (1) t, t'= simple segments, but under (2) they are complex. E.g. t is simple under (1), since the air pressure necessary for aspiration is built up during the stop phase. Under (2), t is complex, since aspiration is built up during the stop stage. As a test of the hypotheses it is proposed that only complex sounds will show asymmetry (directional preferences) in phonological processes. E.g. affricates, e.g. in Quileute, show asymmetry in a way that is well-matched for a stem, but where I (1) and II (2) make different claims, the evidence strongly favors I, the articulatory hypothesis. E.g. in Quileute and Gitksan a glottal stop is not blocked before a glottalized consonant, while in Nez Perce laryngealisation follows a glottalized consonant. I.e. glottalized consonants show no directional asymmetry in phonological processes and, thus, need not be considered to have internal structure.

Julia Hirschkorn, Cornell University

On the Prevalence of Verb Raising in French Factive Constructions

This paper will refute Kayne (1975) and Taraldsen (1976) and extend the argument of Aissen (1974) by showing that Verb Raising (VR) in French Factive Constructions is pre-cyclic, that Citic Place (CL-P) is cyclic, and that Reflexivisation (as-PI) is best treated as an interpretive rule of Coreference Marking (CM) rather than as a transformation. PI must be pre-cyclic because at least four cyclic rules cannot precede it: Tough Movement, Passive, Subject to Object Raising and Subject Raising (1-4). 1) *Jean sera facile à voir Anne. 'John will make Ann easy to see.' 2) *Anne sera être en ce pays un peu sauvage. 'Anne will make this country a little wild.' 3) * Problème de la petite mae de Jean. 'I'll take John's daughter to France.' CL-P reflexive and inalienables must apply cyclically (6.7). 6) Anne, ce, croit bête. 'Anne thinks she herself stupid.' 7) Jean, semble avoir mal à la tête. 'John seems to have a headache.' CL-P then must be cyclical to follow CM. This analysis parallels the pre-cyclic nature of PI, and eliminates the need for as-PI by allowing CL-P to apply cyclically to reflexives as well as to other pronouns.

Ward Singer, University of Pennsylvania

Speech Situation and Linguistic Change

Recent studies of linguistic change and variation have discovered some of the mechanisms that govern the phonetic direction and social location of phonological change. raising the question what factors determine whether a particular word will be more quickly acquired. In this paper, a possible explanation for this phenomenon is that linguistic change is based on the conversations of one female speaker of the Philadelphia dialect recorded in a wide variety of everyday situations. An analysis of vowel formant frequencies for the same set of words shows that the vowel formant frequencies are affected by the speaker's social status and the linguistic conditioning account for much of the variation, but there remains a residue showing directional conditioning. A striking example of the influence of situation is the overall shift to higher first formant frequencies when the addressee is a male superior in the office setting, indicating a general adjustment of the vocal tract in a direction more characteristic of women. In other cases, the situational effect is more closely tied to the Philadelphia system. For the wriggling vowel phonemes, the nuclei of different tokens of the same word cluster along a line defining the direction of change in the community, with the tokens farthest advanced in the direction of change occurring in the most peer-oriented situations. These results will clarify some of the fundamental mechanisms of linguistic change, and particularly the leading position of women.

James B. Roard, University of Oregon

On Simple and Complex Segments

According to a number of recent proposals, many phonological segments must be considered complex, i.e. to have internal structural segments (Roard 1967, B. Anderson 1972, Campbell 1974, B. Anderson 1976, Sasse 1979). Much of the hesitancy and tentativeness in the proposal stems from inadequacy of hypotheses and definitions for "simple" and "complex" segments. The proposal must be formulated and discussed here: (1) the articulatory hypothesis, any segment produced by a simultaneous set of articulatory gestures is simple; (2) the stop hypothesis, any segment perceived to be a homogeneous event is simple. Under (1) t, t'= simple segments, but under (2) they are complex. E.g. t is simple under (1), since the air pressure necessary for aspiration is built up during the stop phase. Under (2), t is complex, since aspiration is built up during the stop stage. As a test of the hypotheses it is proposed that only complex sounds will show asymmetry (directional preferences) in phonological processes. E.g. affricates, etc. in Quileute, show asymmetry in a way that is well-matched for a stem, but where I (1) and II (2) make different claims, the evidence strongly favors I, the articulatory hypothesis. E.g. in Quileute and Gitksan a glottal stop is not blocked before a glottalized consonant, while in Nez Perce laryngealisation follows a glottalized consonant. I.e. glottalized consonants show no directional asymmetry in phonological processes and, thus, need not be considered to have internal structure.

Gary Holland, University of California, Berkeley

Maeknerel's Law and Word Order Change in Early IE Languages

Maeknerel's Law (WL) states that oncitic pronouns (inter alia) in IE languages occupy second position in the sentence, after the first tonic element. WL has persisted through word order change in most of the early IE languages, so that when infinitives came to be placed after their matrix verbs, their pronominal subjects and objects were not shifted with them. As against this, there has been great sympathy for the articulatory hypothesis. E.g. in Quileute and Gitksan a glottal stop is not blocked before a glottalized consonant, while in Nez Perce laryngealisation follows a glottalized consonant. I.e. glottalized consonants show no directional asymmetry in phonological processes and, thus, need not be considered to have internal structure.
In this paper I first examine the behavior of goal locative NPs (Cruden, 1965, 1967) in Chinese under four direct object sensitive rules: Passive, B Sentence Formation, Object Preposing, and Cleft Sentence Formation and show how goal locative NPs in Chinese behave like direct objects, but to the theoretical implications the authors draw from that analysis. The present paper will show that the historical unlabel processes had become heavily morphologized by the time of literary 01, and that all arguments based on their form are untenable. In particular, I find that the following two rules of advancement (Perlmutter and Postal, 1974): (1) a goal locative NP is promoted into a subject, and (2) a direct object is promoted into a subject. One major advantage of the proposed solution is that it captures the generalization that Passive in Chinese is limited to direct objects. Furthermore, following Keenan-Comrie Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie, 1977), the present analysis can also explain the objectivization of an argument as shown in the following relation-changing chain:

In the previous section it was shown that Passive unlabel processes are sensitive to the configuration of the goal locative NP. We noted that the goal locative NP is always placed in the subject position. It was also shown that the goal locative NP is not passivized in the same configuration as Passive unlabel processes. However, this configuration is not the only way in which the goal locative NP can be passivized. For example, in (2), the goal locative NP is passivized as the direct object.

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Misused Syntactic Subjects

A hierarchy of properties characterizing the term subject has been proposed by Keenan. Keenan's hierarchical hypothesis predicts that any constituent evincing stipulated subject-like "control" (i.e., syntactic) properties must also display all of the "coding" properties, such as case marking, which characterize subjects. Sinhala contains sentences with dative "subjects" which falsify this prediction by displaying the "control," but not the "coding" properties stipulated by Keenan. It appears that the Keenan hypothesis, which proposes appealing and widely applicable, requires adjustment to bring it into line with this data.

Control properties demonstrated by dative "subjects" in Sinhala include control of equi, coordination reduction, and certain forms of reflexivization. There appears to be no "control" property of the subject in Sinhala which these datives lack. Gair has elucidated the semantic features of these sentences with numerous examples. In general, the dative "logical subject" is not felt to be acting voluntarily. This is shown, for instance, by the fact that such sentences generally are not susceptible of transformation to the imperative, even though an imperative with similar semantic content can be formed from a related nominative-subject sentence. When a finite verb is present with the dative "subject," it is generally in the passive. In general, these sentences seem to be neutral as regards the semantic properties included in Keenan's hierarchy.

The Development of Inanimate Plural Marking in Postconquest Nahuatl

At the beginning of the 16th century, except in certain metaphorical constructions, Nahuatl attached plural suffixes only to animate nouns. Contact with Spanish from the end of the first quarter of the 16th century brought about the creation of two sets of "new plurals." The set of Spanish loan nouns went through an initial period of double plural marking with both a Spanish and a Nahuatl plural suffix attached to the stem. In this case no distinction was made between animates and inanimates. Soon it grew overwhelmingly large and dropped the use of Nahuatl plurals and also Nahuatl singular absolutive suffixes. The other set was created by extension of plural marking to native Nahuatl inanimates on the Spanish model. Supported by colonial documents, contemporary transcriptions of modern speech, this paper is trying to trace the details of the historical development of the new plurals and the state of inanimate plurals in several dialects of Nahuatl as spoken today.

Compatibility of Morpheme Acquisition Order in Child First-Language (L1) and Second-Language (L2) Acquisition

Because of coding and scoring inconsistencies, Cancino's hypothesis (1976) about the locus of L1 transfer is not supported; L2 learners from the same L1 do not show significantly correlated acquisition orders. In addition, longitudinal data from two Israeli children learning English L2 show that the Israeli rank orders correlate significantly with those found by Brown (1973) for English L1 learners, contrary to the L1-L2 dichotomy reported in other studies.

Transfer may still manifest itself at another level of analysis: morpheme-pairwise predictions based on whether the English morpheme's semantic counterpart is present in the L1. This amounts to basing the data from a single Israeli child but not the other. Further factors affecting the children's acquisition orders are: degree of allomorphy, phonological salience, NP-ve. context of the morpheme, and cumulative frequency.

Some researchers do not a priori assume homogeneity in L2 morpheme acquisition behavior across different L1 backgrounds. The present longitudinal study of two native Hebrew-speakers shows that due to individual differences in language acquisition strategies, one should not even assume homogeneity within L2 learners from the same L1 background.

Remarks on Various Application and the Free-Ride Principle

Depending on whether the analytic devices of various application and the free-ride principle are used, four different formulations are possible for the Common Slavic rule assigning š and ž before the infinitive, suffix -ti, metu, mes-ti, ved-ü, ves-ti, and forms of the imperative. 1) the SD of the rule may be restricted to just certain (syntactic) segments or 2) vacuously extended to š and ž. 3) the SC may specify [voice] or not (4). If the latter option is chosen, /ved-či/ becomes /ves-ti/, and š is converted to ž by the independently needed voicing assimilation rule inherited from IE. The historical loss of the voicing assimilation rule in Ukrainian gives ves-ti from /ves-ti/, but ves-ti from /ved-ti/. The Ukrainian data can be accounted for only by assuming first that š and ž were converted directly to ž in Common Slavic without recourse to a free-ride, and second that assimilation was not vacuously extended to š and ž. These data thus provide corpus-experimental evidence bearing on the validity of these analytic devices. It is also of note that the correct analysis in CS was the one employing the most feature specifications in the assimilation rule, providing further support for the contention that economy of features per se is not a relevant factor in the construction of an evaluation metric.

The Origin and Development of Greek (Ionic) Iterative Preterites

In has verbs, known as Ionic iterative preterits, formed with the suffix -ox/o and secondary endings, added to assibi or imperfect stems (eg. edox-oce "he would always flee", edoxoce "he always fled"). But IE -kae-o originally occurred with the zero-grade stem (eg. *gloke-ox/o "go"). No one has satisfactorily explained this change. According to Kuryłowicz (1964), IE -kae-o was replaced by -ox/o after consonants. This does not accord with examples such as lex-ox/e "he always loosened" (chomsky 1938) and Chantry (1958) reanalyse the point out the parallels between the Gk. forms and Hitt. iterative-Durative verbs in (-e)k/i/a. The origin of the Gk. -e before the suffix lies in an analogical extension of the stem-final -e which shows up regularly in iterative preterits derived from the thematic stems of old thematic verbs in root-final -e + -h3 (eg. Silae-ox/e "he always called") stems < *k-e >. Analogically, IE Gk. roots - SkyRa in Gk. In pre-epit. iterative preterits were formed: aor. stem + -ox/o secondary endings, giving eg. Skae-ox/e; *Sky/x. Verbs in -e + -h3 were thematized. Then analogical pressure from verbs of the SkyRa type forced a change in the derivation to stem-final -e. Forms with imperfect stems before -ox/o (eg. *ek-ox/e) were then made on analogy to those derived from aorist stems.

A Note on Dahl's Law

This paper shows that Dahl's law, as noted in Krisanovskis, is a voice dissimilation rule because it affects all voiceless stop consonants of prefixes that occur before stems starting with voiceless consonants. This rule doesn't affect consonants that end in long vowels. Two explanations, one phonetic and the other functional are offered. In some other cases, the rule doesn't take place if some other rules are involved, due obviously to rule ordering that destroys a voiceless prefix. It is observed also that in very few cases, the rule applies to final consonants of the stem if the suffix has a voiceless consonant. It is argued, that in these instances, however, the rule has been lexicalized.

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WILLIAM Roman c e Reflexive Constructi o n a ct i ve ver b s u s ing a refle xi v e pro n oun . A s Lat in e v o l v e s in to R omance , m an y of t he -sco

The presence of an

of the surrogate subject phenomenon (Langacker 1974) and its relevance to the analysis of Romance reflexive constructions. The semantic connection between the deponent verbs of Latin and Romance is already documented. A synchronic manifestation is found in a few verbs of Latin which behave as either deponent verbs or an active verbs using a reflexive pronoun. As Latin evolves into Romance, many of the * -go verbs are displaced by non-*go verbs using a reflexive construction, or a reflexive construction is used to further re-enforce * -go verbs remaining in the language. The origin of Latin * -go verbs is Proto-Indo-European * -e * k, which displays various semantic functions. The parallelism between the semantics of the * -e * k affix and the Romance reflexive constructions is discussed. The replacement of middle voice inflections by reflexive constructions in New Testament Greek is compared with the replacement of Latin deponents by reflexes in Romance, suggesting the universality of the exchange of passive or middle voice with reflexives, at least for verbs of the type * -e * k. Further synchronic evidence for the surrogate subject phenomenon is displayed by modern German, which has both an impersonal passive and an impersonal reflexive.

Romance Reflexive Constructions and the Latin Passive

The purpose of this paper is to present historical evidence in support of the concept of the surrogate subject phenomenon (Langacker 1974) and its relevance to the analysis of Romance reflexive constructions. The semantic connection between the deponent verbs of Latin and Romance is already documented. A synchronic manifestation is found in a few verbs of Latin which behave as either deponent verbs or an active verbs using a reflexive pronoun. As Latin evolves into Romance, many of the * -go verbs are displaced by non-*go verbs using a reflexive construction, or a reflexive construction is used to further re-enforce * -go verbs remaining in the language. The origin of Latin * -go verbs is Proto-Indo-European * -e * k, which displays various semantic functions. The parallelism between the semantics of the * -e * k affix and the Romance reflexive constructions is discussed. The replacement of middle voice inflections by reflexive constructions in New Testament Greek is compared with the replacement of Latin deponents by reflexes in Romance, suggesting the universality of the exchange of passive or middle voice with reflexives, at least for verbs of the type * -e * k. Further synchronic evidence for the surrogate subject phenomenon is displayed by modern German, which has both an impersonal passive and an impersonal reflexive.
The experimental paradigm for testing categorical description was applied to examine the perceptual correlates of a new phonemic boundary denoting as the short /æ/ is split into a tense /æ/ and a lax /æ/. and the tense group raised and fronted. In the Northern cities dialect, the entire word class is tensed and raised; in Eastern New England, a simple rule tenses all words before nasal consonants; but in the Middle Atlantic States, tense and lax /æ/ follow a complex distribution which appears to represent two distinct distinctive systems of the word morphemes altered to produce ten stimuli evenly spaced along the path of the natural sound change. The results of two experiments show that only those with the Northern dialects show the type of categorical discrimination associated with stable vowel phonemes.

D. ROBERT LAID, JR., Cornell University

Intonation: Around the Edge of Language?

Resistance to M. Liberman's notion of 'intonational lexical items' (1975 MIT Diss.) is based largely on the following assumptions: (1) that a contour's interpretation is not context-dependent; (2) that intonation signals only segmental lexical meaning as well (e.g. that gaps may be perceived); (3) that the 'tones' merely accompanies the 'text' and 'modifies' its meaning. These objections appear to be either false or illusory, since: (1) context-dependence is a more appropriate description of lexical meaning as well; (2) speaker's attitude is conveyed by the totality of the utterance and its context; it is wrong to consider intonation special in this regard (e.g., to cut that takes away from a passenger is still not polite even with a 'polite' intonation); (3) the division into text and text is heuristic only; in actual use they function together. Context-dependent intonation is not solely phonetic: while tones and accents are phonemes and are in different, both function as phonological entities which distinguish morphemes. The tone is no sense 'modifies' the segmental string. In the same way, intonational and segmental lexical items differ phonologically, but in the absence of evidence that they differ functionally as well, it is more reasonable to treat linguistic contrasts of intonation like other lexical and grammatical contrasts.

PETER LADEFOGED, University of California, Los Angeles

Phonetic Differences Within and Between Languages

All languages contrast voiced and voiceless sounds, and many languages also have a third contrasting possibility, sometimes called murrur or breathy voice. Thus both Hindi and Igbo have contrasts that may be transcribed /b, bh, p, ph/. But it is by no means clear that these contrasts are phonetically the same in all the different languages. This leads to an interesting theoretical issue. The aim of a linguistic description include not only describing all the contrasts that occur within each language, but also describing how one language differs from another. It is usually assumed that both these aims can be achieved by describing language as a set of features that can be altered to produce ten stimuli evenly spaced along the path of the natural sound change. The results of two experiments show that only those with the Northern dialects show the type of categorical discrimination associated with stable vowel phonemes.

WILLIAM L. LANGAUS, University of Texas, Austin

Tracking a Categorical Change: Still and Yet

In this paper I present an analysis of English still and yet focussing on their changes in meaning. He is still young and his eye was open to base a case study of a particular language and its development. ME yet was synonymous with ME still in its temporal sense as in... I loved and yet do (Malory). ME still was still usually occurred as an adjective although many instances of it are open to an adverbial interpretation (D'Urfy). This ME yet survives only in some modern idiomics while Mode yet is usually a negative particle with a meaning different from but related to its earlier meaning. I present the results of a pilot study, with emphasis placed on the change in meaning to the change in the syntactic distribution of the items. The results suggest that the development of negative polarity yet as best viewed as a narrowing in meaning of ME yet brought about by incorporation into its conventional meaning of an implicative which was probably conversational earlier. The rise in frequency of temporal still is simultaneous with the fall in frequency of ME yet and the rise of negative polarity yet, indicating that the semantics of negative polarity yet can be viewed independently of its syntactic environment.


MARTHA LAPERRIERE, Southeastern Massachusetts University

Considerations of the Vowel Space in Sound Change: Boston /æ/

A study of the phonemes /æ/ across several generations of speakers of the Boston dialect, the phonetic discrepancies or continuous of sound change is governed by the directional of change within the vowel space. Five speakers, age 75-71, read a list of words containing /æ/ before nasal (nasal), oceanic, and spurious (sga). First and second formant values for all occurrences of /æ/ were obtained by computer analysis, and Five TL Vs, P2 TL vowel space plots were made. For the two oldest speakers, 69 and 71, /æ/ is in all occurrences of /æ/ after obstruents and sonorants. The nasal conso­lants /æ/ before obstruents and sonorants had the most nasal positions, /æ/ before nasal, the most nasal positions (around 2100 Hz). For the three younger­er speakers and the younger and less distinctive areas of the vowel space, the nasal positions of the obstruents and sonorants were, again, low and centralised. All /æ/ before nasals maintained their extreme fronted position, but had shifted upward in the vowel space. It appears that by raising is a discrete articulatory process corresponding to specific targets of tongue height in the vowel space.

MARGARET S. LAPP & LEE A. BRICKER, University of Illinois

Motivation for the Extension of Case Usage

In this paper we discuss a model for the extension of case usage and illustrate it by proposing motivation for the extension of the use of the instrumental case (INST) in the development of Russian. We claim that case extension can occur when the basis upon which a noun appears in a particular case is subject to alternative interpretations. Thus given that at certain stage a particular case is assigned on the basis of criterion Y and that the same case is also assigned on the basis of criterion Y, we propose to focus the search for the motivation of this extension upon the class of sentences for which the basis of case assignment was ambiguous, i.e. could have been assigned. A model of case extension in English is given in CLE 6. The model illustrated in the change of (2) to (1), we claim the crucial type of sentence to be (3). 1. O n aten korolen. Mod.R. 'He will become king (Inst).'. 2. On aten korol. Old.R. 'He will become king'. 3. O n postavili ego korolen. R.R. 'They appointed him (Inst) (korol)'. We will suggest that prior to this extension the basis for the assignment of INST in (3) was the chi-mhood of the noun in question; this was criterion X. We will also note that the specific CHI presented in XN3 was interpreted or reinterpreted as being based on an underlying semantic criterion, criterion Y, rather than the syntactically derived criterion X. Evidence for the proposed motivation comes from the fact that the first documented example of the predoule instrumental, as in (1), are with the nouns occurring in constructions like (3), namely professions, ranks, and offices.
Children's Evolving Kin Term Representations

Recent treatments of the semantic field of kin terms have focused on relational components (Hervasch, 1970) or algebras (Winkelman, 1975), in contrast to componential analysis. Though it has been suggested that developmental data could be relevant to constructing psychologically-relevant analyses (Anderson, 1975), no such representations exist. Raviland & Clark (1974) had some success in predicting order of acquisition from an adult relational component model, but did not attempt to trace the evolution of children's representations. We made such an attempt below by examining change from birth to first grade in the months of field work in the spring of 1977, consisting of tape-recorded interviews. These data, along with appropriate nouns and other findings suggest SIBLING should be a primitive relation in representations.

The Development of Relational Structures

S. R. Anderson (1975) and R. Wilbur (1973, 1974) have proposed essentially phonological solutions to account for the interaction of reduplication and nasal assimilation in Tagalog. Anderson uses local ordering and nasal assimilation is phonetically marked since sequences of a prefix-final verb, •to see' (a.) and •to make nice things.' The primary finding was that children have parent-centered representations, with various kin related to the parent rather than to the appropriate reciprocal kin. E.g., for aunt many children constructed a family in which a child had a mother, and a second adult was aunt to the mother, not to the child. The correlation of adult-to-adult relations (e.g., one's aunt and mother are sisters) and of reciprocity (aunt is aunt to the niece) develop late. In other orderings and other findings suggest SIBLING should be a primitive relation in representations.

The Interaction of Replication and Nasal Assimilation in Tagalog

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Example (a.) is demonstrated to have a semantic structure of: I-CAUSE-SEED-SEE-PICTURE (Agent-V-Beneficiary-V-Object), which in KSA is the causative form of the transitive verb, 'to see'. Example (b.) is: I-CAUSE-PICTURE-APPEAR-TO-HER (Agent-V-Object-V-Rep-Beneficiary) which in KSA is the causative form of an intranative verb, 'to appear'.

The Development of Comprehension of Personal Pronouns in Listening and Reading

The development of elementary school children's ability to comprehend personal pronouns in four syntactic contexts and the relation between oral and written comprehension in the same contexts was explored. Forty-three 3rd graders, 52 4th graders, and 40 7th graders were tested on sentences of the following four types: (NJs) after she drank her milk, Dot told Bill she felt happy. (MP1) When Dad is at the beach he builds forts. (MP2) She doesn't drink milk. (MP3) She drinks milk.

The results of the subordinate clause task (Sl) and half have the main clause first (Hl). Half have the pronoun in the first clause (P1) and half have the pronoun in the second clause (P2). All sentences were auditory (P2). All sentences were auditory (P2).

Though the Markovian statistic is still being learned in the primary grades. Furthermore, although listening comprehension is superior to reading comprehension at all grade levels, there is evidence that once the alphabetic code has been mastered, listening and reading comprehension are nearly identical on this task.
In addition to (1) existential quantification (*some1) and (2) universal quantification (*sunny), Tamil indefinites expressions include (3) an intermediate category of quantification translatable as 'for one (or more) among a range of alternative values of x'.

The Logic of Similar to v1 (in

HARTA LUJAN, speaker statement Conditions on Transformations, often been made that syllables in most languages of features whose temporal ordering (when final voice-assimilated coronal obstruent are language-particular non-occurrence of certain clusters that do English syllable-initial and -final consonant clusters.

Contrary to ordering restrictions predicted by the sonority hierarchy. But a more universal condition on phonetic structure. For example, Czech, Georgian, Kutenai).

posed counterexample to ordering restrictions predicted by the sonority hierarchy. The principle, e.g. English *[tl-], *[sr-).

principle, e.g. English *[tl-], *[sr-) .

principle, but there has been no systematic examination of the "obvious exceptions" (e.g. Czech, Georgian, Kutenai). Using both original data and secondary sources, this paper explores this problem, with particular emphasis on phonetic explanations for such exceptions.

Another version asserts the future existence or attainment of CM -till

it might be claimed that $3_k \text{ will } {\text{3k}}$ is true whenever (i) is true, the question arises whether $\#_k$ is not merely a contextual variant of $\#_k$. But $\#$ and $\#_k$ are different in the sense that $\#_k$ will kill a possible occurrence include either $\#_{\#}$ or $\#_{\#\#}$. The new version asserts the future existence or attainment of CM$ -till$
LEXIS NAMASTER-RAMER, University of Chicago

Nonglobal Tone Sandhi in Bangabang

Bangabang has underlying high and low tones and, among others, these three rules:
(a) shift a high tone onto the following low in the same word, (b) place a high tone on a low tone in the preceding word, and (c) change a high tone between a high in the preceding word and a high in the same word. McCaskey (1973) claims that (b) and (c) are global, as the data indicate, the local mediation of the environment being the underlying ones (spec., they are as before the application of (a)), while the tonal specifications of the left and right side of the environment is a derived one. He realized that different tones reallocated on different parts of the structural derivation of (b) and (c) referred to different stages in the derivation but not that there was this general left-right asymmetry. For it is clear that if the rules apply left-to-right, then the global condition is not needed. Where (a) and (c) have applied to the preceding word but not the word under consideration, so the left-hand side of the environment will represent the situation after (a) and the rest of it will still be before (a), as required.

ALEXIS NAMASTER-RAMER, University of Chicago

On the Development of Auxiliary Verbs in Kru

In Kru languages of West Africa, the basic word order is subject-verb-object, as can be seen in the following example from Godd (1): 1) yi awo ayi 'she cooks rice'. Exceptionally, however, when a sentence contains an auxiliary, the basic VP order is reversed: 2) yi ayi woi 'she will cooks rice'. Finally, when an NP has an overt object in it, the NP moves to the front of the sentence, as in Godd (3): 1) yi awo yi 'she eats rice'.


Nwac Melcher, University of California, Los Angeles

Prox: John Singler

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JERRY W. MARTIN, JAMES J. BRODAC, University of Iowa & ROBERT D. ELLIOTT, Ohio State University

Judges and Judgments: A Multivariate Study of Linguistic Intuitions

Linguists typically rely on their own intuitions in both the construction and the validation of grammars, putting the empirical basis of linguistic inquiry in doubt: the judgments of linguists may differ systematically from those of nonlinguists. We asked subjects to evaluate 35 strings of various types (grammatical, unacceptable, anomalous, containing foreign errors, containing native errors, universally ungrammatical) along 13 typical and atypical, 7-interval scales (e.g. judgments of the speaker). When the scales were presented in order, with the middle scale presented first, and the judgments were therefore made in the context of the previous judgments, the judgments of the linguists were significantly different from those of the nonlinguists. However, when the scales were presented in random order, the judgments of the linguists were not significantly different from those of the nonlinguists. The factors that contributed to the differences between the judgments of the linguists and the nonlinguists were the length of the strings, the complexity of the strings, and the complexity of the grammar.

JAMES MCCLOSKEY, University of Texas, Austin

Syntax and Semantics of Verbal Noun Constructions in Modern Irish

This paper presents an explicit syntax and semantics for Verb-Noun constructions in Modern Irish. The syntactic framework is transformational, the semantic framework that of 'Montague Grammar'. Its theoretical aim is to demonstrate that by providing explicit semantic analyses, we can often avoid cumbersome and abstract syntactic analyses. The central problem to be faced in the analysis of these constructions is this: semantically they function like embedded sentences yet syntactically they bear little resemblance. However, by mapping on to the syntactic structure of verbal noun phrases, the syntactic structure of the verb can be precisely defined. The semantic structure of verbal noun phrases is essentially the same as that of ordinary noun and the syntax of verbal noun phrases differs from those of noun and verb in many respects from that of sentences. Two solutions are considered: a) the syntax of the noun phrase and b) the semantic structure of the noun phrase. The semantic structure of the noun phrase is essentially the same as that of sentences.

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Parental Awareness of Child Phonology

Parents vary widely in the accuracy of their assessments of their child's phonological abilities. 16 middleclass families' firstborn children (210-512) were recorded in a laboratory playroom. From these recordings, for each child, a test list consisting of 1) words known to be difficult by the child; 2) words which the child did not know; and 3) words which were similar in actualized phonetic form with parental dialect, was compiled. Each parent was read the list for his/her child and asked how the child would say the word. Responses were variedly across items and across parents, however, the two parents were very similar in the use of subject pronouns as direct objects, e.g. child said [gat] mother reported "spaghetti". Or, parents may be aware of a child's rule only as it applies to a notorious word the father of the same child reported [gat] accurately, but neither parent was aware of the child's [gat] in "school", "store", etc.

For certain notorious words like spaghetti, parents were accurate as to whether the child had trouble pronouncing them, but often what the child said was misreported; e.g. child said [gat] mother reported "spaghetti". Or, parental awareness of a child's rule only as it applies to a notorious word the father of the same child reported [gat] accurately, but neither parent was aware of the child's [gat] in "school", "store", etc.

Bruce Millar, Milltronics Ltd.

Individual Differences in the Interpretation of Focus

Chomsky (1971) identified clefting and contrastive stress as focus devices. An experiment was conducted to see if naive subjects viewed these constructions as equivalent focusing devices.

Subjects were presented with pairs of sentences. The first member of the pair was a contrapositive stressed sentence. The second member was a cleft sentence. Subjects were requested to rate the similarity to which the sentences highlighted the same constituent to the same degree.

Recall of an 8-question, 4-option, multiple-choice test was used to determine the effect of individual differences on the amount recalled by the subjects.

Group differences are explained in terms of surface structure strategies.

References

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MOHIE NAIR, University of Manitoba

Language Planning Functions - A Diachronic View of Modern Hebrew

In a recent classification of language planning it has been proposed that language planning agencies have been involved in one or more of five LP functions (Shohamy, 1977): Language Purification, Language Revival, Language Reform, Language Standardization, or Lexical Modernization. The objective of this paper is to suggest a diachronic applicability of this classification to cases in which agencies shift their emphasis from one Function to another, abandon Functions, or adopt new ones to meet new needs or policies. Viewing the recent development of Modern Hebrew reveals three Functions, the predominance in each of a different major LP Function: (1) Revival, i.e. the process whereby a "dead" language is revitalized (usually once again (1890-1918); (2) Standardization, i.e. the process whereby one language or dialect is recognized as major or "best" (1918-1948); (3) Lexical Modernization, i.e. the process whereby words are borrowed into a language from other languages. Concept borrowing has been too fast for it to cope with through evolution (1948 to the present).

Researchers have shown that predication in English may be of two types: weak and strong. Existential sentences, which may be used as existential, may not be secondaries of the present study. The constructions which are permitted input to TI include only those expressing existential sentences, as well as those in which it may not, reveal that a different generalization can be made.

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Chinese Pidgin Russian in Siberia

Materials on the 18th-19th Dialect Chinese Pidgin Russian in Siberia alike to develop evidence for JOHANNA type some of the developments The two major ment type lity languages In the case of complements complement as an accomplished fact that when the comparative evidence is weighed a new picture evolvement that occurred in no other dialect. vowel system of the modern language. This paper proposes, however, based en modern dialects indicates a five-vowel system. It is merely an isolated eddy that has derived undue prominence from its literary importance. It is further pointed out that only the combination of internal and comparative evidence yielded this reinterpretation.
Otto Jespersen: A
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KAREN R. RICHARDS,
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other than aspiration are taken into account and the roots are reduce by a circumflex pattern to arise in opposition to the laryngeal-inspired

PHILIP J. REGIER, University of Southern California

Indo-European Consonants and Balto-Slavic Tone: Distributions and Relative Chronology

In a paper presented at the Third International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Purrell and Regier (1977) presented evidence that root-initial voiced aspirates probably caused the Balto-Slavic circumflex pattern to arise in opposition to the laryngeal-inspired tone. The present paper pursues the distributional patterns shown by Indo-European consonants and Balto-Slavic tone. When factors other than aspiration are taken into account, tonalologically derived inflections and roots are reduced, other generalizations are possible: 1) BS acute predominate before root-final IE voiced segments, and BS circumflexes predominate before root-final voiceless segments and resonants. 2) BS circumflexes appear even before voiced segments if the initial segment is a velar (unless *h intervenes), including IE *k ̆, which shifted to BS ̄i. 3) BS circumflexes appear even before voiced segments if initial *st or *sk, but not *sp. 4) BS acute appear even after root-initial voiced aspirates if that initial is *ch and the final is also a voiced aspirate. These principles are about 85% successful in accounting for the tone distribution on BS short diphthongs.

AUDREY L. REYNOLDS, Northeastern Illinois University

Otto Jespersen: A Humboldtian Linguist

Although Otto Jespersen devoted a considerable amount of energy to bringing the views of those with whom he disagreed, there was at least one linguist whose work Jespersen admired: Wilhelm von Humboldt. From Jespersen's perspective, Humboldt, unlike other nineteenth-century linguists, understood that language was a human activity, not the supra-human, mechanistic process so often referred to by August Schleicher and the Neo-grammarians.

In this paper, I will argue that Jespersen not only admired Humboldt, but consciously applied some of Humboldt's views in developing his own linguistic theory. Specifically, I will focus on four of Jespersen's theoretical concepts which parallel those of Humboldt: (1) the concept of language as creative activity; (2) the distinction between the potential and the actual (competence and performance); (3) the view of language as a complex, mysterious activity which eluded attempts at analytic confinement; and (4) the development of a grammatical model which sought to express the relationship between sound and meaning.

Finally, I will suggest that these concepts are among the things which make both Humboldt and Jespersen so interesting to contemporary linguists, most notably Noam Chomsky.

KAREN R. RICHARDS, University of Chicago

On the Category Definite/Indefinite in Old Church Slavonic (based on the three oldest original texts)

Fliser has shown that usage of long and short adjectives in the OGS Gospel manuscripts fairly consistently reflects the category definite/ indefinite in the NP. A similar consistency is found in the Lives of Constantine (Cyril) and Methodius and the Panegyric to Cyril and Methodius, despite the lateness of our manuscripts of these works. What other resources exist to express this category? Sentence word order and deixis are seen to be of marginal relevance. The main indicators, rather, are contextual and semantic. This finding accords with later Slavic developments, as well as with adjective usage itself.


FLISER

On the Relevancy Condition

The purpose of this paper is to argue for a reformulation of Jensen's (1974) Relevancy Condition which differs from Jensen's formulation in two ways: its domain is restricted to assimilation and dissimilation rules and, like Howard's (1972) Crossover Constraint, it includes a possible focus from the intervening material rather than the set of segments defined by the features common to the focus and determinant. That the former revision is necessary is clear when examples other than assimilation and dissimilation rules are considered. For example, given Jensen's formulation of the Relevancy Condition and his definition of focus and determinant, it is predicted, incorrectly, that [-cons] intervocalic [vocals] intervene between the focus and the [+cons] segment; 1 + 2 [vocals] [-cons]. That the latter revision is necessary is demonstrated by examples like Menominee Vowel Rising (discussed in Howard, 1972), which can be handled, but not the original, formulation. It will further be shown that the proposed reformulation can handle all the examples cited by Jensen with the exception of Sanskrit n-retroflexion which will be shown to be incorrectly formulated.

ELIZABETH RIDDLE, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland

The Semantics of the Present and Past Tenses in English

John, Lakoff (1970) and others have distinguished between true and false pasts. A true past refers to a fact no longer true. A false past describes a fact true in the present. This occurs in main and subordinate clauses.

Cyril Methodius, despite the lateness of the works, still exist. The context, pragmatic information tell us why death, a breakup, going away, etc. are facts of the present and past will also be discussed. The new explanations of the meanings of these tenses obviate the need for a rule of sequence of tenses.

TON KINNELSCH & RICKI D. HARDER, University of Minnesota

Graphemic Analysis and the Genetic Classification of Languages

In order to test the hypothesis that genetic relationships of languages can be predicted from graphemic frequency and distribution, 1,000-word texts from many modern languages and all ancient Mediterranean-area languages were analyzed. Graphemic, not phonemic data were used since no phonemic data were available. The only genetic data available were Indo-European and Afro-Asiatic groupings. We have been able to predict a large amount of data using only total occurrence frequency profiles, each language could be identified as Indo-European or Afro-Asiatic or neither. Analyzing other data sets which can't be read but whose gross phonetic values are known, such as Minoan Linear A. They may also help determine phonetic values of graphemes when genetic relationship is assumed, but the language remains poorly understood, as Lydian. They can also help restore damaged texts in known or unknown languages and assign reliability indices to the restorations. We hope to use them to determine the genetic affiliation of Minoan as part of a long-term study of Linear A.

CATHARINE O. RINGEN, University of Iowa

On the Relevancy Condition

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Since Kiparsky 1968 there has been a growing conviction in generative circles that certain types of analyses theoretically possible in a generative theory of phonology should nonetheless be rejected as too abstract. Rather loosely grouped under the name of "multiple neutralization", such analyses typically involved setting up an underlying distinction where there isn't one on the surface in order to account for otherwise unpredictable alternations found elsewhere on the surface. An example from the 1970-71 period before the work of Hengeveld is an example of where C & S are set up as underlying /CJ, /CE/ as /CJ/. Here I do not reargue the necessity for excluding such analyses, but show that while in a generative phonology they can be thrown out only by appealing to restrictions extrinsic to the actual mechanisms provided by the theory, in a parsing model of phonology (such as that found in Leben and Robinson 1977) analyses like these are automatically prohibited by the way in which (backward) derivations take place. Specifically, it is shown that the underlying neutralization rule will result in unspecified features or segments unless there is evidence from other terms of the comparison as to the specific neutralization value involved. This in turn makes it impossible to undo any other rule dependent on a specific value for the features involved.

THOMAS ROEPER & SUSAN TAVAKOLIAN, University of Massachusetts

[A limit on LAD: The S-node Principle]

We have experimental evidence that a single principle governs all of children's first structural hypotheses about complex sentences: all new material is attached to the toposet S. The principle holds for relative clauses where children interpret the rat kicked the cat that pushed the dog as having the rat both kick and push. The same holds for perception verbs John saw Mary carrying the basket where John sees and carries. In addition in a put sentence the cat put the dog that kicked the rat on the table where S-node attachment of the relative is impossible unless the VP attaches to the topmost S-node. In these cases do not take cat as subject of both put and kicked (taking dog as subject or deleting the relative). Other sentence types follow the same principle. In addition the principle accounts for children's pronoun in complex as in the sentence for him to hit the dog would please the cat where S-node attachment excludes (by the command principle) cat from referring to him. Finally we have evidence that children determine quantifier scope as if the quantifier were attached to the toposet S for each, only, and not as in the bear saw Bill not eat the honey where not applies to both bear and eat. This principle limits the range of potential hypotheses a child must consider.

ANDY ROGERS

[On Generalized Conversational Impilcation and Preparatory Conditions]

On "Requiem for Presupposition" (Proceedings of the Third BLS Meetings) Karttunen and Peters distinguish between generalized conversational implicature and preparatory conditions on felicity of utterance on the basis that the former are cancellable, while the latter are not. I will show that the same conclusions about cancellability hold in both cases if strictly comparable cases are considered, no argument for the distinctness of the two cases is available. In their paper they conclude that the conversational implicature example [(13)], the critic, and the speaker of the contradicting sentence are noncoreferential and the respective speech acts are noncotemporal.

(13) The critic Harry believes that John did not plan to come so late yet I had car trouble.

Since the letter was written by Mary, it was quite unfair of John.

In their preparatory conditions example, the director and the speaker of the preparatory condition are coreferential, while the letter writer and the speaker of the contradicting sentence are noncoreferential and the respective speech acts are noncotemporal.

If these variables are made parallel, parallel results obtain; therefore the distinction is not unique. This is just one of several other facts for their classification of presupposition-like phenomena.

CLAUDIA MORA, University of Michigan

[On the Dificulties of the Coordinate Constituent Constraint]

Paul Schachter (1977) proposes a universal Coordinate Constituent Constraint (CCC) which he claims will explain many facts about coordinate constructions. It is the purpose of this paper to demonstrate that the criterion of 'like semantic function' in the CCC is too vague to be accounted for the semantic basis of conjoining. I will show in particular that: (a) Schachter's claims about like semantic function are incorrect. In Japanese, Sa with different semantic functions, in particular, statements and commands or requests, cannot be conjoined, and Sa with like semantic function, in particular, two requests, cannot be conjoined. (b) The priscipality principle excludes (by the constraint on conjuncts) prismatic phenomena in Japanese, Sa with different semantic functions, in particular, statements and commands or requests, cannot be conjoined, and Sa with like semantic function, in particular, two requests, cannot be conjoined. A possible solution is to account for in terms of the CCC or pragmatic constraints. I claim that the difference in acceptability of (1) and (2), for example, cannot be explained in Schachter's framework.

(1) I didn't plan to come so late but I had car trouble.

(2) I didn't plan to come so late yet I had car trouble.

I use the notion of 'common topic' information shared by the conjuncts of conjuncts (cf. Lakoff, 1971) to demonstrate that the difference in acceptability of sentences like (1) and (2) is not prismatic. I conclude that the notion of common topic information must be included in any general constraint on conjoining, and that pragmatic, not prismatic, criteria play a large role in determining the acceptability of conjoining.

IVAN A. EAG, University of Pennsylvania

[Improper Theories of Proper Names]

Recently several linguists (Ekeen, 71, 72, Cole, 72, Abbott, 76) have proposed to treat transparent vs. opaque differences in understanding of sentences containing proper names and definite descriptions scopally, on a par with similar proposals for the logical representation of the semantic function of definite descriptions (mostly derivative of Postal, 74). This paper argues against any such proposal. A crucial example in the literature is the example of pronouns in Hindi as in the sentence he didn't plan to come so late yet I had car trouble. To the argument in the literature, the principle of pronominality found in the syntax of Hindi allows one to interpret he as having the semantic function of pronouns in Hindi as having the semantic function of pronouns in Hindi.

(14) He didn't plan to come so late but I had car trouble.

He is a pronoun in the Hindi phrase and not in the English sentence. This is the result of the fact that proper nouns in Hindi are not the same as proper nouns in English. The Hindi sentence he didn't plan to come so late but I had car trouble is a proposition.

IVANKA SAKS, University of California, Los Angeles

[Is There a Passive Transformation in Hind?]
It is often assumed that agent phrases have but one source: the passive. This analysis has been extended to include agent phrases in clause union languages like French and Italian (Kiparsky 1971, Assen 1974, Postal 1977, Cerroni 1981). Accordingly, the agent phrases in (1) are homogeneously derived by the passive transformation. This paper presents syntactic evidence indicating that the passive analysis is empirically incorrect for clause union constructions like (1b). In fact, the agent phrase in (la) is a 'getter,' whereas the agent phrase in (1b) is a 'term,' contrary to the prediction made by the passive analysis. The relational difference is syntactically demonstrated in (2), where we observe that the agent phrase in (2a), proving its chomseur status, does not criticize in (2b), proving its processive status. It will be argued that any descriptively adequate account of agent phrases, considering the functional and other role of the subject, must recognize the consequences in terms of an acquisition/inateness model. The method of establishing the agent phrase does criticize, revealing its relational status. It will be suggested that the agent phrase in (2b) is a 'getter' because it allows the construction of 'same rule' explanations, revealing sensitivity to the presence of specific features. It is proposed that agent phrases are derived by grammar-changing rules (la) as well as relational conditions (lb) as reduced structures incorporate semantic and pragmatic factors (1b). It is therefore argued that the agent phrase in (la) is a 'getter,' whereas the agent phrase in (1b) is a 'term.'

GERALD A. SANDERS, University of Minnesota

Simplicity and Evaluation Fallacies in Linguistics

There are a number of unassailable arguments in the linguistic literature based crucially on the notion of a "simplicity metric" or "evaluation procedure" for grammars. This paper will examine two representative arguments of this type and will show that they are fallacious because they confuse the independent idea of grammatical evaluation with the notion itself. The first argument, from Kiparsky (1971), attempts to demonstrate the empirical inadequacy of the type of evaluation metric proposed by Chomsky and Halle (1961) by showing that the appropriate choice of the grammatical categories in all the paradigms of all the languages to which the metric applies is somewhat arbitrary. The argument proceeds to show that one metatheory and evaluation procedure is superior to another because of its capacity to account for certain typological facts about natural language phonology. This argument is based on the false assumption that the weak generative capacity of a theory or metalanguage—which is its only possible source for the generation of typological predictions—could be affected in any way by the choice of one evaluation procedure rather than another. Based on the analysis of such arguments, and certain more general considerations as well, it will be argued that the idea of an evaluation procedure for grammars can serve no useful purpose at all in linguistic description and analysis.

SUSAN F. SCHNEIDLING, University of Texas, Austin

Toward a Non-Global Analysis of Auxiliary Reduction

Constrains like tell me where John's working—now/tell me where John's working—now have generally been assumed, following Harold King ("On Blocking the Rules For Contraction in English"), to indicate that complete reduction of auxiliaries is blocked in the presence of an immediately following "extraction site" (indicated here by dashes), and King's interpretation of the blocking condition has provided one of the most convincing arguments for "global" reference in transformations (either directly or through the use of traces). The purpose of this paper is to use the evidence for global reference derived by showing how independent motivation for rule shifting be out of VP's, the relevant contrasts are accounted for in a "local" analysis, whereby Auxiliary Reduction has a right to left order. This reduction is blocked when the VP is in the presence of an immediately following extraction site; compare VP-deletion examples like "tell me where John's arriving, but when's Bill?"

DOUGLAS KUHN, Yale University

Unobservable Data Collection: An Evaluation of the Appropriate-Response Methodology

A central problem in collecting syntactic data is that responses are invariably more or less biased if the subject knows you are asking about language. Here we evaluate one possible solution, an unobservable "appropriate-response methodology." The syntactic structures of interest appear as questions in an interview about a non-linguistic topic. We relate the goodness of the structure by the proportion of "appropriate" responses. Our plan is to test the data under two conditions (20 and 30 subjects) test the method by comparing responses to grammatical control sentences of varying length and complexity with those that were syntactic (e.g. Ross Constrains) or semantic (e.g. Cross-Over) violations and with those that were neutral. A multiple central embeddings. The method proved unobservable (none of the 72 subjects suspected our linguistic interest), but relatively insensitive (large numbers of subjects were needed to produce statistically significant results). In addition, the method, linguistically interesting data appeared. For example, Complex RF violations (3% non-appropriate) could not be distinguished from relativization controls (6%), while co-ordinate-structure violations were among the worst (35%). Multiple central embeddings (25%) could barely (4% level) be distinguished from controls of the same length (5%), and were better than a low-complexity item (15%), while scrambled multiple central embeddings were significantly worse than scrambled (35%).
This paper examines the role of Afrikaans in the nationalism of Afrikaners and the role of English in the nationalism of Africans in South Africa. Additionally, it considers the ways in which South African language policy has sought to advance the former language and nationalism while thwarting the latter. Afrikaans, the single most important symbol of Afrikaner nationalism, is seen by Afrikaners as the sacred and unique symbol of Afrikaner nationalism. Preverbal placement is also influenced in the verb phrase. On the other hand, the effect of old versus new information on the position of the subject is surprisingly low. Results of the multivariate analysis confirm the hypothesis that the ambiguity of the verbal form is an important constraint on the position of the subject. The speakers’ linguistic behaviour consistently responds to three levels of ambiguity: 1. morphologically ambiguous verb; 2. morphologically unambiguous verb; 3. context unambiguous verb. The ambiguity constraint also bears upon the position of the subject: its postposition is strongly disfavoured in the environment of an ambiguous verb.

**Language and Nationalism in South Africa**

This paper examines the role of Afrikaans in the nationalism of Afrikaners and the role of English in the nationalism of Africans in South Africa. Additionally, it considers the ways in which South African language policy has sought to advance the former language and nationalism while thwarting the latter. Afrikaans, the single most important symbol of Afrikaner nationalism, is seen by Afrikaners as the sacred and unique embodiment of a sacred and unique nationalism. English, on the other hand, is valued by Afrikaner nationalists because of its relative neutrality, i.e. because it is not identified with any of the constituent ethnic groups which Afrikaner nationalism seeks to unite. The Afrikaners see English as the medium of British cultural imperialism; consequently, the utilization by Afrikaners of English as their language of political expression combines, in the Afrikaner perspective, two threats to the survival of Afrikaans and Afrikaners, the imperialistic English language and the numerically superior African population.

The paper will further examine those pieces of apartheid legislation, particularly the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which have shaped contemporary South African language policy. The relevant implications of recent events, including the Soweto riots of 1976 and the South African attempt to create Bantustans, will also be considered.

**Passive Predicates and Adjectives**

Contrary to Freidin (1975) and Hudson (1976) this paper claims that passive predicates should not be treated in the lexiology nor should they be treated as adjective phrases. It shows that Freidin’s claim that passive stative and adjectives behave alike does not hold good. Stative passives may not be combined with stative adjectives. e.g. ‘American air and naval forces are stationed in the Philippines and satisfactory’ Stative passive predicates may take a by NP+stative adjectives do not. e.g. ‘This tablet is placed in the memory of Albert Pick by his relatives and friends. Non-stative passive predicates and adjectives do not behave alike. If a relative clause involving a passive predicate is used as a reduced apposition, by must be retained if the agent is to be retained; if a prenominal adjective is used, the agent is deleted and the subject postposed, e.g. ‘The kisses by frost’, ‘frost-kissed oranges’. E.g. In English, not all passive predicates and their adjectival counterparts have the same form. e.g. ‘A kiss by frost’, ‘frost-kissed oranges’.

The paper further argues that adjectives derived by passivization have the same constraints that passive have. The stress is followed/this speech was followed/a barely followed speech and they should not be treated in the lexiology either.
A Daughter Dependency Analysis of Fula Clitics

This paper intends to describe in two sections some facts of Fula proclitic clitics within the framework of Daughter Dependency Grammar, a model recently developed by R.A. Hudson. This model is characterized only one structure (rather than the traditional deep and surface structures found in a transformational grammar). An important innovation in Hudson’s approach is the use of features on higher nodes.

First section: Following an improvement of Hudson’s model suggested by Paul Schachter, the morphological variants of Fula clitics, such as (1) soomo “him,” and sooma “you,” as in: ‘Jomo lomar [him]’ and ‘You lomar [you],’ and sooma “you,” as in: ‘Jomo lomar [him],’ and ‘You lomar [you]’ (2) mon-fajo “you hide—General Past,” and (3) mom-fajo “you hide—Present Tense” and (4) you hide—Present Tense,” and (5) you hide—Present Tense you hide, will be predicted in a context-sensitive lexicon; redundancy rules will relate these forms, beyond context. The evidence necessary to establish (1) and (2) includes: (1) movement rules, pronomalizations; for (3), incorporation, adverb placement, movement constraints, idiosyncrasy.

Two different kinds of evidence, the first about perception and the second about diachronic developments in various languages, converge on the hypothesis that this type of superficial surface structure is not a reflection of the syntactic structure. First, according to the morphphonological theory predicts that the same with which the quality of a nasal vowel is perceived is proportional to its openness. Confirmation for this prediction comes from a vowel quality transformation in several languages, such as the morphophonological transformation that I have performed using the phonological and visual representations of oral and nasal vowels as stimuli, phonotactics as subjects, judgments on a vowel quality transformation and on a roundness scale as method, and mean scatter in those judgments as a measure of the invariance of perceptual salience. These phenomena are significant differences in the predicted direction in the rank orders of sonority of the oral and nasal vowels. In addition, the relative perceptual salience of open nasal vowels arises itself as the only viable explanation for the findings of EMD research that during the production of a nasalized vowel, the degree of nasalization is subject to controlled variation depending on vocal openness. Second, although most Y systems in the world’s languages have members identical in quality and number with their open nasal equivalents, when cases do occur in nasal vowels, the change is toward more vowel openness. Examples come from the history of French (e.g., *fən?>*f), the evolution of Chinese (e.g., *Ni>Y but *X>Y), the Arawak family (e.g., high nasal vowels are more likely to merge), and Slavic (e.g., *f>g*).

The Evidence necessary to establish (1) and (2) includes: (1) movement rules, pronomalizations; for (2), incorporation, adverb placement, movement constraints, idiosyncrasy.
This paper discusses syntactic and semantic change in constructions of active versus passive voice. While a current fashion is to concentrate on internal structural factors which condition the linguistic changes, this work underlines the importance of external influence from English and other Western languages on diverse major modern languages, with special regard to the languages in four languages support the present hypothesis. In Japanese (Martins), Mandarin Chinese (Chao; Li and Thompson; Wang Li), and Persian (Mayne), English has contributed to the elaboration of internal structural factors. In Makassar (experimental research), English and Dutch impact has caused a significant change in the use and meaning of the contrast between "active" and "passive" verb phrases. For example, in formal contexts, English and Dutch influence is noted.

1) To call attention to the pervasive syntactic-semantic effect of English and other Western languages on non-Western languages; 2) To emphasize the role of cal­ling into such change, often promoted by superficial equivalence of grammatical categories across languages; 3) To highlight the need for awareness of the structural and stylistic values of grammatical features.

WILLIAM WASHABAUGH, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

 lawsuits in Providence Island Sign Language

Providence Island Sign Language (PSL) is a manual language used in a small, isolated, and relatively young community. Its variability, and formational and perceptual development of the discourse topic though they do not specify the semantic relationships between the noun. Signers employ a variety of such multi-noun sentence types, including initial manual signs with the noun they introduced in the predication, and also proto-typical double subject, topic prominent sentences.

Topi prominent sentences in PSL seem to arise, like a variety of other deviant sentence types, from the application of pragmatic strategies for elaborating and clarifying the meanings hidden in the fundamental simplex sentences of PSL.

LYNN WATERHOUSE & DEBORAH FEIN, Trenton State College

Sex Differences in Acquisition

In a study of the language and perceptual development of 203 nursery school children aged 18 months to 6 years old, a subsample of 116 children—58 boys and 58 girls—were matched in boy-girl pairs where the birthdays of the boy and girl in each pair were less than 3 weeks apart. For paired T tests of 8 measures of language and percep­tions (1) productive and (2) receptive vocabulary, (3) mean utterance length, (4) sentence repetition skill, visual (5) discrimination of forms (6) and complex figures, and (7) use and (8) variety of grammatical morphemes—there were no significant differences across the 58 grouped pairs, and there was no significant difference when the group was clustered by 10 month age periods (i.e., 20-29 months—60-69 months) in the 30-39 month age range, boys did significantly better than girls (T=2.37, p<.01) in receptive vocabulary (Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test).

These findings counter genetic research on the X chromosome which suggests that males have a strong biochemical advantage in visual perception (it is thought that the female pair of X chromosomes turning into a Barr body weakens protein synthesis on the remaining X which in both males and females appears to control visual perception (by either a single or multiple gene effect)). These findings also counter arguments and some evidence to suggest that socially, young girls have more of a "talking relationship" with their mothers, and hence have early(speded) or advanced language acquisition.

CARY J. HUBER & DONALD A. SCHMIDTKE, University of Cincinnati

The Morpheme Boundaries of Some English Derivational Suffixes: A Psycholinguistic Investigation

This paper reports on experiments done by a phonologist and an experimental psycholinguist to determine where speakers place the boundary between derivational suffix and stem in English words ending in -am, -em, -iz, and others. One group of subjects was given written words on which to mark the suffix; another group was read the words and asked to determine the word continuously. These two methods were used in order to explore which was best for experiments on morphological segmentation and to obtain results based on what was seen to be the correct methods.

A primary analysis of the data indicates that 1) the written method is more valid than the oral, contrary to the experimenters' expectation; 2) there is rarely uniformity in the choice of suffixes. For example, some subjects chose em, some em, and some "no suffix" to govern the word continuously; 3) subjects make three types of suffix errors: a) the suffix is what comes after the stem; it is added to (am in spiritual, live in selective); b) the suffix is the same as suffixes in other words (am in spiritual because it is am in spiritual); c) the word has no suffix (often where illegitimate words would exist). According to the results of these experiments, it does not reflect psycholinguistic reality to assume, as is usual in phonological theory, that suffixes are always determined as fully as possible and are appro priate for the word or the onomatological boundaries.
ERIC ZEE, University of California, Los Angeles

Phonetics and Phonology of Shanghai Tones

There have been differences of interpretation about the characterization of the shapes of the five phonetic tones (A, B, C, D & E) of Shanghai dialect. Jiangwenhe He Shanghaishang Fanyuan Geikyung (1960) and Hanzy Paung Fanyuan Cattyin (1960) characterize the tones as: 53 (A), 35 (B), 55 (C), 55 (D), 55 (E) respectively. Sherardi (1975) offers a qualitative description of the tones, which is distinguished from those of FRPU and HPC. The present study presents the phonetic shapes of the five tones, based on the results of acoustic analysis of the data by using a T.I. 12 computer at the UCLA Phonetics Lab. On the basis of these results, the five Shanghai tones are more accurately characterized as: 51 (A), 33 (B), 13 (C), 3 (D) and 13 (E). Phonetic details, such as intensity and duration, will be presented. The paper also presents the tone sandhi rules constructed on the basis of the results of the acoustic analysis of the tone shapes of the bi-, tri-, quadril-yllabic morphemes. In regard to the theory of the representation of tones, the data indicate that tones in Shanghai require a suprasegmental interpretation (Wang, 1967; laben, 1971a; 1973b; Eliasmith, 1976) because tone E is a short tone as well as a rising tone, which is against Woo's (1963) contention that no contour tones can occur on short tones; and because the tones of the first syllable of a polysyllabic morpheme determines the tone shape of the entire morpheme in this dialect.

JANET DE LONG SIEGELER, Messiah College

Morphology and Syntax in a Case of Late Language Acquisition

Acquisition of morphology and syntax of an artificial sign language which approximates the structure of spoken English (Signed Exact English). Progress report covering the first 18 months of a case of late language acquisition. The subject is a 6-year-old profoundly deaf child. Data collected by means of manual notes and videotapes. Subject uses two basic types of acquisitional strategies for syntax: straight memorization and repeat, and a semantically-oriented structure consisting of major concept plus satellite concepts. Debate over the nature of these structures continues, with no consensus. Data collected by means of manual notes and videotapes. Subject uses a semantically-oriented structure consisting of major concept plus satellite concepts. In concentrating on intrasentence variables, semantic research has produced only peripheral information about the semantic content of the nominative, or "grammatical subject" in German, e.g. that there are quantifier scope differences between active and passive sentences. Functional Sentence Perspective, in using discourse variables, has not found a simple relationship between "topic-comment" and the morphologically specified "grammatical subject" (Sgall et al., 1973). This paper will present two quantitative discourse variables--focus Index and Token-Type Ratio--to test the hypothesis that the nominative case signals "Speaker's Focus of Attention." Both these variables derive from the psychological concept of "selective attention" (e.g. Neisser & Becklen, Cog. Psych. 7, 1975). The focus Index measures the total number of times an entity is mentioned in discourse to the number of times mentioned in the nominative. The Token-Type Ratio measures the number of different entities the nominative refers to in discourse, compared to the other case forms. Quantitative data based on these measures support the hypothesis that the nominative signals "Speaker's Focus of Attention."

DAVID A. ZUBIN, Southern Illinois University & Columbia University

Discourse Analysis of Meaning in Grammar: The German Nominative

In concentrating on intrasentence variables, semantic research has produced only peripheral information about the semantic content of the nominative, or "grammatical subject" in German, e.g. that there are quantifier scope differences between active and passive sentences. Functional Sentence Perspective, in using discourse variables, has not found a simple relationship between "topic-comment" and the morphologically specified "grammatical subject" (Sgall et al., 1973). This paper will present two quantitative discourse variables--Focus Index and Token-Type Ratio--to test the hypothesis that the nominative case signals "Speaker's Focus of Attention." Both these variables derive from the psychological concept of "selective attention" (e.g. Neisser & Becklen, Cog. Psych. 7, 1975). The focus Index measures the total number of times an entity is mentioned in discourse to the number of times mentioned in the nominative. The Token-Type Ratio measures the number of different entities the nominative refers to in discourse, compared to the other case forms. Quantitative data based on these measures support the hypothesis that the nominative signals "Speaker's Focus of Attention."
Poetic rhythm, like speech rhythm generally, is the result of a succession of like units (typically syllables) modulated by an alternation between prominent and non-prominent units (cf. Allen 1975, p. 77). We will find it useful to differentiate two ways in which the rhythm of verse differs from speech rhythm: first, the definitions of prominent and non-prominent unit may be rather complex logical functions of natural language properties (typically accent and quantity; see e.g. Klaperly 1968), and second, the successions and alternations of verse are subject to numerical regulation: the number of units and/or the number of peaks of prominence within a line (defined in terms of syntactic boundaries or as the domain of phonological rules or devices such as rhyme or alliteration) are kept constant; the number of units between peaks is typically restricted also.

We will be concerned in this paper only with the numerical regulation of the verse line, and specifically, with the fact that for some languages, numerical regulation refers neither to the syllable nor to peaks of prominence, but to a sub-syllabic unit, the mora. For the present, the mora may be thought of as a unit of length such that a CV syllable is one more long and CV syllables and, optionally, some or all CV syllables are two morae long (bimoric). We will argue that 'mora-counting' systems of verification are historically derivative of syllable-counting systems. Specifically, it will be shown that mora-counting arises through syllable-confusion processes of the form GVW > CV and GVW > CV, whereby new long-vowel syllables and closed syllables are created by contraction following intervocalic consonant-deletion and by vowel-syncope, respectively, and are interpreted, etymologically, as diphthongic/bimoric for the purposes of verification. We will also find that a necessary condition for the development of mora-counting is that the language in question be characterized by a word-accent which entails no phonological modification of the vowels of unaccented syllables: i.e., there must be no alternations of vocalic quality or quantity conditioned by accent and no neutralization of vocalic contrasts under lack of accent.

This last is a characteristic which must otherwise be rejected as a criterion of metrical typology. It has been noted (Kuryłowicz 1966, p. 164) that lack of vowel-reduction (the putative phonological correlate of 'pitch-accent') is compatible with metrical prominence based entirely on accent (Czech), as well as with prominence based entirely on quantity (Sanskrit) or on a combination of the two (Finnish). Further, although it has been assumed by e.g. Allen (1975, p. 86) that a language without reduction of unaccented vowels is naturally associated with a purely syllable-counting (Vedic Sanskrit, Classical Japanese) or syllable- and prominence-counting meter (Czech, Spanish), the example of Classical Tamil shows that it is compatible with the purely prominence-counting type as well. Similarly, there are examples of the co-occurrence of vowel reduction with all of the above verification types except the purely quantitative, a gap which may be due simply to the scarcity of examples of the latter. Later in the paper, we will suggest a reason for the relevance to the development of mora-counting of this variable which otherwise has little or no importance for metrical typology.

Rules of accentuation may be syllable- or mora-counting as well, in that they may define a 'unit of phonological distance' (cf. McCawley 1968, p. 59) the number of whose occurrences between two phonologically or morphologically defined points (e.g., places of accent, boundaries) is strictly regulated. We will examine below several examples of mora-counting accent rules, showing that the basis of mora-counting accentuation is identical to that of mora-counting verification. We will not consider languages like Lithuanian, whose unit of accentuation may be argued to be the mora (Lithuanian contrasts rising and falling intonations on long, but not on short syllabic nuclei), but which does not count morae either in its verification, in which it is the number of syllables per line which is regulated, or in accentuation rules (accent is contrastive rather than predictable).

With the introduction of accentuation rules and the concept of 'unit of phonological distance,' we have a second criterion for judging a language mora-counting. The question of whether what counts as a unit for the purposes of verification need always coincide with what counts as a unit for the purposes of accentuation will be answered in the negative when we come to consider Maori, whose verification system reflects a more archaic stage of the language than does its accent rule.
The first languages we will consider in detail are Japanese and Emerita Greek. In order to understand the difference between the systems which resulted from the introduction of mora-counting in these two languages, we must clarify the similarities and differences between mora-counting and counterversion. The latter is the opposite of mora-counting: if we given above set up an opposition between unimoric CV syllables and bimoric CV(C) syllables; CV syllables are unimoric in some systems (Tongan, Southern Paiute) and bimoric in others (tongue of the word (cf. Nyman 1975, p. 27)); the modern rules says to stress the first syllable containing an identical vowel cluster (long vowel) if there is one; if not, to stress the first syllable containing a non-identical vowel cluster (short vowel) if there is one; if not, to stress the first syllable (Hobey 1987, p. 10). The fact that a long vowel takes precedence over an (earlier occurring) short vowel, and that the stress was left on the former, but not the latter, was capable of attracting stress from the beginning of the word. This would be the case if clusters of like vowels had coalesced into long vowels and come to be felt as constituting single units for the purpose of accentuation at a time when clusters of unlike vowels were still felt to constitute two units and if the coalescence of unlike clusters into single units had occurred only after stress had been applied to them. But this is not the case. In Tongan, the stress system depends on quantity-based accents: new accents are added to the system only if there is a length contrast; i.e., there are two syllables which have become mora-counting, in the absence of long vowels, simply by creating closed syllables through syncope, in the manner of Japanese. The notion of the relationship of this constraint to the generalization that no language without a length contrast will display an opposition between heavy and light syllables (see, e.g., Nyman 1975, p. 20) will be discussed.

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Another clear case of the development of mora-counting through syllable-counting involves Polynesian, particularly Tahitian, which is part of the Polynesian or Proto-Polynesian. The system of mora-counting in the language, as a whole, is based on the phonological system of the source Austroasiatic language, and in all cases we will claim that the mora-counting verification and antemorae-mora stress rule of Tongan, the language which best preserves the ancient Polynesian mora-counting system, is an unincorporated feature of the parent language. Given mora-counting as a starting-point, Maori shows a particularly interesting sequence of developments. Stress must be assumed to have arisen after this point in the beginning of the word. In a purely syllabic language, given the mora-counting property of the language, the presence of vowels was still felt to constitute two units and if the coalescence of unlike clusters into single units had occurred only after stress had been applied to them, but this is not the case. In Tongan, the stress system depends on quantity-based accents: new accents are added to the system only if there is a length contrast; i.e., there are two syllables which have become mora-counting, in the absence of long vowels, simply by creating closed syllables through syncope, in the manner of Japanese. The notion of the relationship of this constraint to the generalization that no language without a length contrast will display an opposition between heavy and light syllables (see, e.g., Nyman 1975, p. 20) will be discussed.

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The Functional Determination of Phonological Rule Interactions

Certain aspects of linguistic structure are arbitrary, and certain owners are not. The non-arbitrary, or natural, characteristics of languages are those which function in language as systematic generalizations, rather than being specific instances. The particular characteristics are those which are understood by this function. One of the primary goals of linguistics is to distinguish these two aspects of language. The non-arbitrary characteristics are those that are determined by the communicative functions of grammatical rules in general, and those that are determined by these universal functions. The non-arbitrary characteristics are those that are understood by the communicative functions of grammatical rules in general, and those that are determined by these universal functions.

This hypothesis claims that all application interactions and derivational properties of grammatical rules are determined by universal rather than language-specific principles of rule function. This includes all extrinsic-ordering constraints, either local or global, and all other such non-universal rules, which imply non-arbitrary restriction, thereby restricting the difference between grammars to differences in their rules alone. The hypothesis of Universally Determined Rule Application, therefore, amounts to the claim that the abstract and variable characteristics of languages, which are determined by the communicative functions of the whole grammar that includes them.

This highly restrictive hypothesis about rule application has been developed and tested, especially for phonology, in a large number of recent publications. Arguments in its support, along with various particular proposals about the nature of the functions of rule interaction, have been presented, for example, in Hastings (1974a, 1974b), Koutsoudas (1974a, 1974b), Sanders and Noll (1974a, 1974b), King (1974, 1976), Vago (1975, 1976), and a number of other recent studies; it is one attempt to achieve this goal.

This hypothesis claims that all application interactions and derivational properties of grammatical rules are determined by universal rather than language-specific principles of rule function. This includes all extrinsic-ordering constraints, either local or global, and all other such non-universal rules, which imply non-arbitrary restriction, thereby restricting the difference between grammars to differences in their rules alone. The hypothesis of Universally Determined Rule Application, therefore, amounts to the claim that the abstract and variable characteristics of languages, which are determined by the communicative functions of the whole grammar that includes them.

The first part of the paper will discuss the metatheoretical foundations of the general hypothesis and its implications for other aspects of linguistic theory. It will be shown why the question or arbitrary versus natural determination of rule interaction is a significant one, and how it crucially interacts with other significant concerns about the nature of grammars and linguistic descriptions. It will be established here, for example, that there are indeed certain universal principles of rule interaction that are clearly determined by the functions of all grammatical rules in general. These principles are the principle of Proper Inclusion Precedence (Sanders 1974), the Elsewhere Condition (Kiparsky 1973), and the Principle of Self Preservation (Anderson 1974), all of which can be shown to follow from the fact that there are certain well-defined substantive relations between rules such that if each member of a set of related rules has to have any possible derivational function, all is determined by the functional properties of grammatical rules in general.

One of the primary goals of linguistics is to distinguish these two aspects of language. The non-arbitrary characteristics are those that are understood by the communicative functions of grammatical rules in general, and those that are determined by these universal functions.

The argument by King (1976) purports to show that there are certain facts about paradigm regularization that are based on the assumption that paradigm regularization during the transition from Old High German to New High German cannot be adequately explained unless it is assumed that rule reordering is a possible type of phonological change, and hence that not all rules of rule interaction are universally determined. King argues that the regularizations, for example, of words of the prefix 'live' to the prefix 'lived' in Old English, are based on the assumption that rule reordered floating constraints are the only possible type of phonological change. In these latter varieties of the language, while there are no regular rules governing the length of vowels in closed syllables, it becomes clear that if paradigms like this are to undergo historical regularization at all, regularizations and rules for lengthening are entertained as independent of any facts or hypotheses about rule interaction. These strategies are based on the assumption that paradigm regularization cases like this, therefore, the assumption of extrinsic-ordering constraints is seen to be entirely superficial. Such cases provide no evidence, therefore, against the hypothesis of Universally Determined Rule Application.

The argument by Cathey and Demers (1976) attempts to show that there are certain facts about Old Icelandic that cannot be adequately accounted for at all without the assumption of language-specific extrinsic-ordering constraints. Their entire argument, however, is based crucially on the postulation of high-level underlying representations and rules that reflect earlier stages in the history of the language but are clearly not applicable to Old Icelandic itself. In fact, as shown in Iverson (1977), rules of strictly phonological rule order are undetermined by the type proposed by Cathey and Demers. In some cases, for example, with the facts about Old Icelandic language are governed by morphologically restricted rules whose appropriate interactions with other rules of the language are fully predictable by universal principles of rule application.

The argument by Vago (1977), which is based on certain facts about Hungarian, is like that of Cathey and Demers in its attempt to show that there are certain facts about languages which cannot be adequately accounted for by grammars that are wholly free of extrinsic-ordering constraints. Here too, however, the argument rests crucially on the postulation of rules and representations that cannot be derived from the governing general hypothesis of Universally Determined Rule Application itself, but must be considered, not in isolation, but in their relationship to other specific aspects of linguistic structure and function of phonological rules. These specific proposals concerning rule interaction that have been placed within the framework of linguistic representations, and the testability and psychological reality of grammatical constructs and principles. Some of the particular relationships of these proposals to the general hypothesis will be outlined here, and we shall attempt to determine the precise position of rule interaction studies in the context of the metatheory of rule interaction.
really be justified by the actual facts at issue. Although Vago himself recognizes this problem, he states a preference for analyses like his which make crucial use of extrinsic-ordering constraints to alternative analyses that make use of morphologically restricted rules instead. He presents no reasonable basis for this preference, however, and his own analysis actually makes use of both morphological restrictions and extrinsic-ordering constraints. It is readily shown, in any event, that the relevant facts about Hungarian can be accounted for in a very natural and revealing way by general rules whose applicational interactions are correctly determined by universal principles of rule function.

In the third and last part of our paper we will summarize the major emergent issues and results of research thus far on the topic of rule interaction and rule function in phonology. An attempt will be made here to provide an overall assessment of the hypothesis of Universally Determined Rule Application, on both empirical and heuristic grounds, in comparison to other possible hypotheses about rule application. We will also attempt on this basis to provide a concise outline of the current state of knowledge about grammatical rule functions in general, the best current theory of rule interaction for phonology, the most pressing problems and issues that need to be resolved, and the major questions that can be expected to stimulate and direct the course of future research in this area.

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tic contexts (speakers either use *fiis* or *avoid* and they either use the imperfect subjunctive or the conditional),

b) at least in my study (Sankoff does not present her data on this issue) among those who use the two forms 'variably', the frequency in use of one form versus another does not show any clear correlation with socioeconomic position of the speaker or with the amount of attention paid to speech,

c) in fact, for speakers who *vary*, since each of the alternating forms has a different meaning, the choice of each form in each of its occurrences is probably governed, as Hickerson (1975) would say, *"by the autonomous and fluctuating feelings of the speaker himself or herself ... by the situation as subjectively perceived, by the actor"* (184),

d) the greatest obstacle which lies in the way of grouping meaning-contrasting alternants into variables comes from the fact that the forms which *vary* in some contexts (verbal groups [complete] in Sankoff, conditional clauses in my study) often have a distribution well beyond those particular contexts, and in other linguistic contexts they clearly contrast. Are we willing to have the same set of forms described twice in a grammar, once grouped in a variable, and another time treated as members of some closed grammatical system of tense, or aspect, or mood, etc.? Where would we put the boundary between a 'variable' (like the one defined for the set of tenses which alternate with differences in meaning in the context *si-clause*) and a 'system' (such as that of the past tenses in *Past contexts*)?

Or can we postulate Passive and Active as variants of the single variable (voice)?

There are further problems with the perception and subjective evaluation of these forms by different speakers in the community. For instance, in the Spanish situation the speakers of the standard system who never produce the conditional in this context report that they do not perceive any difference in meaning between it and the form they use, the imperfect subjunctive. They may of course be refusing to acknowledge this distinction because of the stigma associated with the conditional.

One of the main early findings of Labor's quantitative analysis of variation has been the evidence of a matching between patterns of stylistic variation and patterns of social stratification for a series of phonological variables. It is important to observe that this matching has not been reported in studies of variants which are not semantically equivalent. In the cases I have studied, this kind of matching which can be interpreted as evidence for a shared norm, does not exist.

My main contention, based on the preceding arguments, is that variable rules can of course be written for variation "above and beyond phonology", but that when forms which are apparently varying have in fact different meanings, a variable rule might be misleading in that it would postulate the consequences of a choice as its regulating factors.
Rhythmic Shifts

Whenever the course of a derivation one of the constraints of 3 is violated, the impermissible sequence is corrected by adjusting its first member—\(S\) becomes \(W\), and \(W\) becomes \(S\). Several shifts may be effected before no violations result. Observe what happens to a base form (line 1) when a suffix with its own accentsual properties is added (line 2).

\[\begin{align*}
a) & \text{discriminate (compliment)} \\
& (W S W S w s) W S W S w s \\
& \text{\(W\) becomes \(S\)}
\end{align*}\]

b) *\(SW W\) parent (contemplation)

\[\begin{align*}
& \text{\(SW W\) to \(S W W\)} \\
& \text{\(S W W\) to \(S W W\)} \\
& \text{\(S W W\) to \(S W W\)}
\end{align*}\]

c) *\(WW W\) adore (attest)

\[\begin{align*}
& \text{\(WW W\) to \(W W W\)} \\
& \text{\(WW W\) to \(W W W\)} \\
& \text{\(WW W\) to \(W W W\)}
\end{align*}\]

Assignment of Strong Positions

The rhythmic principles of 4 modify an initially generated set of \(S\)'s and \(W\)'s. If one assumes that at the outset all syllables start out as \(W\), two rules will provide for the initial placement of \(S\).

5) a) \(X \rightarrow S / \#\) (Certain final syllables become \(S\).)

b) \(X \rightarrow S / \# X (X)\#\) (In words of at least three syllables the antepenultimate becomes \(S\); in two-syllable words the penultimate is \(S\).)

Rule 5a assigns a final \(S\) under conditions similar to those of case (e) of the Main Stress Rule of Chomsky and Halle and of case (f) of Ross (1972). Rule 5b assigns antepenultimate \(S\), irrespective of the operation of 4a. The rhythmic principles of 4 then adjust any patterns exhibiting violations, even for non-derived forms. The two rules of 5) and the principles of 4), working together, make unnecessary a separate Alternating Stress Rule (5a), rules with parenthesized light syllables (6b-d), or special Auxiliary Reduction Rules for assigning stress early in the word (6d).

6) a) devastate b) Canada c) agenda d) Monongahela

\[\begin{align*}
a) & \text{\(W S W\)} \\
& \text{\(W S W\)} \\
& \text{\(W S W\)}
\end{align*}\]

Other Aspects of the System

Words exhibiting alternate accentsual patterns or exceptional behavior can frequently be treated by lexically marking them as not undergoing a particular rule. For example, rules 5a) and 5b) are normally applicable to words in—e.g. incalculable. By not applying 5a we can derive the alternate form incalculable. Only 5b) is applicable at first yielding incalculable. The \(S\) is then shifted onto the medial heavy syllable by 4b) and 4c): incalculable. The final weak syllable does not reduce due to the long vowel (see 2b).

The stress shifts which have been noted to occur in phrases also follow directly from the principles of 4. For example, thirteen students is analogous to attestation (cf. example 4c), where a former WSWS configuration is changed to SWSW.

The rules of 5) constitute a minimal set for English, necessary for deriving initial contours. I should like to think that the principles of 4), which modify these contours, are not so much English specific, but rather follow from a theory of metrics. The notion of alternating rhythm precludes the sequence *WW (6a). However, *WW is permitted once one recognizes that, with timing, two \(W\)'s count as equivalent to one \(S\). The nonoccurrence of *WW (6b) is probably due to weight distribution within a *WW sequence, whereas the prohibition of *WW (6c) is a well-known property of trochaic rhythms.

The principles governing the distribution of \(S\) and \(W\) positions at the word level and the resulting patterns have much in common with the metrical principles and the patterns of poetry as noted in work such as Halle and Keyser (1971) and Kiparsky (1975). We find then striking resemblances between the rhythms of discourse and those of verse, similarities which do not emerge from previous theories of word stress.

References


On the Distribution of Passive and Antipassive Constructions in Universal Grammar

The purpose of this paper is to examine the distribution of passive and antipassive constructions in various languages, with the goal of identifying the factors that determine this distribution. Universal behaviour is a case in point; membership of a language in a particular category is not determined by some universal property of the language itself, but rather by a set of distributional factors that are specific to the language. The nature of these factors is likely to be complex, and may involve a combination of semantic, syntactic, and phonological constraints. The paper begins by comparing some passive constructions in German and English, and then moves on to consider the role of the verb in the construction, and the ways in which it interacts with the noun phrase and the subject of the sentence. The paper concludes with a discussion of the implications of these findings for the study of grammatical structure in general.

ROBERT D. VAN VALIN, JR., University of Arizona

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languages which have passive and antipassive constructions, while the role-dominated languages lack them. Other accusative reference-dominated languages having passives include French, English and other Indo-European languages; Kinyarwanda, Swahili and other Bantu languages; Hungarian, Turkish and other Altaic languages; and Hebrew, Arabic and other Semitic languages. Ergative reference-dominated languages possessing antipassives include Irish and Estonian. Role-dominated languages may be divided roughly into ergative and non-ergative: the former group includes Basque, Tongan, Kita, Walti, Tibetan, Sherpa and Mayan languages, all of which lack antipassives, while the non-ergative group includes Lakota (Teton Dakota), Tunica, Caddo and Iroquoian languages, all of which lack passives. This situation may be summarised as follows:

In reference-dominated languages there will be constructions which allow various arguments of a transitive verb to occur as "subject" and thereby to undergo grammatical operations restricted to "subjects"; in accusative languages, these constructions are called passives, in ergative languages, antipassives.

Such constructions are not found in role-dominated languages because they do not affect the semantic role properties of NPs and therefore do not alter the accessibility of NPs to grammatical processes restricted to certain NP types on the basis of semantic role. Once this distinction is made, a striking distribution of language type is revealed: most accusative languages are reference-dominated, while most ergative languages are role-dominated (hence the claim of Dixon 1977 and Comrie 1977 that most ergative languages are syntactically accusative).

REFERENCES


MONTAGUE GRAMMAR I
Wednesday, 28 December 1977
8:00-11:00 p.m.
Ballroom A

8:00 BARBARA HALL PARTEE, University of Massachusetts

Introduction to Montague Grammar

This will be basically a pedagogical talk aimed at linguists unfamiliar with Montague's theory. I will outline Montague's approach to syntax and his treatment of certain constructions of English as contained in his paper "The Proper Treatment of Quantification in Ordinary English." The close relation between syntax and semantics in Montague's theory will be discussed and illustrated. Differences between Montague's framework and transformational grammar will be presented, together with some suggestions for approaches to a theory incorporating certain aspects of transformational theory into Montague's basic framework.

This talk together with Thomason's introductory talk should serve to make most of the other papers of the symposium accessible to linguists for whom the symposium is a first introduction to Montague grammar as well as those who are already familiar with it.

9:30 RICHMOND H. THOMASON, University of Pittsburgh

Introduction to Model Theory in Semantics

This talk will be pitched at an introductory level. I will try to explain what model theory is, and how different the logician's conception of semantics (on which semantic rules relate language to the world, or to abstract structures representing the world) is from other conceptions that have been current in linguistics. I will discuss the conceptual framework of "possible worlds semantics," will give a sketch of intensional logic and will show how meaning postulates formulated in this logic can be used to account for synonymies that in transformational grammar are traditionally explained by means of syntax.

The presentation will be timed so as to leave plenty of room for questions from the floor.

MONTAGUE GRAMMAR II
Thursday, 29 December 1977
9:00 a.m.-12:30 p.m.
Ballroom A

9:00 STANLEY PETERS, University of Texas

The Semantics of Questions

I propose to present an informal introduction to the semantics of questions, both embedded (i.e., indirect) and direct. The emphasis will be on the intuitive ideas which Hamblin, Karttunen and others have used in order to construct a precise model-theoretic interpretation of questions, and also on particular puzzles about the meaning of questions which this model-theoretic interpretation provides a solution to. My aim will not be to dot all the i's and cross all the t's, but rather to impart a working understanding of the major features of the semantic analysis and to illuminate the motivation for choosing the particular analysis which Karttunen presents. References will be to "Questions in Montague English" by C.L. Hamblin, in Foundations of Language 10 (1973) 41-53 and to "Syntax and semantics of questions" by Lard Karttunen, in Linguistics and Philosophy 1 (1977) 3-44.

9:30 LADRI KARTTUNEN, University of Texas

Presupposition in Montague Grammar

Montague's version of model theory is designed to account for what is sometimes called the 'truth-condition aspect' of meaning; it makes no provision for another aspect of meaning that has been discussed by linguists under the term "presupposition." Both generative and
interpretable semanticists have agreed that a complete description of what a sentence means (conventionally) should include an account of its presuppositions.

In spite of the desirability of this goal, very little progress was made in the transformational framework beyond some informal or semi-formal descriptions of the presuppositions associated with particular words or constructions: even, only, the kiparsky's facts, etc.

What I want to show in this paper is that, besides giving a description of truth conditional meaning—the purpose for which it was originally designed—Montague's model-theoretic account of their presuppositional content, will illustrate those that have been proposed.

In the talk I will discuss in detail how to interpret certain lexical items (such as to) so as to account for their presuppositional content, will illustrate how to solve the "projection problem" for presupposition within this framework, and discuss how the resulting theory relates to a body of evidence concerning the presuppositions of declarative and interrogative sentences.

9:40 EMMON BACH, University of Massachusetts

The Syntax and Semantics of Time Expressions

Philosophers of language have proposed various classification schemes for English predicates involving notions like "event", "process", and "state"; and linguists have begun to relate these notions to fundamental facts about the syntax and semantics of tense and aspect in English. My paper will deal with the problem of providing a formal theory of the syntax and semantics of sentences like these:

John was building a cabin.
Mary was running for an hour.
Bill is in New York for three days.
Mary has been in New York for a week.
Bill runs.
John got up for three hours.

The framework of the analysis is a modified form of classical transformational grammar with a semantics along the lines of Montague's "The Proper Treatment of Quantification in Ordinary English". A novel feature of the interpretation is the attempt to take notions of complex events, and relations among them as primary and to construct temporal notions on that basis rather than the reverse.

10:30 BARBARA HALL PARTEE, University of Massachusetts

Montague Grammar and Linguistic Constraints

Montague's theory of grammar imposes strong constraints on the correspondence between syntactic rules and semantic interpretation rules, but virtually no constraints on the form of syntactic or semantic operations. Insofar as linguists are concerned with clarifying the class of possible natural languages as narrowly as possible, a central question is whether a theory of human language can be formulated naturally as a restricted subtheory of Montague's more general theory. As steps toward a positive answer to that question, I will discuss two kinds of constraints:

(i) The Well-Formedness Constraint, which requires that each expression generated as a step in any syntactic derivation be a well-formed expression of some syntactic category of the natural language; this constraint limits the amount of 'abstractness' tolerated in the syntax. Versions of the constraint of varying strength will be discussed and compared.

(ii) Constraints on the Form of Rules. It is proposed that the syntactic operations in Montague's grammar be required to be expressible as a composition of "subfunctions", each of which in turn is a composition of certain primitive functions, which represent hypotheses about universal basic syntactic operations. Relations between this proposal and the theory of elementary transformations will be discussed.

11:10 ROBIN COOPER, University of Massachusetts

A Semantic Account of a Syntactic Constraint

A great deal of recent linguistic research has focused on the discovery of constraints on syntactic rules of natural language. It has also been argued that the various syntactic operations are governed by some of these constraints. In a paper called Variable Binding and Relative Clauses I examined this claim with respect to the relative clause construction and the NP constraint, and showed that a number of additional considerations can be explained away if one interprets a transformational grammar within the sort of model theoretic semantic framework that has been proposed by Montague. These results suggest that the correspondence between syntactic and semantic constraints should be explored further in such a framework and that further work will be undertaken in this paper.
There are three strategies that might be employed to express such a correspondence in a natural language grammar:

1. represent scope relationships in the syntax and use the constraints on syntactic rules to limit scope possibilities. An example of this would be a generative semantics theory which claims that the rule of quantifier lowering obeys the constraints.

2. introduce rules of interpretation which determine scope relationships and use the constraints to limit the application of both syntactic and interpretive rules. An example of this would be a theory which derives scope representations from surface structures and claims that both interpretive and syntactic rules obey the constraints.

3. express the constraints as limitations on scope possibilities alone and interpret certain syntactic movement rules as involving quantification. In this case just those syntactic rules which correspond to semantic quantification would be limited by the appropriate constraints.

I shall explore this third possibility. I believe that it is possible to account for a large number of examples simply by blocking quantification into an NP. This is the semantic component of George Horn's NP constraint. If the syntactic NP constraint can be reanalyzed as a constraint on quantification, this would explain why rules which do not seem to involve quantification also do not obey the syntactic NP constraint. Since NP's are the locus of quantification in natural languages it seems quite reasonable to propose that the human language faculty is limited in such a way that an NP cannot normally be given wider scope than another NP in which it is embedded. In the kinds of interpretive systems described in Cooper and Parsons 'Montague Grammar, Generative Semantics and Interpretive Semantics' and in my dissertation some such constraint is necessary anyway in order to prevent certain cases of vacuous quantification which do not correspond to readings for English sentences.

11:30 RICHMOND H. THOMASON, University of Pittsburgh

Raising in Montague Grammar

This presentation will represent what might be called an "interpretivist" approach to Montague grammar, which exploits the semantic component of the grammar in order to keep the syntactic component as simple and "surface" as possible. Within the framework of Montague grammar, it entails that a number of classical transformations must be discarded; it is as if sentences thought to be transformationally related are given different deep structures, and these different structures are rendered synonymous by means of semantic rules.

I will develop some of the details of this theory and discuss its advantages and disadvantages with special reference to various forms of raising. I chose this topic because some of the syntactic points may be of interest to transformationalists, and because this approach is methodologically interesting in the reassessment it requires of the classical evidence for certain transformations. This reassessment is fairly radical even in comparison with some of the extreme forms of transformational interpretivism.

AUTONOMOUS PHONOLGY I
Thursday, 29 December 1977
8:00-10:30 p.m.
Ballroom A

8:05 CHARLES F. HOCKETT, Cornell University

The Historical Sources of Autonomous Phonological Theory

Classical phonemic theory, as developed by various investigators between the 1870s and the 1930s, was marked by a largely unrecognized indecision as between two incompatible sets of criteria, one centering on phonetic similarity, the other focusing on lexical identity. From the mid 1920s through the 1960s the issues were extensively discussed, and some scholars, believing that both types of criteria were valid, came to distinguish in one way or another between "pure" phonemics and "morphophonemics." But no real consensus emerged. In the last two decades, generative phonology has obviously held the center of the stage. It has derived chiefly from the morphophonemics, rather than the "pure" phonemics, of the earlier period. The trouble with that is that the two different older approaches asked different questions. Thus, whatever be the merits of generative phonology in its diverse recensions, it leaves certain potentially important questions unanswered because it leaves them unasked. We must revive and clarify those questions, and if they are genuinely important then we must restate the approach that is designed to answer them.

8:30 VALERIE BECKER MAKKAI, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

Phonological Historiography

Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary defines historiography as "historical genuineness." Thus, this paper concerns itself with sorting out the truth from the myths and legends about the historical development of current phonological theories. Proponents of some theories, for reasons discussed in the paper, have ignored--or have been insufficiently appreciative of--the earlier approaches from which their own theories developed or drew valuable insights. In other cases historical facts have been overtly denied, or false ancestors have been erected to create a desired impression. This paper is offered as a contribution toward setting the record straight, and explores the merits of such misinterpretations and misrepresentations arising. Whether such misinterpretations and misrepresentations are genuine or not, a careful reexamination of the nature of scientific revolutions (as in the Social Construction of Reality) are also presented, and their applicability to linguistics, and particularly to the development of phonology, is examined.

9:10 H.A. GLEASON, JR., University of Toronto

Segments, Features, and Cues

By long and nearly universal tradition, sound systems have been described on two levels, here labelled "phonologic" and "phonetic." (The terminology varies widely.) Both are usually organized on a common framework of sequential segments. In one or both the segments may be decomposed into features—perhaps, even, very similar features in the two—and the duration of a feature is assumed to be one segment, or some small integral number of segments. Segments are however, difficult or impossible to define in the acoustic signal by any instrumentation other than the human ear. This suggests that they have little or no phonetic significance. Yet the readiness of the ear to organize sound into segments argues for the usefulness of segmentation at the phonologic level. A fundamental problem for phonologic theory, then, is to relate a segmental phonology to a non-segmental phonetics. One such phonetic phenomena having durational dimension and definable place on the time axis of the speech signal but with neither of these stable in a segment metric. These cues can be taken as realizational of phonologic features, which have segmentally stable places and durations. The relation between the features and the cues is however neither simple nor completely specifyable by the sorts of rules that have recently been in vogue. Some other technique would seem more appropriate, and realization seems a likely possibility.
This paper distinguishes between the suspension--Praguian neutralization--of a contrast and an alternation, which Lamb has termed "neutralization". The former can be treated within autonomous phonology; the latter (which may be termed synchrony) to distinguish it more clearly involves the relation of autonomous phonology to a more abstract level. Two stratificational treatments of suspension have been proposed. Lockwood showed in 1972 how to combine them. The latter works as a concept so pejorated by Neveu and Fielden. In 1975, Sullivan proposed a treatment substantially embracing the archiphone, though with some reinterpretation. The latter approach is more economical that any direct translation of Praguian archiphenic analysis to componential terms, though the former corresponds more exactly to one of the several Praguian views.

The Role of Sequential Onset Features in Autonomous Phonology

Recent research has pointed out similarities between variation in fingerspelling and variation in the phonology of signed language. This work casts doubt on the notion that the phonemes were a simultaneous bundle of features of unit duration. Instead it suggests an alternate phonology with two novel aspects: first, features do not in general appear simultaneously within a phoneme. This is the sequential hypothesis. Second, features are onset features rather than being of unit length. That is, a feature is a signal to the physical articulator to move to a particular position. The articulator moves there and remains indefinitely until another signal that same articulator to do something else. This is the onset feature hypothesis. A phonology based on these two hypotheses appears to be simpler and closer to the articulatory facts than other approaches, and leads to valuable insights.

AUTONOMOUS PHONOLOGY II
Friday, 30 December 1977
9:00 a.m.-12:00 p.m.
Ballroom A

In 1967, Henry Lee Smith, Jr. presented the concept of the morphphone to the readers of LANGUAGE (43:306-41). Morphphones are abstract units which represent the common structures a lexical item as it is expressed in a multiplicity of phonemic systems. The morphphone appears as a major refinement in the analysis of English proposed by Trager and Smith, and its development can be traced through both their separate and joint publications. In the OUTLINE OF ENGLISH STRUCTURE (1951), Trager and Smith proposed a comprehensive phonemic system which contained many more contrastive units than would be found in any single dialect. The problem that the morphophone addresses is how the presence of all those phonemes constituting the 'overall analysis' can be reduced to the minimum set of contrastive units required for understanding a given English language as a unique system formed by the speakers of all its dialects. How morphphones serve to relate the phonological systems of a language to a common morpho-phonology by serving as interface units will be illustrated using Smith's examples for English and additional data for dialects of French.

The Two-Level Theory of Phonology

The two-level theory distinguishes sharply between phonological structures and physical elements that implement or embody them. The relation between phonemes as hypothetical units without physical substance, and sounds as their substrata, is called embodiment. Sounds as substrata of phonemes are called phonomorphs to distinguish them from sounds as purely physical elements. Similarly for phonological features-differentiators: acoustic properties as their substrata are differentoids, but as purely physical elements are called "acoustic features". Phonological

Morphological Relations as Evidence for the Autonomous Phoneme

Relational aspects within morphological paradigms require the autonomous phoneme as one of the fundamental elements to be related to (cf. e.g. Shapiro 1974, Linell 1974). The evidence for the concept of the autonomous phoneme, in any case, enhances the independence of the lexicon, the latter the case is thus outlined by Sapir, who cannot be taken seriously as a forerunner of "generative" phonology--which, ironically, ignored crucial systematic evidence in phonology.

Autonomous Phonemes and Discovery Procedures in The Sound Pattern of English

Classical phonologists, largely prescinding from phonotactic (syntactic) and morphophonological (paradigmatic) considerations, set up relatively concrete, binomical phonemes based chiefly on minimal contrasting word pairs. The systematic phonemic representations of Generative phonology, on the other hand, are theoretically based on paradigmatic alternations and the Free Principles. However, most generativists--apart from Leonard (e.g. 1978)--have not been willing to posit forms as abstract as the paradigmatic variants. In SPE, phonemes are no longer synchronic old diglossia/bilingualism--French croire/incredible, Spanish noche/noche, etc.-- although Schane, Foley, and Lightner have indeed posited their abstractly derived elements. The morphological representation of Generative phonology is the target of the present paper, with an analogous approach to phonemes. Not only do the morphemes of the lexicon differ in semantic features (e.g. "male/male") and in physical properties (e.g. "male/male") but also in functional features (e.g. "male/male"). The problem in the morphological representation of Generative phonology is that the morphemes differ in all these respects. The morphological representation of Generative phonology is the target of the present paper, with an analogous approach to phonemes. Not only do the morphemes of the lexicon differ in semantic features (e.g. "male/male") and in physical properties (e.g. "male/male") but also in functional features (e.g. "male/male"). The problem in the morphological representation of Generative phonology is that the morphemes differ in all these respects. The morphological representation of Generative phonology is the target of the present paper, with an analogous approach to phonemes. Not only do the morphemes of the lexicon differ in semantic features (e.g. "male/male") and in physical properties (e.g. "male/male") but also in functional features (e.g. "male/male").
The relational networks of the cognitive-stratification school have consisted of lines and nodes which, except for "enabling" connections, allow activation ("impulses") to proceed in either direction (along a line or through a node, according to conditions governed by the nodes). The two-way lines may be analyzed as pairs of one-way lines, somewhat like divided highways, while the nodes can be analyzed as pairs, or in some cases more complex configurations, of one-way nodes. The general assumption, from this point of view, is not that lines are, for the most part, two-way lines, but that the one-way lines which form the structure are for the most part organized in complementary pairs. It appears promising, however, to attempt to represent phonotactic structures, such as that of English, with one-way lines and nodes which are in general not so grouped.
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