Introductory Note

The LSA Secretariat has prepared this Meeting Handbook to serve as the official program for the Fifty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America. The Program Committee, chaired by Henry M. Hoenigswald and consisting of Stephen Anderson, Joan Bresnan, Jean Berko Gleason, William R. Merrifield, Stanley Peters, and Jacquelyn Schachter 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 San Antonio Local Arrangements Committee. This Committee was chaired by Stanley Peters (University of Texas at Austin), and consisted of David Cohen (University of Texas at Austin), Virginia Dailey (St. Edward's University), Helen Dry (University of Texas at San Antonio), Curtis Hayes (University of Texas at San Antonio), Frances Karttunen (University of Texas at Austin), John McCarthy (University of Texas at Austin), James Sledd (University of Texas at Austin), and Laurel Smith (University of Texas at Austin).

We hope that this Meeting Handbook will be a useful guide for those attending the meeting, as well as serve as a permanent record of the 55th Annual Meeting.

LSA Secretariat
December 1980
General Meeting Information

BOOK EXHIBIT
There will be an LSA Exhibit of linguistic publications in Salon C of the Marriott. The Exhibit is scheduled to open during the following hours:

- Sunday, 28 December: 12:00 noon - 6:00 p.m.
- Monday, 29 December: 10:00 a.m. - 2:00 p.m., 3:30 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.
- Tuesday, 30 December: 8:30 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.

The display copies in the LSA Joint Book Exhibit will be sold beginning at 8:30 a.m. on 30 December, the proceeds to be donated to fellowships for the Linguistic Institute. These display copies have been generously donated by the publishers exhibiting in the LSA Joint Book Exhibit. Advance orders for display copies, at a discount of 50% greater than that given by the publisher, will be taken prior to 30 December if accompanied by payment. All books must be picked up on 30 December between 8:30 and 10:00 a.m. Unclaimed copies will be resold and the advance payment donated to Linguistic Institute fellowships.

PAPER COPYING CENTER
As a service to those attending this meeting each author on the program is invited to provide the Local Arrangements Committee with a reproducible copy of his or her paper at the Copying Center. Submission of such a copy is authorization for this committee to reproduce it upon request for anyone at the meeting. Attendees may place orders for reproducible copies during the meeting. All copies will be offered at cost. The Copying Center will be located in the Bowlie Room. The Center will be open during the following hours:

- Saturday, 27 December: 7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.
- Sunday, 28 December: 8:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.
- Monday, 29 December: 8:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.
- Tuesday, 30 December: 8:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon

JOB PLACEMENT SERVICE
A Job Placement Service will be open during the Bonham Room on the Annual Meeting.

- On 28 and 29 December the Service will be open from 8:30 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. It will also be open from 9:00 a.m. until noon on 30 December.
- Visits of openings will be available and the staff of the service will arrange interviews between the applicants and the employers. Interviews are asked to list openings and check in with the Service so that an interview schedule can be arranged.

LSA BUSINESS MEETING
This year the Business Meeting has been scheduled in Salon D on Monday, 29 December from 2:00-4:30 p.m. This meeting will be chaired by Ilse Lehiste, LSA President. The agenda will include reports from LSA Officers, a business meeting, the election of officers, and a report on society activities. The meeting will be open to all members of the LSA.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
Ilse Lehiste, the 1980 LSA President, will deliver the Presidential Address on Monday, 29 December at 4:45 p.m. in Salon D. The address is entitled 'Prosodic change in progress: Evidence from Estonian.'

DEPARTMENT & PROGRAM CHAIRS MEETING
A meeting of the chairs of departments and programs has been scheduled for 8:00 a.m. Sunday, 28 December in Fiesta Room 7 of the San Antonio Convention Center. Robert Wallis, the University of Iowa will chair this meeting.

SPECIAL RECEPTION HONORING ARCHIBALD A. HILLS
A reception honoring Archibald A. Hills, LSA Secretary-Treasurer from 1951 to 1969. As President in 1969, will take place in Salon F and G at 4:00 p.m. on 29 December. All members are encouraged to attend and greet Mr. Hills on this special occasion.

CASH BARS
Cash Bars are scheduled from 5:00 - 8:00 p.m. on 28 December and from 6:00 - 7:00 p.m. on 29 December.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS
The Third Annual Meeting of the AAL will take place 28-29 December 1980 in the Travis Room of the San Antonio Marriott in conjunction with the Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America. The program for the meeting may be found on page v.

PROGRAM INFORMATION AND HIGHLIGHTS
Registration for the 1980 LSA Annual Meeting will be conducted in the meeting area of the Marriott. The Job Placement Center will be located in the Bonham Room. Salon C will be the site of the Exhibit, and the Paper Copying Center will be located in the Bowlie Room.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SATURDAY, 27 DECEMBER</th>
<th>JOB PLACEMENT</th>
<th>BOOK EXHIBIT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.</td>
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<td>12:00 noon - 6:00 p.m.</td>
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<td>3:30 p.m. - 11:30 a.m.</td>
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SPECIAL INTEREST

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<tr>
<th>SATURDAY, 27 DECEMBER</th>
<th>SUNDAY, 28 DECEMBER</th>
<th>MONDAY, 29 DECEMBER</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Executive Committee Meeting</td>
<td>Cash Bar</td>
<td>AAL Business Meeting</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:00 a.m.</td>
<td>5:00 p.m.</td>
<td>1:00 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marriott Room (M)*</td>
<td>Fiesta Room 7 (CC)*</td>
<td>Travis Room (M)</td>
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<td>Salon D (M)</td>
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<td>Friday, 27 December</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reception for Archibald A. Hills</td>
<td>6:00 p.m.</td>
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<td>Salon E &amp; F (M)</td>
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American Association for Applied Linguistics**

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<tr>
<th>SATURDAY, 28 DECEMBER</th>
<th>SUNDAY, 28 DECEMBER</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Applied Linguistics in Education</td>
<td>Applied Linguistics in Law Courts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chair: Peg Griffin</td>
<td>Chair: Roger Shuy</td>
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<td>7:00 p.m.</td>
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<td>Robert Johnson (OR)</td>
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<td>Jack McNeil (M)</td>
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<td>Susan Fisher (UK)</td>
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<td>Joel Paper (US)</td>
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1980 LSA ANNUAL MEETING AT A GLANCE

SUNDAY MORNING, 28 DECEMBER

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<tr>
<th>Salon A(M)</th>
<th>Salon D(M)</th>
<th>Salon E/F(M)</th>
<th>Fiesta 1/2(CC)</th>
<th>Fiesta 4/5(CC)</th>
<th>Fiesta 7(CC)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:30</td>
<td>Godinez</td>
<td>Elithworth</td>
<td>De Guzman</td>
<td>H.J.J. Hewitt</td>
<td>Hatchick</td>
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<td>Embston</td>
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<tr>
<td>8:50</td>
<td>Penfield</td>
<td>Tenny</td>
<td>Hendrick</td>
<td>Hoosan</td>
<td>Price</td>
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<td>Sjoberg</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:10</td>
<td>Poplack</td>
<td>Herrick</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Randall</td>
<td>Smith</td>
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<td>Ladyman</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>Bjarnason</td>
<td>L. Thayer</td>
<td>Mishlo</td>
<td>Hybee</td>
<td>Kenneth/</td>
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<td>Justeson</td>
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<td>9:50</td>
<td>Malinowski</td>
<td>J. Thayer</td>
<td>Kim</td>
<td>deChene</td>
<td>Houtkam</td>
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<td>King/Faber</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:10</td>
<td>Nestor/Upshur</td>
<td>Pullum</td>
<td>Wheeler</td>
<td>Janda</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>Gates</td>
<td>Shouwens</td>
<td>Lieber</td>
<td>Newfield</td>
<td>Ingmann</td>
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<td>Redfick</td>
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<td>10:50</td>
<td>Sankoff</td>
<td>Warner</td>
<td>Baltn</td>
<td>Gutmann</td>
<td>Oden</td>
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<td>Keel</td>
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<td>11:10</td>
<td>Kroch</td>
<td>Lin</td>
<td>Stowell</td>
<td>Iverson</td>
<td>Reider</td>
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<td>Webb</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>Thompson</td>
<td>Tsapera</td>
<td>Horvath</td>
<td>Smith</td>
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<td>Holland</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:50</td>
<td>Baron</td>
<td>Stenson</td>
<td>Storer</td>
<td>Vogel/Scalaie</td>
<td>Strauss</td>
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<td>Garcia</td>
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<td>11:10</td>
<td>Munoz/Hamel</td>
<td>Jansen/Sanders</td>
<td>Moore/</td>
<td>Warner/</td>
<td>Dopper</td>
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<td>WITHDRAWN</td>
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SUNDAY AFTERNOON, 28 DECEMBER

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<tr>
<th>Salon A(M)</th>
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<th>Salon E/F(M)</th>
<th>Fiesta 1/2(CC)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Horn/Prince</td>
<td>McIlroy/</td>
<td>Keating</td>
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<td>Keating/</td>
<td>Gordon</td>
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<td>2:45</td>
<td>Enc</td>
<td>Faber</td>
<td>Mead/</td>
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<td>Daries</td>
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<td>3:30</td>
<td>Linebarger</td>
<td>Tiersma</td>
<td>Dratzer</td>
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<td>Stump</td>
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<td>4:15</td>
<td>Ernst</td>
<td>Ringe</td>
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<td>Kirpatrick/Schmerling</td>
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SUNDAY EVENING, 28 DECEMBER

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<tr>
<td>8:00</td>
<td>Flynn</td>
<td>Poplack/Sankoff/Posada</td>
<td>Delancy/Graves/Bing</td>
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<td>8:45</td>
<td>McNaught</td>
<td>Tannen</td>
<td>Ravin/Withnott</td>
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<td>9:30</td>
<td>Peters</td>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>COLLECTION/20: SYNTACTIC CLASSIFICATION</td>
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<td>Clements</td>
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<td>10:15</td>
<td>Woolford</td>
<td>Woodbury</td>
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1980 LSA ANNUAL MEETING AT A GLANCE

MONDAY MORNING, 29 DECEMBER

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<th>Fiesta 4/5(CC)</th>
<th>Fiesta 7(CC)</th>
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<td>8:30</td>
<td>Armentrout</td>
<td>Houser</td>
<td>Democratic/</td>
<td>WITHDRAWN</td>
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<td>WITHDRAWN</td>
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<td>Kremer</td>
<td>E.K. Hewitt</td>
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<td>KEPPIER/</td>
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<td>Engle/</td>
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<td>9:10</td>
<td>Debose</td>
<td>Clark</td>
<td>Lee/</td>
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<td>Channon</td>
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<td>Wheeler</td>
<td>Dawson</td>
<td>Inoue/</td>
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<td>Tait/Kochis</td>
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<td>Erbaugh</td>
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<td>Hatcherbarn</td>
<td>Hayes</td>
<td>Jacobson</td>
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TUESDAY MORNING, 30 DECEMBER

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<td>Troupsey/Sheeler/William</td>
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Monday Morning, 29 December

Social Linguistics

Chair: Anthony Kroch

8:30: RUTH AMENTSTadt (UCIL): Are indefinite pronouns necessarily masculine or singular?
8:40: D. E. REICHERD, N. STYRMAN (Stanford): How to grab power: a new kind of identification with what does that have to do with class or race, anyway?
8:50: C. E. FERREB (Columbia): The theory of language maintenance

Semantics

9:00: E. S. KRUEGER (Toronto): Semantics for recognition: tones in the case of Hit a Trash
9:10: L. I. BENEDECK (McGill): "Taste" of "sense"-sensation: The importance of visual and auditory factors in the study of "sense"-sensation
9:40: O. S. W. N. BRATT (Harvard): Dutch words that are not Dutch: A study of the surface-interpretation hypothesis
9:50: J. K. REID (U. of Toronto): The status of the obvium meaning
10:00: A. SPEERS (UC Santa Cruz): Syntactic reduction, locality, and meaning

Language Acquisition

Chair: Laurence R. Horn

Flora 4 (00)

8:30: Z. Y. HAYEK (California State U.): The Moravian WT of language and the acquisition of grammar
8:40: M. D. BURG (University of Illinois): The importance of the subject in determining perceived meaning
8:50: E. H. WILSON (U. of Minnesota): The pragmatics of Brazilian Portuguese
9:00: W. A. STEEN (University of California, Berkeley): Non-words in English
9:10: P. J. BOND (University of Texas): The semantic role of "the" in Japanese
9:20: M. S. ARTHUR (University of Chicago): Ambiguity in speech perception
10:00: R. T. REID (University of Toronto): Prosodic unison in German causative constructions

Philosophy

Chair: George C. Clements

Flora 3 (00)

8:30: J. N. THOMAS (Princeton University): Structure in neurophysiological conditioning: From cochleas to Modern Calculations
8:40: E. H. WILSON (U. of Minnesota): The pragmatics of Brazilian Portuguese
8:50: M. M. REED (University of Texas): A dynamic-time treatment of the Japanese subject
9:00: P. J. BOND (University of Texas): The semantic role of "the" in Japanese
9:10: E. H. WILSON (U. of Minnesota): The pragmatics of Brazilian Portuguese
9:20: W. A. STEEN (University of California, Berkeley): Non-words in English
9:30: M. D. BURG (University of Illinois): The importance of the subject in determining perceived meaning
9:40: E. H. WILSON (U. of Minnesota): The pragmatics of Brazilian Portuguese
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10:20: E. H. WILSON (U. of Minnesota): The pragmatics of Brazilian Portuguese
10:30: M. D. BURG (University of Illinois): The importance of the subject in determining perceived meaning
10:40: E. H. WILSON (U. of Minnesota): The pragmatics of Brazilian Portuguese

Monday Afternoon, 29 December

Sociolinguistics

Chair: William Labov

Flora 3 (00)

1:00-1:40: LSA Business Meeting

Chair: Irene Langacker

Resolutions Committee: Robert Langacker, E"ves Gaddard, Carlotta Smith

Room: Salon D

The following rules for motions and resolutions were prepared by William J. Gedney and Approved by the Executive Committee at its June 1973 meeting, LSA members are urged to follow these ground rules in order to have their motions and resolutions considered at the Business Meeting.

RULES FOR MOTIONS AND RESOLUTIONS

1. DEFINITIONS. A motion is any proposition calling for action by whatever officer of the Society, the Executive Committee or the membership. A resolution expresses the "sense of the majority of the group", and motions specifically calling for the "sense of the majority of the group", and resolutions expressing "the sense of the membership." These motions, 2.

PROCEDURE REGARDING MOTIONS.

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

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

2c. Motions initiated from the floor, if they receive affirmative vote of a majority of members voting at the meeting are then to be submitted by the Executive Committee to a mail ballot of the membership of the Society in the next issue of the Newsletter. All affirmative votes required: a) majority of those voting, and b) that the total of those voting in favor must be at least 2/3 of the personal membership.

2d. If a motion is to be introduced to a mail ballot, the motion must be initiated in advance at the Executive Committee meeting prior to the beginning of the regular meeting at which the motion is to be introduced, and the motion must be introduced by the Executive Committee.

3. PROCEEDING REGARDING RESOLUTIONS

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

3b. A Resolutions Committee consisting of three members will be appointed by the president prior to the beginning of each regular or special meeting. Any member wishing to introduce a resolution must submit it in advance to the Resolutions Committee, which in addition to its traditional duty of formulating resolutions of this kind, shall, if possible, return the draft of a resolution to the person requesting it. The Resolutions Committee may meet in advance for this purpose or, if necessary, to censure during the course of the meeting.

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

3d. If at least ten members present at the meeting so desire, a resolution may be broadened to express "the sense of the majority of the membership," regardless of whether the previous or this resolution has passed the procedure in 3c above, by the following steps: the resolution is forwarded to the Executive Committee for submission to the membership by mail vote (in the next issue of the LSA Bulletin). Passage of such a "sense of the majority of the membership" resolution requires the affirmative vote (over 50%) of the membership responding.

445: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: Prosodic change in progress: Evidence from Estonian Irish Language

Room: Salon D
abstracts of regular papers
STATEMENT FROM THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE

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.
UNLIKE Latin AD and DE, GB does not survive into Romance languages as an independent preposition or as a prefix. A comparison of other obsolete particles with those that have flourished shows that the survivors often had a single central meaning and a form resistant to phonological change. In contrast, as Latin verbs with OB- became obsolete, they were not replenished by new prefixal verbs in Late Latin or Romance, because there was semantic motivation for the formation of new OB-compounds was weak and the form of the prefix became less consistent due to consonantal assimilation (cf. Latin OB-PRIMERE 'press upon', OB-TENDER 'strike', OB-PRIDER 'thrust upon', OB-HOLDME 'hold out', OB-CYDERE 'kill', and OB-GANRE 'growl at') and to vowel dissimilation (cf. OB-DURARE 'be hard against, stand out', Sp. adurar, OSp. adurere). In light of such observations, many etymologies can be clarified by simplifying or even eliminating hypothetical Vulgar Latin forms.

STEVEN R. ANDERSON, University of California, Los Angeles

Linguistic Theory is an Un-natural Act, but not Parvus

Much recent research in linguistics has been driven by the desire to show that language is natural, in the sense of being explicable in terms of facts from other domains. This is particularly the case with cognitive faculty, where many have claimed that linguistic theory is concerned only with "what language owes to the fact that is spoken." Facts from several areas will be reviewed, however, which show that accurate accounts of phonological structure cannot (in the general case) be constructed on rigorously 'natural' assumptions. This implies that language is based in part on a uniquely linguistic cognitive faculty, not necessarily accessible except through the data of language itself. To investigate this faculty, we should not require immediate confirmation of its positivist properties from elsewhere; rather, we should seek to construct a theory that brings coherence and understanding to the facts of language themselves (similar to the method of theory-construction in physics). This does not mean abandoning questions of the 'reality' or external basis of theoretical constructs; but, in the present state of our knowledge of the neurophysiological implementation of human cognitive faculties, it probably does mean that we should hold such questions in abeyance.

JOSEPH R. APPLIDGE, Howard University

Syntax in the Language of Drug Users

Previous studies of language in the drug culture have concentrated on special lexical items that are widely used in the drug community, and the results have appeared chiefly as glossaries of these special terms. In this paper, results of an investigation of syntax in the language of a group of heroin users are presented. The data were obtained in the form of autobiographical narratives from subjects in a therapeutic program in the metropolitan Washington, D.C. area. The contrast between reduplication of syntactic units such as the initial NP, e.g., 'the man, this man, he...,' and the repetition of formulaic phrases, e.g., 'you know,' as boundary markers makes it possible to identify discourse segments and to formulate rules for the construction of those segments. Differences between the rules for structure in the language of subjects identifying themselves as 'addicts' and those rejecting that identification are described.
AARON BAR-ADON, University of Texas at Austin

The Acquisition of Gender and Number in Hebrew Child Language

Various aspects of language Acquisition have been explored in recent years. English has become the most studied language. But in the case of English morphology, the child is hardly confronted with the problem of acquiring gender. Hebrew might be rather illuminating for this process.

The proposed paper aims at exploring the processes of acquisition of gender and number by Hebrew-speaking children. It is based primarily on longitudinal follow-ups of speech development in two Israeli children--a girl and a boy.

ZEV BAR-LEV, San Diego State University

The Whorfian WFF of Language

In one kind of lexical array made famous by Whorf, a language lacks a superordinate term to cover various existing co-hyponyms. The familiar mathematical notion of set/subset is not really appropriate for such arrays, because it fails to capture the devices that such a language may actually use for categorising and generalising. What is needed is a different formal notion, for which I propose the terms HYPERSET/HYPOSET, and formalise here with respect to set-membership, adjacency in semantic space, inference (for which an outline-formalization is provided), and script-theory.

The proposed HYPOSET LOGIC is thus an amplification of set theory (along with fuzzy-set theory), as part of the natural logic needed for natural language. It is important to note that hypothesis is needed for non-'exotic' languages; indeed, my focus here is mostly on samples from English.

HAGME S. BARON, Brown University

Writing Redux: A Functional Analysis of the "Higher Illiteracy"

The popular and pedagogical presses are debating the rise of "higher illiteracy" among college students. Some writers (e.g. Lyons, 1976; Copperman, 1978) charge that young adults can no longer construct coherent prose, while others (e.g. Stewart, 1976) deny the novelty of the problem. Linguistics, with its descriptivist (rather than prescriptivist) orientation, can use contemporary functional analysis (e.g. Halliday, 1978; Baron, 1980) to construct a value neutral assessment of these phenomena, and (3) whether some earlier functions of writing are now served by alternative means. To determine the functional relationship between writing and speaking, we want to know (1) whether the higher illiteracy extends to speech as well (and if so, why this has been ignored) and (2) what implications sloppiness in speaking and writing has for thinking. Finally we should consider the social and political implications of a decline in higher literacy.

Answers to these questions suggest the efficacy of viewing the medieval trivium (grammar, dialectics, rhetoric) to be pedagogically distinct goals. These goals, as well as the cognitive and political ramifications of writing for a society, are sharply seen through analogy with the development of literacy in classical Greece.

HOLY L. BAYW, University of Oregon

Causative Revers and Causative Constructions

In this paper, the nature of clause merger is examined with data from causative constructions in a variety of languages. The hypothesis is that causatives are not universally derived from two syntactic clauses. Case marking (e.g. Bolinger, 1974, 1976) argues for a denominational analysis with syntactic fusion of the clauses. The denoted subject (ES) is denoted down a hierarchy. Morphological evidence is used for determining the status of the denoted ES. I question this use of morphological evidence since case markings frequently mark semantic, not grammatical relations.

It will be argued that while some languages derive causatives from two clauses, fusion of a causative element and second verb is frequently of a semantic nature. Grammatical relations are determined for a fused semantic unit, not two verbs. A denominational analysis is then redundant since ES never has subject status. An analysis of semantic fusion accounts for alternative case markings that are allowed in some languages and accounts for semantic shifts. An analysis of syntactic fusion must make abstract claims to account for these, and frequently its predictions are violated.

SYMON BESELL, University of California, Los Angeles

Theoretical Entities in Linguistics

In attempting to understand a language, linguists make use of theoretical entities. For example, there is such mention of 'phonemes', 'predicates', 'dialects' or 'sound systems' as originating in what area of Linguistics is pursued. These entities are theoretical in at least two senses: (1) in that they themselves are not directly observable, but are inferred from other phenomena; and (2) in that they themselves constitute in large part the theory of the linguist who uses them. In the recent history of Linguistics there has been some consistent resistance (consistent in the sense of cutting across the boundaries created by other issues) to dynamic theoretical entities such as 'transformations' as opposed to static ones such as 'phrases'. This is because even in non-dynamic ownership, dynamic entities are seen to be inherent. 'Correspondences' may be taken in part as non-dynamic 'sound changes'. Organized inquiry is probably impossible without theoretical entities of some sort, and it is a legitimate enterprise of linguists to clarify and refine the ones they use. But we must expect that debate about theoretical entities will be only indirectly subject to empirical resolution. 'Language' itself, or whatever we want to call the object of linguistic study in its broadest sense, is not a theoretical entity than those mentioned above. How linguists conceive it determines how they operate--and how they desire to determine what they find 'language' to be.

JANU MUELLER RING, Inter-Link Associates

Identifying the Possible Intonation Contours in English

In this paper I will argue that in English only three parts of an intonation contour are meaningful in the all-or-none sense of Bolinger (1961). These are the sentence-initial and sentence-final boundary tones and the direction of the nuclear tone. Possible contours are defined in terms of these three elements. The claim that the direction, but not the position of the nuclear tone is meaningful is based on arguments concerning intonational 'accent'. We see that the accent of the nuclear 'head' tone, the continuation rise after the nuclear accent, and the accent plus rise do not contrast. The fact that sentence-initial and -final, but not sentence-medial tones receive semantic interpretation accounts for why contours such as the contradic­tion contour can never be embedded. In unmarked cases all nuclear tones in a sentence are the same, and only the final nuclear tone need be interpreted. I will contrast the marked and unmarked cases and propose rules to account for the predictable elements in the nuclear 'head' tone, the continuation rise in position of the nuclear tones. Most of the possible contours predicted by this hypo­thesis occur in English. The claim is that contours not predicted will not be found.

Modelling of Linear Syntactic Reasoning

A recent study (Sternberg, 1980) proposes a mixed linguistic-spatial model for the solution of linear syllogisms (e.g., John is taller than Bill; Bill is taller than Pete; who is tallest?), whereby subjects linguistically decode the information in the premises, and recode the information into a spatial form that facilitates inference. While the results of the present study essentially support such a mixed model, it is also found that, if syllogisms containing nonsense adjectives are included among the test items, a strategy shift may be induced toward a purely spatial solution procedure for all syllogisms tested. Interestingly, comparison of learning curves suggests that subjects who solve the syllogisms are more resistant to the transfer of this type of meaning-blind strategy than are their counterparts.

Additionally, tests involving subjects at native, intermediate, and beginning levels of competence in French and English reveal that language proficiency is not a strong predictor of response time. It also appears that neither surface features (e.g., formal variations of comparatives and superlatives across languages, numbers of letters, etc.) nor evaluative judgments of sentence adjectives (cf. Hamilton and Benson, 1977) play a role in solving linear syllogisms. These and other findings help toward the specification of the respective roles of propositional structure, linguistic form, and individual cognitive variables in the solution of reasoning problems and in the general area of language comprehension.

PETER C. BAJANSKI, Purdue University

Cuban Loanword Analysis

Applied to borrowing phenomena in the Spanish dialects (cf. Cassano 1976), standard postulates of language borrowing have provided at best only partial answers about the mechanisms of borrowing and the workings of the native phonological component. One feature of loanword phonology, however, has become increasingly evident: while a fixed set of phonological changes may be associated with the borrowing of a whole language (e.g. Spanish), this set is not at all predictable in the cases of particular lexical items, since individual borrowings will demonstrate differing degrees of assimilation (Holden 1976). Further, specific cognates of the "closest" sounds in the source or secondary language system (English) occur in terms of phonological processes (viz., natural phonology) and not in terms of binary features (viz., generative phonology) which are not to be taken as the genuine phonological primes. Since fully assimilated loans are those to which all native processes have applied where applicable, the "degree of nativization" is thus to be determined by what processes have applied (viz., the processes of re-lexicalization) after an initial lexicalization of foreign words and morphemes.

JERRY A. BOILING, Air University

The Status of the Obliative in Shawnee

The obliative suffix on verbs and nouns in Algonquian languages marks a second third person. It has been characterised as the NP not prominent. The unmarked NP is called the proximate and is considered the topic of discourse. However, two aspects of the obliative in Shawnee call for a reexamination. First, when three third person NP's appear in a transitive relation, the NPs are contrasted, they must be marked obliative. Also, when two third persons are in a non-reciprocal transitive relationship, the third person not capable of reciprocating the action must be marked obliative. Finally, it is similar to the situation in Navajo (cf., Hale 1973 and Witherpoon 1980). Hale presented a strictly linguistic analysis called subject-object inversion based on a ranking of nouns in Navajo, Witherpoon demonstrated that this analysis ignored the Navajo cultural definitions of living creatures which did not involve ranking, but rather depended on whether a being is more intelligent than another being or is capable of exercising control over it. This finding in Shawnee suggests that culture also conditions the use of the obliative.

JEFFREY R. BOSWORTH, University of Washington

Word Labial-to-Velar Change: Gradualness, Abruptness, or Confusion?

The Dutch example of /j/ to /g/ as in after to achter 'after' has been cited as an example of abrupt phonological change (Janda & Gill 1980). The change is often thought to be motivated by the acoustic feature Grave or the articulatory feature ADVANCED TORQUE ROOT. A close look at the Dutch change, however, reveals that neither assumption helps us to understand the actuation of the labial-to-velar change. An investigation of the Dutch changes which have undergone change reveals the following characteristics of the change:

1. Becomes more gradual the longer the interval between the environments.
2. Phonotactically, the change results in neutralizing the /j/ contrast to the velar fricative /g/. Furthermore, in view of phonetic facts resulting from confusion matings (Miller & Nicely 1985) and intensity studies (Strevens 1960), we can conclude that Dutch change is most likely based on confusion along the perceptual parameters of gravity or intensity. The confusion itself, however, cannot be classified as gradual or abrupt.

In turn the auditory confusion interplays with articulatory variation of perceivability.

As a result of actuation from the auditory side, appears to leap abruptly from the labial to the velar point of articulation. In applying the measure of abrupt or gradual to the Dutch change, one must first determine at what point the measure should apply: at the actuation, the interlabial, or the phonologic.

MARY BURN, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The Complementizer System Revisited

It has been observed that although free relatives superficially resemble embedded questions, they demonstrate altogether different properties: whereas the matching effect (in the sense of Grimshaw 1977) holds for the former it is absent in the latter and while existence is possible in the latter (though marginal in English) it is entirely impossible in the former.

1. What did you wonder who, t, ate t.? (2) *What did you meet whoever, t, ate t.? It will be shown that explanations offered so far for the similarities add differences (in particular analyses in Grimshaw 1977 and Groos and van Riemsdijk 1979) face some problems and that the differences can be captured by the following phrase-structure rules:

(1) INPL -N PL\[i] ; i INFL^1 - spec INFL^1 INPL^1 N INPL^1 \(i\)

2. A sentential complementizer is a node which is nothing more than a punctuation mark that has been extended in several ways. First, it is a node which has undergone a specific set of changes to become a bound node. Second, it is a node which is always to be preceded by a non nominal phrase, NP. Third, it is a node which is always to be followed by another such node, with which it is coindexed. The list of complementizers is: no complementizer, that, for, if, when, and also.

Thestatus of the complementizer is, therefore, a matter of systematicity, predictability, and predictability of the changes. It is possible to predict the changes of the complementizers by means of the following principle: A complementizer is predicted if its presence is systemic. This principle is based on the fact that the presence of a complementizer is systematic, and that the absence of a complementizer is not systematic.

MARTIN F. RO.Seek, Ohio State University

Syntactic Interpretation of "Metaphorical Interpretation"

It is argued here that a major difficulty with some recent theories of "metaphorical interpretation" (e.g., Greco 1973, Ortony et al. 1979, Lakoff 1979, 1980) rests with a failure to define metaphor adequately. The traditional distinction between dead and nondead metaphors will be abandoned, and a taxonomy of metaphor will be proposed in which novel metaphor (e.g., a tree is a type of dress, a type of paper, a type of flannel, a type of tree) is viewed as a type of hyperbole, while nonnovel metaphors are analysed as instances of lexical ambiguity. It will be concluded that there is no process of "metaphorical interpretation" distinct from ordinary language processing.
It has been claimed, most recently by McCarthy (1979), that in any language the application of a phonological rule is blocked if its application would create a string violating the restrictions on possible syllable structure operating in that language. This paper examines the predictions of this hypothesis with respect to rules of vowel syncope in several Arabic dialects.

JEFFREY R. BURHAN

The Innovation of a Plural Verb Suffix in Aztec

The purpose of this paper is to account for an unexpected suffix marking "plural subject" in several Aztecan dialects and Pochutec. This suffix resembles "passive/impersonal" -lo in Classical Aztec and elsewhere in Proto-Aztecan. I propose that "passive/impersonal" is the original meaning of the suffix in Aztecan and that "plural subject" -lo was an innovation. Beginning with first person plural, first and third plural, and all plural subjects, depending on the dialect, I propose that the innovation of "plural subject" -lo was motivated by the loss of -b, which is the general plural suffix for present, imperfect and conditional in Aztecan, after the general loss of final h in these dialects. -lo was then seized upon to disambiguate first person plural and, in some dialects, third person plural. Then in some dialects -lo was generalized to mark plural subject with second person as well. The following verb forms from Classical Aztec will serve to illustrate the consequences of loss of final h: "you eat" ti-ti-ak'a-(h); "he eats" tik'a-(h); "they eat" tik'a-(b).
It is traditionally said that there are two different homophonous verbs in Russian (or that each verb has two different meanings) and that, correspondingly, they occur in two different types of structures: when *sta*, means *begin* it can be used either in the perfective or the imperfective aspect and it takes a simple NP complement in the instrumental case, while when it means *begin to* it can be used only in the perfective aspect and takes an infinitive (i.e. *sta* + embedded *sta*). Thus, (1) shows the distribution of stems.

1. On sta xorokini drus jami. 2. On sta mnoho pit'.

They became *(good friends)* INST he began much to-drink He began to drink a lot.

The argument is made here that the two verbs *sta* are really one verb, with the meaning *begin to*, and that both 1 and 2 come from a structure with an embedded *sta*. Sentences like 1 are distinguished by the fact that the embedded *sta* is a copular sentence, and in the process of subject raising the copula is deleted, rather than appearing in the infinitive form as true verbs do. Copula deletion is not ad hoc here; it occurs also with other SUBJECT RAISING and OBJECT RAISING triggers. Similarly, instrumental marking of the copula complete is typical in RAISING constructions (and is characteristic of many types of *chmors* in Russian). The difference in meaning then follows: sta* with an underlying copular complement (as in 1) represents *begin to be*, or, in English, *become*.

MARY N. CLARK, University of New Hampshire

A Dynamic-Tone Treatment of Japanese Accent

Japanese accent was traditionally viewed as a dynamic tone, a drop in pitch, occurring at most once in each word. In this paper, I argue in favor of this traditional view by showing that all such cases, which involve accent are stated in dynamic-complement form and made subject to certain general conditions on phonological rules (for example, to a "localness" condition which states that phonological rules must directly correspond to positions in the syllable structure, or, as I will show, the "accentless" level tone approach fails to capture important generalizations which are easily obtainable in the dynamic-tone approach; for example, it fails to provide a unified account of "forwards" accent-deletion, as in the phrase *ka-ta-to* make *to the heart* (ka-ta-to, "heart" + *ma* (from *ma* to) and the "backwards" accent-deletion we find with "predominantly particles like *ka* only* (cf. *ko* *ko* *ka* only a *heart*).

GEORGE H. CLEMENTS, Harvard University

Compensatory Lengthening: An Independent Mechanism of Phonetic Change

In a recent article, de Groot and Anderson (1979) have maintained that compensatory lengthening does not constitute an independent mechanism of phonetic change. They claim that apparent cases of compensatory lengthening involve the weakening of a postvocalic consonant to a glide and the monophthongisation of the resulting diphthong to a long vowel, in two separate steps: /V* + V*/ V* + V* + V*/. The present paper shows that this account of the glide, and perhaps compensatory lengthening in general, cannot be generally maintained. Two types of cases are examined and exemplified from NE Bantu languages.

The first type involves compensatory lengthening induced by the readjustment of timing relationships within syllable structure, with no segment loss. For example, Proto-Bantu *kuru* "person" develops into Luganda *mu-nu* and Kikuyu *no-no*, in which the long vowel that results is bimoric. The second type involves the lengthening of consonants induced by the loss of two vowels, as in Proto-Bantu *likun* → Luganda *lukun* showing how a stage with glide to plausibly historically motivated. Such cases suggest motivation for a hierarchical view of syllable structure, in which compensatory lengthening can be naturally characterised as an effect of the reassociation of segments to positions in the syllable left "empty" by rearticulation or deletion process, as suggested in Clements (1979).

GEORGE H. CLEMENTS, Harvard University

The Linguistic Significance of the 'Sign Space' in ASR

It has become commonly accepted that American Sign Language is articulated within a specific region, called the sign space. While it is true, however, that the vast majority of signs are in fact articulated on or in front of the body, in an area roughly bounded by the wrist and the top of the head, I have not found evidence that these boundaries themselves are linguistically significant. While it is not generally true that signs articulated within the sign space are arbitrary, others are pantomimic. Furthermore, such boundaries serve very poorly to describe overall functional aspects of signs. Instead, I have found that the most effective generalisations regarding ASL involve the observation that 'body landmarks', the effect of handedness, and a principle of least effort) are sufficient to describe this distribution. For these reasons I have concluded that the sign space per se should not be accorded the status of a phonotactic or morpheme structure constraint, nor should it be considered to be a bona fide example of the arbitrary, conventionalized, patterned structure which is one of the distinguishing features of a 'linguistic' communicative system.

MICHAEL C. COULTON, American University in Cairo

Neurophysiological Evidence for the Fully Specified Lexicon

Jackendoff (Lg. 1975) distinguishes 2 alternative theories of the lexicon, the full-entry theory (FET) and the impoverished-entry theory (IET). In IET, lexical rules build up the initially incomplete lexical entries for derived forms by mapping information from the root forms onto the rules. In FET, both roots and derived forms have complete lexical entries, and the lexical rules serve to indicate that some of the information in the lexicon is predictable. Whatever can be predicted correctly is lexically ruled. In both theories the input is the root form, and the output is the lexical entry do the rules map onto entries, and the lexical rules serve to indicate that some of the information in the lexicon is predictable. Whatever can be predicted correctly is lexically ruled. In both theories the input is the root form, and the output is the lexical entry do the rules map onto

ROBERT CHANNEII, University of Chicago
The Characteristics of a Nahaul Liguage Franca

The analysis of a series of Nahaul documents from the Valley of Guatemala written in the sixteenth century suggests that the Indian language was a lingua franca more closely tied to the sixteenth-century Classical Nahaul dialect of the Valley of Mexico than to Pipil and Ixtimix varieties. However, recent work by Uta Gaul and others has identified a number of innovations originating in the Classical Nahaul dialect that had begun to spread to other Central dialects but only partially into the peripheral areas that include Central America. The fact that the language in these documents shares only some of these late innovations provides linguistic evidence to support historical mention of the early existence of a Nahaul lingua franca from the central part of Mexico predating the late Aztec empire.

REBECCA M. DAUSER, University of Edinburgh

Stress-timing, Syllable-timing, and Isochrony

Recent experimental studies on stress-timing and syllable-timing have concentrated on whether or not isochrony (equal time intervals between stresses or syllables) can be shown to exist in a language or alternatively to be absent. Well-documented work has been done on English, which phonologists generally agree to be a stress-timed language. In the present investigation, data from continuous texts in English, Greek, Thai, and Spanish, a syllable-timed languages, are compared (with additional references to published work on French and Japanese). In these four languages, the average interstress intervals was found to be similar (4 to 5 second), and the range of the majority of interstress intervals was found to differ greatly (79% fall in a range of about 2 to 4 second). No production evidence for isochrony of either stresses or syllables could be found; the data tended rather to support universal tonal constraints rather than any language particularistic rhythm. However, those differences in the stress-timing or syllable-timing is based more on factors such as syllable structure, vowel reduction, and realisation and distribution of stressed syllables, than on isochrony. Stress-timing and syllable-timing may be regarded as two poles of a scale along which language, language varieties, or historical stages of a language may be placed.

WILLIAM D. DAVIES, University of California, San Diego

Choctaw Evidence for Postal's Antipassive Analysis

Postal proposes a universal characterisation of Antipassives in which the subject (SU) is denoted to direct object (DO) status and readdressed to be the SU of a finally intransitive clause. Although Postal provides empirical evidence for initial transitivity and final intransitivity, he provides no empirical evidence for the DO status of the Antipassive SU.

The purpose of this paper is to present data from Choctaw, a Muskogean language, which provide evidence, hitherto lacking in the literature, for the DO status of Antipassives. There is evidence of the non-SU status from hypothetical negative agreement in narratives and evidence for DO status from verbal agreement data in which Antipassive SUs determine the same type of agreement as DOs. Compare (1), the Antipassive, with (2), the straight transitive.

(1) Oma sa-banna.
water IAC-saw want
'I want water.'

(2) Chooyoh sa-pis-tok.
woman Non IAC-see-fet
'The woman saw us.'

Arguments are also presented for the Antipassive analysis of certain Choctaw clauses.

MICHAEL DAVISON & RICHARD LUTZ, University of Illinois

Measurement of Syntactic Complexity Relative to Discourse Context

Internal transformations like Passive are generally believed to create surface structures which are more difficult to process than their untransformed counterparts. In terms of a parsing model, these rules alter word-order, case-marking and other close to underlying structure, requiring additional parsing efforts. It is hypothesized that Passive, Adverb, and other rules that are only one of the object of Subject and to object creates such structures, but that their operations affect which NP is perceived as topic. The initial position of the NP allows the inference that its referent is topic at that point in discourse. A reaction to the topic NP of the following sentence, affecting the time needed to process it. Subjects will not of the target S to when the subject presses a key indicating that the S has been 'under projected'. There are three types of context S combined with 2 forms of each target S. It is the context is neutral if it misleading the reader about the initial NP of the target S, the NP topic of S. If these predictions are borne out, the results will have implications for the definition of topic as a category in discourse, and its relation to syntactic structure.

N. DAWSON, University of Washington

Myan Tone and the Suffixes "-2": A Case for Two Binary Tonal Features

These tonal processes provide evidence in support of the two binary tonal features or by analogy. It is proposed that these two tiers are independently autosegmental in relation to each other, resulting in tonal processes that refer to only one of the possible tiers; and partial lexical entries for tones that specify only one tier, as in the following. The marker suffix, -2, surfaces as a mid-tone, 2, when suffixed to low-toned stems. Whereas verb stems are specified in the lexicon for both of these possible tone, there is evidence (with a possible tone) is specified only for Tonality, and the Register value of the verb [Upper] [Lower]. [Upper] [Lower].

Thus, the surface tones of -2 can be accounted for by a unitary statement without recourse to a complicated tonal rule; and Yip's claim that two tonal tiers are independent is substantiated.

CHARLES S. DHOSE

The Theory of Language Maintenance

The term 'theory' is used in reference to continuing efforts by the author to provide an explicit account of how languages are maintained within a linguistic repertoire of speech communities. Language maintenance involves a general capacity for verbal communication. Such a capacity may be present in a community but not in a language; it is multilingual, bimodal, or bisexual. In the situational criteria, and undergoes change as it is transmitted from one generation to generation. In isolated monolingual societies the output language is considered a representation of it. The entire phenomenon of language maintenance involves language acquisition, language change, and competence. An adequate theory of language maintenance should make predictions about discursively observable language behavior.
The experiment reported was designed to test the productivity of several phonological rules of Japanese and to determine the morphological and syntactic properties of the association of a cluster of verb-final vowel-final sounds in a variety of Japanese speech. The method involved training subjects in a set of sentence-completion tasks designed to elicit particular members of a verb's paradigm when given another member as part of the cue; subjects were trained on actual lexical items and then extrapolated to nonsense items. Dechovitz suggests that productivity of phonological rules suggest a continuum of degree of productivity; while the rule 2 → Y is fully productive, for instance, the rule 1 → Y is only semi-productive. With regard to morphology, the most striking result was the overwhelming tendency to analyze verb-final vowel-final and to supply endings beginning with when a clause was available in this echo of the aoristi reconstruction described by Halle (current trends in Linguistics 11, 1975) can be seen as reflecting Japanese orthographic practice.

In some cases, syntactic boundaries appear to block the application of phonological rules which normally operate across word boundaries. In these cases it is natural to suppose that the boundary acts as a juncture in the talker's processing, prohibiting any following information from influencing segments preceding the boundary. As we might predict, it also aids in underlying syntactic structure. For instance, the good phonetic features are integrated in perception. For example, in an utterance in which the words rebuilding shopville occur, inserting an appropriate amount of silence in the stresses in these words can cause listeners to nonsense items. Then when both words are part of the same syntactic unit, but not when rebuilding ends a proposed adverbial. The present study was designed to determine whether phonetic information might be integrated in perception in the case of a canonical as well. The effect of underlying structure on the perception of silence was assessed in the case where the immediate acoustic environment was held constant. In one experiment, the Wh-extraction site, which plainly affects phonological rules in production, was examined. The results support the notion that, at least in the case of extraction sites, an underlying level of syntax may block a potential incorporation in perception in the same way as the boundary of a pseudocleft.

A silence the length of a stop closure is normally perceived as signalling a stop, but Dechovitz (e.g. the preceding abstract) has shown that this cue does not work when silence falls at certain syntactic boundaries. We argue that the hearer fails to make use of the acoustically-present silence cue at the boundaries because (1) the cue depends on the hearer's perceiving the material preceding the silence as part of a continuous stream of coarticulated speech, and (2) phonological rules producing coarticulation are blocked by the relevant syntactic boundaries. To test this idea, a computer model for perception of the phonological rules which match information about which syntactic units can be continuously articulated, and then process silence as a segmental cue only within such units.

Japanese Structure is Psychological or Cognitive, not Physical, in Character

Language forms (utterances) are not "natural" objects like rocks or chemical elements, but human products; they are produced by human beings in order to be interpreted or comprehended by other human beings. Whatever "structure" language forms "have" is that which has been put there by speakers or which is interpreted as being there by hearers. (The physical language event, e.g., the acoustic wave form, has no linguistic structure whatsoever; even discrete "phones" represent interpretations of the speech event.) Language forms can be represented and/or described in numerous ways, but only one model (the competence model) for perception of these representations or structures intended by speakers or interpreted by hearers corresponds to a kind of reality against which linguistic theories can be evaluated or tested; the rest are purely arbitrary and descriptive-artificial. No explanatory science of linguistics is possible which restricts its attention to language forms, the regularities or universal tendencies they seem to exhibit, the ways they change through time, etc. If linguistics wishes to validate empirically one (descriptively adequate) linguistic analysis against any other, linguists must become vitally concerned with the relations and universal tendencies they seem to exhibit, the ways they change through time, etc. If linguistics wishes to validate empirically one (descriptively adequate) linguistic analysis against any other, linguists must become vitally concerned with the relations
Recent studies of the English auxiliary system such as Lapointe ("A Lexical Analysis...") Akamjon, Steele, and Wasow (1979), and Baker ("Learnability and the English Auxiliary System") restrict the grammar to prevent overgeneralizations in Standard English (SE) such as in (1)-(3); however, many speakers do find these sentences acceptable. This paper discusses how "might not" would let you have it. 3. If I hadn't have done it, may not have gotten there on time. We see that the grammar can be restricted so as to produce only the right strings of auxiliaries. For instance, when the left-branching open the possibility of "double modal" variations such as in (1)-(3). In this examination, we will focus on double modal constructions such as "might be" in (1) on which I have collected a large set of data in the areas studied. By using the phrase structure and subcategorization rules for modals, aux, and auxiliary verbs from the three analyses, I will compare the theories for both the modal and auxiliary data and also the Southern American (Texas) English data and present a syntactic framework that allows for SE as well as variations such as double modals. For example, by using [me-j] as an Aux feature, the Lapointe analysis seems to rule out the possibility of postulating a modal phrase for double modal constructions.

BARBARA T. HAJUJINNA, Harvard University  
(MCH MNRH: VI)

The Original Syntax of Germanic Adjectives in "-like-

Germans in -like, e.g. friendly, reminiscent, are usually assumed to have originated as compounds with a noun -like- "shape" as second element, thus -like- "having the shape of". Sometimes -like- has been seen as the root of adjectives as in "-like- 'milked", thus V-like- 'like X'. Some of the problems with these analyses are not yet resolved: (1) Young posited behavior where the ad. modifies an abstract, (2) the type vernacular "forgetful" where the first element is a verb stem (and the corresponding personal verbless -like- "forget")", and (3) the frequent genitive case-base of the first element (whether concrete or abstract) in early Gmc., e.g.אד, gledischer "pleasing". It is suggested that the verbless -like- are frozen syntagms in which an ad. -like- "inclined, inclined, likely" originally governed a (ceding) genitive of respect. According to modern behavior might be explained as "behavior suited with respect to a man", vernacular as "inclined toward forgetting", and "forget for getting" (where the verb stem was the verbal abstract), and gledischer as a relic of the archaic syntagm noun(gen.) + -like-. Other suffixes may have originated in the same way, e.g. -less (Eng. -ness, Ger. -asse) and *-like- (Ger. -hase); indeed, it is otherwise difficult to explain their processes, which are analogous to those of -like-. The effect of the morphologization of these syntagms was to create a new productive process for adjectives in Gmc., replacing the older *-like- *-lile-, etc.

BARRERA T. DOGGER, Navarro College  
(MCH MNRH: IV)

Towards a Theory of Generative Morphology

The motivation for distinguishing on semantic grounds between a category of sentence adverb and a category of VP adverbs is now well-known (cf. Staalander and Thomasson, 1979). There are apparently also good syntactic reasons for distinguishing between VP- and VP-verbs as well (cf. Jackendoft). However, Sally McConnell-Ginet has observed (in unpublished work) that these different criteria sometimes give conflicting results: reluctantly, for example, must be a VP-adverb by semantic and syntactic tests. A solution to this paradox is presented in this paper in a formal semantics of "adverb" (Montague Grammar). While Montague concluded that there were no "specific" readings in subject position, this does not mean that there were no "specific" readings in subject position. This new fact can be accommodated by reverting to the earlier 3rd-order account of CPV. It is proposed that "Universal Grammar" (VPs are functions applying to subjects, a scheme independently proposed by Thomason and by Kessen-Felts). As Montague treated the resumptive pronoun shows up, the head of the relative pronoun is missing, the head of the relative clause cannot have unique scope with respect to other quantifiers, e.g. in the relative clause, nor can it have a non-referential reading. Moreover, when the resumptive pronoun is double modal, it is often the case that the head of the relative clause cannot be coreferential to other pronouns in the clause. I propose to account for these differences by base-generating relative clauses with and without resumptive pronouns, and I give a Montague analysis which predicts the semantic differences between the two kinds of relative clauses.

JAMES CUSHING, Harvard University  
(SUN MNRH: VI)

Sentence Adverbs and Verb Phrase Adverbs Revisited

DARWIN S. DORMT, Ohio State University  
(SUN MNRH: III)

Toward a Theory of Generative Morphology

The purpose of this paper is to give the "word" frame for both grammatical and lexical behavior, specifically within a Transformational-Generative framework. Following a review of the study of word formation within the Word and Paradigms(WF) and Item and Arrangement (IA) schools of linguists, evidence is provided which demonstrates the importance of "the word" evidence within a Transformational-Generative framework of linguistic inquiry. Work in morphology by Matthews (1974), Marchand (1969), and Aronoff (1976) is examined as it supports Chomsky's lexicalist position. In this way, evidence is provided both for the role of morphology within a 2-D system of linguistics and for the psychological reality of "the word". Emphasis is placed on independent evidence which points to the central and dynamic position of morphology as one of the component systems of language.

DANIEL D. DORMT, University of Texas at Austin  
(SUN MNRH: III)

On the Semantic Role of Resumptive Pronouns

Object relative clauses in Modern Hebrew involve optional resumptive pronouns. Baker (1979, a general paper) convincingly argues that the deletion of the resumptive pronoun does not involve deletion of a variable and concludes that the resumptive pronoun is first moved into COMP and then optionally deleted. A model of grammar such as RSET, in which rules of interpretation apply to pre-deletion surface structures, predicts that relative clauses should get the same semantic readings regardless of whether deletion in COMP has applied or not. This conclusion is shown to be false by recent data. More recent analyses (e.g., Aronoff) argue that pre-deletion surface structures, predicts that relative clauses cannot have unique scope with respect to other quantifiers, e.g. in the relative clause, nor can it have a non-referential reading. Moreover, when the resumptive pronoun is double modal, it is often the case that the head of the relative clause cannot be coreferential to other pronouns in the clause. I propose to account for these differences by base-generating relative clauses with and without resumptive pronouns, and I give a Montague analysis which predicts the semantic differences between the two kinds of relative clauses.

EMIL DRAKAN, Baptist Hospital of Miami & Pennsylvania State University  
(SUN APT: III)

Linguistic Changes in Recovery from Aphasia

The two groups of aphasic individuals were taped in conversation and picture description tasks at intervals of approximately 2-10 weeks post-CVA. They participated in a combined program of remediation. In one group of aphasics, the therapeutic program consisted of temporal training and sets of narrative sentences underlying picture stories of which the aphasic patient had no access during the temporal training, using the traditional melodic intonation therapy method.

A unique approach to analysis of aphasic linguistic behavior during the recovery period was taken. In these analyses, variables were studied as indicators of increasing syntactic complexity. These variables were a) topic-comment vs. topic-function vs. object-word order; b) use of morphology; c) use of intonation; d) use of intonation patterns per utterance; e) use of intonation patterns per utterance; f) use of intonation patterns per utterance; g) use of intonation patterns per utterance. Initial results provide support for the use of these variables as indicators of activity. Differences in performance of the two groups suggest that the temporal training and narrative stimuli are good media for learning.
This paper raises two questions: (1) Can pronouns perform copula functions? and (2) what happened if they do?

To answer the first question, the paper presents evidence from Egyptian Arabic to show that in the absence of a copula form in a language, a language may use pronouns to perform copula functions. The evidence here is based on the use of pronouns to mark yes/no questions, their use in equational sentences, and the fact that they behave like other verbs with respect to Negative Placement.

"Copula pronouns" are not analyzable within the transformational outline. Inasmuch as language is not completely immune to borrowing, especially in situations of large-scale language contact, the vertical cycle and psychological reality account for this analysis. The transformational derivation exemplifies a horizontal processing mode; that is, it produces in complete sentences, but more often in stages (i.e., both production and comprehension operate simultaneously). Junction Grammar's alternate formalism, vertical derivation, is proposed, wherein fragmented discourse can be derived by processes of varying length from deep to surface form regardless of the "completeness" of the deep-level structures. This vertical processing mode can, then, account for the vertical cycle and psychological reality. The vertical formalism rejects structural change and adheres to constraints of semantic invariance.

There are also considerable statistical advantages in the use of a longer test-list. Arising from the fact that in the absence of a copula form in a language, a language may use pronouns to perform copula functions, the system of Tree Reconstruction can, then, be improved by incorporating borrowing rates in lexicostatistical tree reconstruction. This paper raises two questions: (1) Can pronouns perform copula functions? and (2) what happened if they do?

To answer the first question, the paper presents evidence from Egyptian Arabic to show that in the absence of a copula form in a language, a language may use pronouns to perform copula functions. The evidence here is based on the use of pronouns to mark yes/no questions, their use in equational sentences, and the fact that they behave like other verbs with respect to Negative Placement. "Copula pronouns" are not analyzable within the transformational outline. Inasmuch as language is not completely immune to borrowing, especially in situations of large-scale language contact, the vertical cycle and psychological reality account for this analysis. The transformational derivation exemplifies a horizontal processing mode; that is, it produces in complete sentences, but more often in stages (i.e., both production and comprehension operate simultaneously). Junction Grammar's alternate formalism, vertical derivation, is proposed, wherein fragmented discourse can be derived by processes of varying length from deep to surface form regardless of the "completeness" of the deep-level structures. This vertical processing mode can, then, account for the vertical cycle and psychological reality. The vertical formalism rejects structural change and adheres to constraints of semantic invariance.

A persistent concern of lexicostatistics has been the elimination of all meanings susceptible to borrowing from the test-list used in family-tree reconstruction for a group of related languages. However, it is not clear that any meanings exist which are completely immune to borrowing, especially in situations of large-scale language contact. There are also considerable statistical advantages in the use of a longer test-list. Thus lexicostatistical tree reconstruction methods can be improved by incorporating borrowing rates as well as replacement rates in the reconstruction process. This involves reconstructing a geography as well as a history of the tree. The system of differential equations necessary for this reconstruction (where the replacement rate  \( r \) and the borrowing rate  \( b \) are known) will be presented, together with a computer simulation of the emergence of a language family in which both lexical replacement and borrowing are involved. The results of comparisons of the reconstructed trees with the computer-generated trees for different lengths of test-list and for different values of  \( r \) and  \( b \) (using different measures), each highlighting a particular aspect of the comparison, are presented and analyzed.

Children learn each morphology as a potential free form, parallelling both classical Chinese, and the writing system. Anomalies are especially evident where: 1) Auxiliaries, stative verbs, or adverbs are used as main verbs (e.g., "wo ya hai" "I want to (to) still."); 2) Compounds are de-analyzed, especially verbs: range, goal, or result, eg, "wo chiguangdan.le" "I have lighted a match," and "wo chiguangdan.le" "I have left." Weak links in the language where several evolving forms compete for high position in the potential free form are: "I am a morpheme bears inordinate symbolic weight (e.g., "gai")."
Grist for the Linguistic Mill: Idioms and "Extra" Adjectives

It can be shown that the traditional idea of idioms having non-compositional, "monolithic" meanings is false. In a sentence like With the recession, oil companies are having to tighten their Gucci belts, a representation of tighten one's belt as SPRED LESS is inadequate, since we must account for the modification of belt by Gucci, and its figurative implication that the companies are very rich. Some element corresponding to belt must be included, and our representation of the idiom must be flexible enough to permit such internal modification. Sentences like She looked a political gift horse in the mouth similarly require a more articulated representation involving indirect causation, as well as situations involving persuasion, coercion, and direct control. While a variety of causative-like constructions emerged from these elicitations, this presentation focuses primarily on the inflectional causative and its function as a part of the verbal complex in ASL.

ALICE FABER, University of Florida

Phonetic Reconstruction

In this paper, I illustrate how detailed consideration of the sounds involved can account for the results of the comparative method. The example used is the sibilant phonemes in the Semitic languages. In addition to s' and 8, there are good correspondences for three additional sibilant phonemes, traditionally reconstructed as 3, 4 and s. Steiner (1977) has shown that the second of these was a fricative-lateral 3. Similar study of the other two phonemes suggests that they were s and ts, respectively. The evidence for this conclusion comes from the treatment of Semitic names in non-Semitic languages, the changing values of the letters as the Phoenician alphabet spread throughout Asia, borrowing within the Semitic language family, the relative frequencies of the various phonemes, and the naturalness of the changes needed to derive the attested systems from the reconstructed system. This reconstruction helps for the comparison of PS with reconstructions of related Afroasiatic groups (Chadic, Cushitic, Omotic, Berber, Egyptian) and for attempts such as that of Bonhard (1977) to relate Proto-Indo-European to PS.

ANN K. FARMER, University of Arizona

On Eliminating the "Scrambling" Role in Japanese

Phrase structure rules have always had the role of defining the structure of categories -- that is, relating supercategorizes, [X, X], where X is some lexical category, to X. The head of the phrase is identified as X*, or as X if it is the terminal node. For Japanese, we will propose a phrase structure rule that only specifies depth of structure and indicates that each has an exponent: X. The phrase structure rule itself does not project category. Instead, the PS rule projects node-markers, X, which do not have any category content, but are associated with an exponent. The exponent represents the level of structure. The head in each cession is identified by the reduction in the exponent:

1) X X X (where X is the head)

Such an approach requires that lexical insertion be context-free. Any item may be inserted under any node marker. After lexical insertion, the features associated with the items are "clashed" to their respective maximal projections (i.e., X).

One significant result of this particular way of viewing the role of the PS rule and lexical insertion is that "scrambling" no longer has to be a "rule" but is simply a rule of the way the system is set up to interact.

JOAN FORMAN, National Technical Institute for the Deaf

Causative Constructions in American Sign Language

This paper will present an analysis of the causative construction in American Sign Language (ASL). The expression of agency and causation requires a highly complex interaction between involving such devices as shift of eye gaze, changes in classifier and changes in manner of movement. In addition, there is also an interaction between the semantic classification of the verb and the privileges of occurrence of causative inflections. We asked a group of fluent signers to describe a number of scenarios and have a more articulated representation of causative and direct causation, as well as situations involving responsibility, coercion, and direct control. While a variety of causative-like constructions emerged from these elicitions, this presentation focuses primarily on the inflectional causative and its function as a part of the verbal complex in ASL.

JOAN FLYNN, Hampshire College & University of Massachusetts

Contextual Theory of Structure Building

This paper proposes that phrase structure grammars be discarded as devices available in the description of natural languages. In their place, a theory of structure building operations along the lines of the categorial grammar proposed by Montague in the 30's is suggested. In brief, hierarchical organization is defined universally given assignment of lexical items to categories. Particular assignments are adapted mostly from Montague's PSQ, modified and extended on the basis of more recent work. Left-right order (in strict word order languages) is fixed by a language specific ordering convention.

The ordering conventions for several languages are proposed, including English, Dutch, and Malay. In each case, a wide range of low-level generalizations about these languages is shown to follow from a very simple principle. A tentative theory of ordering conventions is suggested and a method of accounting for sitting word order tendencies is proposed. This theory is compared with phrase structure grammars and Keenan's method for accounting for typologies. It is concluded that categorial grammars have the technical and conceptual plausibility that gives them the status of a genuine alternative to phrase structure grammars in the descriptions of natural languages.
SUZANNE FLINN, Cornell University

Effects of Reversal of Branching Direction in L2 Acquisition

This paper argues that the factor of 'principal branching direction' (PBD) significantly affects second language acquisition. When inconsistent with the PBD of the first language, PBD of the second language affects pattern and projected rate of acquisition of the second language. Empirical results are presented based on groups of adult Spanish (right branching) and Japanese (left branching) speakers who were learning English (right branching) as their second language at one of 3 levels of proficiency. The subjects are tested on their ability to systematically vary in branching direction (e.g., pre- and postposed subordinate clauses) by elicited production tasks. Error analyses are conducted for evidence of hypotheses relative to PBD on the part of the language learner.

JOSEPH P. FOSTER, University of Cincinnati

Why There Are No Primitive Languages—and Why Digital Is One

Linguists for good reasons hold the position that there are no primitive languages as such that none have existed since far back in prehistory. This stance is slightly modified in concessions that languages with large lexical inventories are generally found in more complex societies, and such work as Berlin & Kay’s supports a hypothesis of the distinction between kin- and property-based systems. Research for good reasons holds the position that there are no primitive or with complex sociocultural systems altogether. A theory of primitivity in modern linguistic writings may be the same for either language acquisition process (first or second), the resolution of this problem differs. The level of hypothesis formation reveals one area of difference.

SUE FOSTER, University of Southern California

The Role of Interpretation in Language Development

Research on the earliest stages of language development is characterized by the problem of correctly assessing a very young child’s intentions and, therefore, the meaning of his/her behaviour (vocal and non-vocal). It is frequently difficult to determine whether the child is attempting to communicate at all and what precisely his/her intended meaning is. In this paper I argue, with illustrations from a study of children aged 0½ to 2½, that such problems in fact reflect the major input of the language development—namely, interpretation by a listener-speaker—which lies behind other documented features of speech to children—expansion, repetition, and so on. I argue that the child learns which movements and vocalizations can be used to communicate, and what they mean, through having these movements and vocalizations interpreted as meaningful. All that is required of the child is an initial repertoire of functionally useful movements and vocalizations which can be interpreted as communicative, and thus undergo a change of status for the child. Reaching, for example, is initially used by the child in grasping what be/she wants, but it can become, via interpretation by an adult, a gesture meaning ‘I want’. Similarlycries, and what have been termed ‘sensori-motor morphemes’, undergo such changes. Finally, I explore the relationship between interpretation and other factors in language development.

STANLEY F. FRANK, University of Pennsylvania

Representatives: Their Functions and Interpretation

Four subcategories of the class of speech acts Searle labels representatives are found: informing, correcting, commenting, and explaining. After a discussion of the syntactic and semantic function of each subcategory, this elaborated taxonomy is applied to two stretches of talk recorded at an information desk. This context is used to show that the taxonomy to use reveals that the interpretation and categorization of utterances begins with the hearer’s expectations which are generated by the social context. The hearer is faced with taking place defined by the interaction and interpretation of the utterance, thereby structuring the interpretation procedure. The intuitive glossing of utterances is not enough; examination of the interactional context and construction enables the analyst to identify the starting point for interpreting the functions of utterances. The crucial contribution of this study, then, is not to imply that it elaborates an existing taxonomy of speech acts but that it provides some insights into how such a taxonomy can be put in work in more than an intuitive fashion.


LINDA FRANKENFIELD, University of Maine

The Syllable as an Affective Domain

Previous investigations by the author have shown that certain psychological states correlate significantly with certain classes of consonants, e.g., the relative incidence of open or closed syllables directly symbolizes the individual’s receptivity. At another level, certain consonants and certain vowels that occur in the stressed syllables of multisyllable words have specific significance, e.g., /e/ and /o/ relative incidence of front vowels vs. back vowels measures the degree of psychological isolation that is the opposite of aggression.

THERA M. FRIESEN, University of California, Los Angeles

Language as a Mental Reality

It is reasonable to assume that the ‘object’ (aim) of most if not all linguistic inquiry is to discover, describe, and, if possible, explain the nature of human language. How linguists differ, then, is in their view of the ‘object’ (universe of discourse). I will argue that language is a mental reality and that only if it is considered as can we account for slips of the tongue or ear, pathological language as observed in aphasia, and the results of psycholinguistic perception and production experiments. The primary evidence to be discussed in support of this position will be speech errors. Comments to the following: ‘Are there any seven footers — I mean seven footers here?’. ‘I’m afraid that’s beyond my opportunity to be — my comment on that. ’ ‘I’m very strange about his definitions. ’ ‘Television isn’t necessarily evil for ’televison isn’t necessarily an evil’. ‘He was very understandable.’
One goal of psycholinguistics is to identify the class of 'unparseable' linguistic structures. The Garden-Path theory of sentence comprehension claims that numerous unconscious errors of analysis are made during the processing of many everyday variety sentences. If this theory is correct, then characterizing the class of unparseable structures will presuppose an understanding of the revision procedures the parser uses to correct an initial misanalysis of a sentence; a sentence will be unparseable only if it defies both the parser's first-pass analysis attempts and its attempts at (normal or unconscious) reanalysis.

Subjects' eye movements were recorded during the reading of garden-path sentences. Results provide further evidence for the Garden-Path theory of comprehension and support the "Intelligent Reanalysis" hypothesis which claims that the human parsing mechanism typically diagnoses the source of an erroneous structural analysis of a sentence and reanalyzes just that portion of the sentence.

In standard Spanish, the function of a locative complement in a verb phrase of motion can be signalled by a 'to' or para 'toward'. Interview data from the Spanish language community of El Paso-Juarez, on the U.S.-Mexican border, show variation between para and a in critical discourse contexts (especially where the use of a preterite tense indicates arrival at a destination) that indicates that para is being bleached of its standard meaning by some speakers.

I use data from 15 speakers who show the greatest percentage of para use in the sample of 60 to show that there is a greater differentiation in the linguistic constraints which favor its non-standard ('bleached') interpretation. Two types of evidence are presented: 1) the syntactic constraint hierarchy of the following locative complement, and 2) the discrete stages showing the increasing semantic range of discourse contexts in which para can occur. The evidence suggests that the variation may be structured change in an early phase and not random drift which might be assumed in the absence of orderly differentiation.
ROBERT ALBRECHT, University of Minnesota

The reasons for this are clear: First, to explain the acquisition of passive

The present experiment was designed to explore (1) whether a child who uses a specific strategy as the sole order, for one syntactic structure who does not, and vice versa; (2) the order of acquisition of passives, embedded relatives, and 3-way reversibles; and (3) the sequence of acquisitional strategies for these structures.

The test sentences included reversible and equally probable (A) simple active and nonembedded passives; (B) subject, object, and passive subject relative clauses; and (c) the 4 types of 3-way reversible sentences described in Sheldon (1974).

To the extent that children grades 1-4 indicated their order of preferences, the following facts are shown to be a natural and unsurprising result. Those children who did not understand passives were also imperfect in subject relatives and close to chance on the other structures.
TIMOTHY HABICK, La Salle College

On the Acoustic Variability of Phonemic Systems

As has been known for some time, the formant values on which individual phonemes are acoustically based are not absolute or predetermined but vary considerably from speaker to speaker. This acoustic variability is one of the major reasons why automatic phoneme detection or speech recognition machines have been difficult to build. In this report, some of the interconnections of acoustical variability are outlined. On the basis of a spectrographic analysis of the speech of 40 subjects, the size and location of the phonemic system in two-formant acoustic space will be shown to vary as a function of three major parameters: fundamental frequency, vocal tract size, and socially-determined articulatory setting. In addition, several competing theories of this aspect of speech perception will be rejected. Specifically, Lieberman's (1975) assertion that listeners calculate the size of speakers' vocal tracts in order to decode their speech will be argued against.

RICHARD N. HALPERN, University of Illinois

On Asking New Questions in Syntax

I wish to focus on a yet neglected aspect of Noam Chomsky's original generative approach to syntax: i.e., the asking of new questions, to which it naturally led. It will be my purpose to show how Chomsky's stress on generating the grammatical sentences of a language led researchers to investigate the scope and limits of various productive phenomena and that this new impetus, in turn, led to the discovery of various fascinating grammatical anomalies. For example, one can safely assume that the striking data as "John" easiness to please, "John is an error ran to please, and the limits on movement rules embodied in the Chomsky/Koss constrains are a direct product of this very line of inquiry. In general, we will be upon helping to put into perspective the generative contribution to the study of syntax, to its role. Doubtless, it is a common desideratum to move beyond methodological questions, so as to enable one to focus on the genuine discoveries, moreover, the most exciting aspects of language.

CAROLYN HARTNETT, College of the Mainland

Cohesion in Rhetorical Forms

The cohesive ties that Halliday and Hasan classified (1976) are the specific elements in one sentence that relate it to another. The ties also express communicative or rhetorical purposes or forms when they indicate exactly how the sentences relate. Cohesive ties can help with the discovery or invention of ideas; they indicate organization or arrangement and contribute to style. They aid in memory and are essential in delivering written composition. Cohesion in oral discourse differs from cohesion in written composition in that situations in which a speaker is addressing an audience. Cohesive ties develop from basic mental processes that cognitive psychologists are beginning to describe. A practical application of the relationship of cohesive ties with cognitive processes and rhetoric is in an efficient organization of a college level course in basic writing. The experimental course consisted of a dozen units each teaching a cohesive tie, its rhetorical purposes, the mental processes that it reflects, and the traditional mechanics of grammar and punctuation needed for its use. For example, to observe the details that will go into a description, one must focus attention on the thing to be described. Third person pronouns are cohesive ties that focus attention on the subject and hold it there.

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Alternative Scenarios in Linguistic Reconstruction

Theories which delimit the set of possible changes by which languages move from one typological class to another have been termed Theories of Relative Origin. Theories of Exclusive Relative Origin refer to states with a single possible origin, e.g., it has been asserted that the only source for nasal vowels is the loss of a nasal consonant. Theories of Multiple Relative Origin are more common, and they obviously cannot permit the same sort of inferences to be drawn. Rather, their role in the literature has usually, though not always, been one of invalidation; if it is possible to show that a particular condition/process was not present in the past, then one relative origin theory may be discounted.

In this paper, three types of examples involving the application of multiple origin theories are discussed. The first concerns prenasalized consonants, which may have three distinct diachronic origins. Under limited conditions, it is possible to infer the pre­nasal origin of synchronic NC. The second example concerns the reconstructed history of certain voiceless aspirates in Bantu languages, which may have either articulatory or perceptual origins; associated conditions may be used to select one or the other scenario in a reconstructed history. The final example is of a different nature, illustrating how the operational domain of a particular process may provide insight into its origin, e.g., processes applying only across a speech perceptual rather than articulatory origins.

ERIK H. HERBERT, Texas A&M University

How to Describe the Five Kinds of Letters

An earlier paper by the author has shown that a written language can have different kinds of units which are popularly called "letters," and that each of these kind of "letter" functions differently in the language. This paper shows how each kind of "letter" can be described in a linguistic analysis. The "letters" defined by their shader-by-uses, are divided into sections with suprasegmental graphemes and function respectively in the realizations and the phonotactics of their language. The "letters" defined by their names and by their alphabetical order are not parts of ordinary linguistic communication, but are parts of the popular metalinguage describing languages. The "letters" defined by their pronunciation will require a description, for their description, a complicated nomenclature which is outlined in this paper.

ELIZABETH KENNEDY HENITY, State University of New York at Binghamton

Different Drummers: The Syllabic/Accentual Bases of English Prosody

The generative prosodists' search for abstract rules governing English verse has failed because English prosody is neither univocal nor abstract. In this paper I advocate the progress of English prosody from the Anglo-Saxon accentual patterns through the influence of the French syllabic meter and the emergence of iambic pentameter up to contemporary language. The native prosody required two stresses on either side of a caesura in a strictly patterned alliterative line. Rule oriented though this prosody was, it was also based on highly audible phonetic patterns because when the line in time lengthened over, it depended on the alliteration to the audience to distinguish metrical purposes the extra strong syllables. The imposition of the French octosyllabic tradition, which ignored stress but provided for rhyme, produced a blend which has confused those who are convinced that a single prosodic tradition extends from Chaucer through Shakespeare to modern verse. The verse incidentally was often iambic and the ten syllable line replaced the eight. The result is our "very English iambic pentameter." But such a description of our prosody falls to account for much of Wyatt's tantalizing rhythm nor does it do justice to Shakespeare whose prosodic genius consists often in a skillful interplay of the old alliterative accentual and the new rhymed syllabic traditions. More importantly, it doesn't describe such later poets as Hopkins and Pound who also apparently hear both the accentual and syllabic drums.
For every verb in the language there are pairs similar to this, in which identical pronominal affixes are understood as having different functions. For example, with the verbs

(a) iem- la  Heard-PAST-3MASC.SG. • 'he heard her'
(b) qan-bam-ia  PAST-HEAR-PAST-3MASC.SG. • 'she heard him'

All syntactic criteria show that the semantic agent (underlined) is the subject and the patient is the direct object in both sentences. It is argued that a word-internal transformation adjusts object affixes to the verb stem to create the VOS order in (a) from prior VSO order. Two constructions reflect the morphological anomaly: (1) sentences like (a) • 'they heard her', which are argued to be subjectless, not passivized, and (2) the use of independent object pronouns, instead of suffixes, with structures like (a) but not (b), to avoid VOS order of affixes: iem- la  'she heard her'.

V. MELISSA HOLLAND, American Institutes for Research (SUN MORN: V)

**Discourse Principles in a Medicaid Recertification Program**

This paper extends principles of text comprehension to the domain of public documents, focusing on application forms. Taking a particular form, an application to recertify for Medicaid, we show how it is designed according to principles of cohesion, communicative cooperation, and global interpretive schemes, such as underlie the kinds of discourse addressed in traditional analyses (e.g., Halliday & Hasan, Grice, Kintsch & van Dijk). These principles must, in turn, be assumed by any reader attempting to understand and use the Medicaid form. We argue that it is just these principles which are not assumed by the reader in Halvorsen's analysis of the Medicaid form, which incorporates features, such as a letter framework, designed to make purpose, continuity of reference, given-new distinctions, and other communicative aspects explicit. We conclude by drawing inferences about the strategies for understanding and using documents employed by Medicaid recipients and other readers.

GARY B. HOLLAND, University of California, Berkeley (SUN MORN: VI)

**Homeric Prepositions and Postpositions in Diachronic Perspective**

In Homer, prepositions may occur before their nouns, after their nouns, and interposed in noun-adjective sequences, and homeric 'from the ground' these are 'from the gods', gaia apo patridos 'from his paternal land'. Explanations for this variation in position fall into two groups. Traditional grammarians (Delbrück 1900, Wackernagel 1912, Kuryłowicz 1917) maintain that this freedom is simply a retention of an earlier system and that limitations in placement are a later development. Typological grammarians (e.g., Lehmann 1971, 1974) argue that this variation is a result of change from OV to VO order. Neither approach explains the difference in acquisition, the existence of the interposed types, nor the limitations in placement. There are no sequences of Non-Adjective-('proper') postposition in Homer.

I suggest that although the shift in verb-object order cannot have caused the shift in preposition positioning, there's going to be a shift in the two shifts. Various scholars have argued that 'amplified' sentences (Gonda 1959) are transitional between (S)OV and (S)VO order. Just as sentences may have amplifications which result in GOV structures, so too NPa sequences are best regarded as 'amplified' postpositional phrases, and are transitional between postpositional and prepositional structures. Comparative evidence shows that NPa sequences are not merely a stylistic device in Homer.

GARY B. HOLLAND, University of California, Berkeley (SUN MORN: VI)
The essential similarity between syntactic structure and the level of representation relevant for semantic interpretation, referred to as "Logical Form" (LF), has been proposed in recent versions of the Extended Standard Theory of generative grammar (cf. May 1977, Chomsky 1979, 1980). More specifically, it has been hypothesized that the rule "Move a" is involved only in the derivations of surface-structures but also in the mapping of S-structure onto Logical Form, the main evidence having to do with the properties of sentences with quantified expressions (cf. May 1977)'s Quantifier Rule. This paper will deal with the LF-representation of Hungarian and FOCUS sentences. It will be argued that based on the application of the structurally conditioned interpretation, rules "IMPERSIVE" and "PROGRESSIVE/PERSPECTIVE ASPECT" of Hungarian in the above two constructions - that in this language, the position of phrases with 4h-Q operators and with FOCUS operators are different at the level of Logical Form from their position in syntactic S-structure. Thus, Hungarian provides striking empirical evidence for the existence of phonologically "invisible" movement rules, applying in the interpretive component.

KATHLEEN NOULHAN, University of California, Los Angeles

On Defining Aspiration in Final Position

Aspiration has been defined as a delay in voice onset time after the release of closure (Lisker and Abramson 1964) and as a period of voicelessness after the release of closure before aspiration or voicing for the following segment (Ladeboogie 1971). These definitions seem to be adequate for aspiration of voiceless consonants in initial position, but they do not characterize the aspiration of voiceless consonants in word- and utterance-final positions, where the following segment, if there is one, may not be voicing.

This paper addresses the question of defining aspiration in word- and utterance-final positions. Spectrographic and aerodynamic data will be presented from a group of speakers of Eastern Armenian, one of the few languages in which there is a contrast between released unaspirated and aspirated consonants in final position. Spectrographic data from one speaker of Nepali will be presented for comparison. Preliminary results suggest that aspiration in final position can be defined in terms of the duration and intensity of the noise period following release of closure. Intracranial air pressure may also be important. The extent to which this definition characterizes initial aspiration and the so-called "voiced aspirates" will also be considered.

GROVER HUDSON, Michigan State University

The Questionable Status of Reciprocals Conditional

In transformational phonology ABCD may yield EFGD, where C conditions E, and, reciprocally, F conditions C. But given nontransformational A(B)(C), C is only POTENTIALLY present, so cannot condition E, and E similarly cannot condition F. The importance of reciprocal conditioning for nontransformational phonology has been noted (Wells 1949, Hudson 1980), so this paper examines the five claimed cases of reciprocal conditioning presented by Kisseberth and Kenstowicz (1979) and finds them questionable.

For example: Klamath apo-pa ("makes a dog bark") is said to come from an *apo-pa, where C of the stem conditions insertion of its copy in the prefix, and the prefix then conditions deletion of the stem-vowel. But if the vowel of the prefix is indicative of composition of the stem, it is not necessarily a COPY of the stem-vowel. A discontinuous morphology analysis or a metathesis could equally account for the alternation.

In fact, nontransformational phonology clarifies the relationship among these three transformational analyses, by abstracting from them the crucial fact they share: the non-linear and variable status of the stem-vowel quality.
GREGORY K. IVERSON, University of Iowa (SUN MORN: IV)

Rules, Constraints, and Paradigm Lacunae

Phonologically definable paradigmatic gaps have been reported for Russian (Halle 1973), Arabic (Hetzron 1975), and Swedish (Eliassen 1975). In Swedish, for example, there are no neuter singular forms (-t suffix) of the adjectives rød 'afraid' and färd 'stable', nor of certain others (lat 'lazy', gravid 'pregnant', etc.), presumably because of some deep restriction against combining non-final dental plosives of specific (by no means all) roots with suffixes of the same form. But as in the Russian and Arabic cases, the resulting paradigm lacunae in Swedish are especially surprising because, independently, there must be rules posited which would otherwise appropriately assimilate and degeminate, yet /rud+t/ may not surface as röt, or as anything else.

The account of paradigmatic gaps suggested here involves associating lexical exceptionality even with surface-valid rules like voice assimilation. Without positing any further machinery, such as Halle's ad hoc [-Lexical Insertion] feature, gaps in paradigm theory turn out to be the natural consequence of filling a taxonomic void in the occurrence of exceptions with transparent rules. This characterization also explains the fact that paradigm lacunae apparently are always rule related, i.e. that if the language's independently motivated phonological rules were allowed to apply there would be no lacunae.

GREGORY K. IVERSON, University of Iowa
GERALD A. SANDERS, University of Minnesota (SUN MORN: II)

Phonetic Generalizations and Rule Functions in Phonology

This paper deals with the relationship between rules of grammar and laws, or lexical generalizations, about the forms of linguistic expressions. We argue that this relationship is one of government, such that the characteristics, functions, and functional interactions of the phonological rules of a language are governed or delimited by true lexical generalizations about its phonetic structure.

By taking phonetic laws rather than rules as the primary axiomatic basis of grammar, it becomes possible to construe each grammar as an explanatory theory about a language whose laws are each subject to independent determination of truth or falsity. We hope to show here, however, that this assumption of law-primacy also has a number of more concrete values for linguistic analysis and methodology, with specific implications for the universality of rule types, their modes of interaction, and their derivational functions.

WESLEY JACOBSEN, University of Chicago (MON MORN: III)

Japanese Potential Constructions and the Semantics of Simple Happening

In English, two modes of expressing potential meaning are available: one which ascribes the possibility of an event to the ability of an agent to bring it about, and the other to the inherent propensity of the event to occur. Cf. I can't open the window vs. the window doesn't open. In Japanese, there is a clear tendency to use the latter mode of expression: mado ga hirareta (window NOM open-NEG), not mado ga akareta (window NOM close-PAST). This difference in the grammatical construction combined with a patient subject, gives rise to a construction which bears a close affinity to passive constructions, except that no agent is allowed. I will argue that such constructions stand to be categorized in a larger class of spontaneous constructions, semantically of form HAPPEN(S), where S=an event. Potential constructions are to be distinguished as a subclass of this category by virtue of a particular aspectual character they bear, whereby they are diverse from reference to a particular analysis in Aissen 1974, that the order of subject (S), object (O), and verb (V) in the oldest, *Northwest Germanic* inscriptions (ca. AD 120-600) was predominantly SVO. Yet the *aorist* exception that Aissen lists to Runic Germanic's being a Grammargn (SVO-language in itself constitutes extremely suggestive evidence that a previous stage to Runic was (S) (~ SST or SST); aside from 0 + V, practically all combinations are ordered modified + modifier (S + Det., Adj., Title, Gen. (prosodically); there are no postpositions, only prepositions). Since these nominal order-patterns themselves shift as later Runic gains verbal SVO, they are unlikely to be the trigger/presupposition of this.

MICHAEL B. EAC, University of Minnesota (TUES MORN: I)

Univ.als in Syntactic Theory

It is widely assumed that a central goal of syntactic theory is to define the notion of *possible grammar* through a definition of the notion 'possible rule'. I take this issue with this assumption for several reasons. First, the goal of defining the set of possible human languages does not depend on a definition either of 'possible grammar' or 'possible rule'; moreover, the rationale for constraining the notion 'possible rule', which is based on the primitive morphology of constraints, constraints on constraints, constraints on constraints on constraints, and so on, is the fact that the only definable concept of linguistic universals identifies this notion with that of substantive universals. I will also comment on the difference between a theory and a framework, and its relevance to this issue.
The Eastern Eskimo fourth person is said to identify the subject of the so-called subordinate verb or the possessor of a possessum with the subject of some superordinate clause. If the subject of the subordinate verb differs from the subject of the matrix clause, it is said to require the "subject-changing" suffix -tit; in a similar situation, the possessum is said to take a third rather than fourth-person suffix. But an analysis of texts from a number of Inuit dialects reveals that the fourth-person ending marks the verb (or possessum) whose subject is not the main character only when the speaker intends to maintain the "subject-changing" category. However, given a biological predisposition to categorize word-accents on the root syllable in the Germanic languages has resulted in the reduction and loss of most vowels in unaccented syllables in these languages. Apocope (the loss of an unaccented vowel word-finally: ich fahr vs. ich fahr 'I drive'), Hauf vs. zu Hause 'at home') and syncope (the loss of an aorist or perfective in pretonal prefixes: gezeit vs. gezeit 'said, post-verbal') are evidenced particularly in the continental West Germanic dialects. Descriptions of these phenomena among the several dialects typically attribute the vowel loss to morphological conditioning. Vowels are claimed to be lost due to the relative strength of morphological category (case, number, person, etc.). I will argue for a phonological conditioning for both the vowel loss and the sequence of loss, accounting for a dialect variation in apocope and syncope. Both apocope and syncope will be shown to spread by a series of atomic and complement rules.

Two observations are central to linguistic research: first, the rich diversity among languages and variation within any one language; second, the relatively rapid and automatic mastery of a native language by any normal child. A major goal of linguistic theory is to reconcile these two contradictory observations. It is reasonable to assume that all people have roughly similar physiological and cognitive mechanisms. These biological factors constrain and structure the set of possible human languages, that is, they determine the ways in which all languages must be the same, and the ways in which they can be different. This general approach is applied to phonetic data on stop consonant voicing in Polish and English. Measurements of voice onset time in different languages and speech situations results in a wide range of values for each voicing category. However, given a biological predisposition to categorize VOT in a highly constrained way, the language learner can immediately impose some order on the surface data. The stylistic variations which are superimposed on the underlying phonetic categories can then be determined. This approach will also be illustrated with an example from phonology.

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MICHAEL H. KIM, University of Southern California

Quotative Complements and a Constraint on Extraction in Korean

The most peculiar syntactic element in Korean quotative complements is a complementizer ko. The presence or absence of the complementizer ko affects other elements in the complement. For instance, syntactic processes such as the change of copular ending, copular deletion, the quotative predicate containing quotative complements are related to this element. This paper attempts to explain the explanation of how the meaning of the complements is triggered by the presence or absence of the complementizer ko. This paper attempts to explain the same data.

ALICE FABER, University of Florida

Historical Linguistics and History: Yiddish Prehistory

The Rhineland area of Germany, called “Juter” in medieval sources, is traditionally regarded as the crucible from which Yiddish emerged during the Middle Ages. Jews fled from Germany to Poland in the wake of the Crusades, populating an area of Eastern Europe. This is the area previously unoccupied by Jews. This is the area of Jewish provenience.

ROBERT D. KING, University of Texas at Austin

Prepositional Usage in German Causative Constructions

The purpose of this paper is to present data on prepositional usage in German which support an analysis of causative constructions in terms of German which support an analysis of causative constructions. In English, there are no clear-cut syntactic or entailment relations. In English, there are no clear-cut syntactic or entailment relations. In English, there are no clear-cut syntactic or entailment relations. In English, there are no clear-cut syntactic or entailment relations. In English, there are no clear-cut syntactic or entailment relations. In English, there are no clear-cut syntactic or entailment relations.
A number of studies have listed and described the features of Child Black English within the framework of the adult model, with little discussion of the process of acquiring the constraints known to be variable in the adult model. (e.g. Henrie 1969; Legum et al. 1971; Thomas 1972.) Collins' data are based on samples of oral and written language from children between the ages of 6 and 14 in a population controlled for race and socio-economic status. This investigation of the acquisition of variable features looks at the effect of grammatical and phonological factors on the non-occurrence of finite be. Following Labov's model (1972) for describing contraction and deletion in adult VBE, it is concluded that contraction and deletion occur in pro-environments as interrelated phonological processes in child VBE, and that Pro- and NP-environments may be treated separately by young speakers. It is impossible with either middle-class or working-class speakers at age 3 to separate developmental absence from inherent deletion. With working-class speakers at 5 and 7, the frequency of non-occurrence suggests that there is other than developmental absence, and is accounted for in Pro-environments by alternation between 8 forms and forms that incorporate the be morpheme. The adult constraint order at 5 and 7 in NP-environments suggests the operation of a deletion rule syntactic in the framework of the adult model, with little of discussion of the process of phonological substitution. This analysis, as one of many, can help investigators track the distribution of non-licensing modalities in VBE. What has been presented is a treatment of the generative syntactic structure of VBE, constrained for race and socio-economic status. This investigation of the distribution of discourse particles (i.e., relative clauses, modal expressions, etc.) presents a set of categorial syntactic rules where the three non-perfective features known to be variable in an expression with certain specific properties. The analysis in Ladusaw 1979 treats the empty category as an inherent limitation of the real-time syntactic generator.
Defining Germanic and Gallo-Romance Phonemes: Evidence Drawn from Borrowing

Borrowing is a part of linguistic study which has not received a great deal of attention, considering its potential value. A term borrowed from one language into another is a double-beamed spotlight, casting light on both the lending language and the borrowing one. This is particularly useful in historical linguistics, where so little direct evidence is available. How a language interprets the phonemes of a borrowed word helps define two areas at once: the phonetic range of those phonemes in the original language, and over what phonetic range phonological language extend. This study concentrates on three Germanic phonemes, /x/, /h/, and /w/. None of the three are phonemes of early Gallo-Romance, the linguistic bridge between Vulgar Latin and Old French. All three, however, are contained in Germanic words borrowed into Gallo-Romance. At first, initial /x/ or /h/ was interpreted as /f/, as in the name 'Cloตลาด' (from Gmc. 'Clóตลาด'). By the time of Old French, however, /h/ and developed as a new phoneme. The causes and implications of this innovation will be discussed.

In addition, Germanic initial /w/ is typically borrowed into Gallo-Romance, as well as early Spanish and Italian, as /gw/. Possible implications regarding the quality of Germanic /w/ will also be discussed.

Is There Phonology After Universal Phonetic Interpretation?

A central tenet of nearly all versions of generative phonology is that the output of the phonological component is "a representation in terms of a universal phonetic alphabet." (Chomsky). Discussion of this hypothesis would be facilitated if we had a clearer notion of what a phonological theory which lacked this hypothesis would look like. The purpose of this paper is to sketch the outlines of such a theory.

To claim a universal phonetic alphabet is to claim that the function which maps phonetic representations into linguistic symbols is a universal one. The alternative proposal is that phonology is language-specific, and should therefore be regarded as a component of the grammar, capable of embodying important generalizations about the sound pattern of a language (e.g., that sequences of certain phonetic segments are impossible; that "phonetic substance" directly expressed in the theory by the building up of structure in a "model"), its inclusion in the grammar would allow a) the expression of fine-grained phonetic differences between languages, b) the treatment of language-specific as well as universal contextual effects in terms of vocal tract structure and dynamics, and c) versatile expression of timing differences.

Among issues that separate the two approaches are the implied scale of controllable phonetic detail, and the malleability of the perception and production systems.

Alpha Wave Asymmetry in Autistic Children's Response to Speech

Adult aphasic patients with left hemisphere damage often retain automatic speech, similar to stereotypic routines and echolalia found in autistic's speech. This similarity suggests a location for automatic speech centers somewhere other than the left hemisphere. EEG studies of alpha brain waves in normal adults have indicated a difference between the left and right hemispheres' responses to verbal and spatial tasks: the slow symmetrical rhythmic alpha patterns over both hemispheres are disrupted by stress, left hemisphere responses are highly sensitive to psychoactive substances such as alcohol, and a predominance of activity in the hemisphere engaged by the specific task, e.g., left hemisphere for speech. This report of a pilot study compares three groups of subjects, normal children, normal adults and autistic children, in their responses to some typical situations (passively listening to a story, automatic speech, stereotypic speech, and music). Results are pending; however, it is expected that differences in the autistic children's response to automatic and stereotypic speech will be manifested in variations in the alpha asymmetry as compared to normals. The presentation will include a discussion of the issues involved and some implications.
ROCHELLE LIGIER, University of Alabama in Birmingham

A Note on the History of the English Auxiliary System

A major verb analysis of the modern English (NE) auxiliary system based on Narrate (1979) is presented. This analysis assumes an internal structure for the VP in which V* → V' V'' (where V'' = s). Modals, have, be, and do are generated as V → V' V'' and subcategorize for V'' complements, the morphological form of which is determined by the subcategorization properties of possible auxiliaries. A number of rules affecting the NE auxiliaries will be proposed. Differences between the Old English (OE) and NE auxiliary systems will be noted. Differences between the Old English (OE) and NE auxiliary systems are less likely to be possible.

This analysis is compared to a non-main verb analysis of the auxiliary system in Hebrew, Turkish, and Masore (1979). It is argued that the historical development of English is greatly simplified by adopting the main verb analysis of the NE.

WILLIAM C.J. LIV, Seton Hall University

Aspect and Tense in Mandarin

Aspect has not been as well studied as tense. In Mandarin, neither aspect nor tense has been as well studied as they have been in English. This paper is a study of the functions of aspect and tense, and which category plays a more important role in Mandarin. Aspect in Mandarin characterizes the shape or structure of the verb, including the development of the narrated event or situation without reference to the speech time.

Tense characterizes the narrated event or situation with reference to the speech time or point of time set up by the speaker. Mandarin is an aspect-dominated language; tense plays only a very small role. Actually, there is no pure tense marker in the Mandarin verb or verb phrase, while aspect is prevalent in all types of predicates.

NANCY LERNER, University of Pennsylvania

Downward Entailment and Negative Polarity Items

Analyses of negative polarity items in English have traditionally represented negation as the primary trigger for NPIs: other expressions which license or trigger negation have been considered. Indeed, many grammatical theories of negation postulate a fixed, unchangeable, and irrefutable nature of the negative triggers themselves. This paper argues that this view of negation is too narrow and too restrictive.

The Magnuson (1976) analysis of negative polarity items in English assumes that the presence of the negative marker is the only requirement for the inclusion of a negative item in the clause. However, this analysis fails to account for the fact that certain negative items occur only in certain contexts and not in others. The analysis presented here is based on the idea that the presence of a negative marker is not sufficient to ensure the inclusion of a negative item in the clause.

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MARIO MARCHESI, North Carolina State University

Language Contact in Three Judeo-Spanish Speaking Communities

Judeo-Spanish (also known as Ladino or Judezmo), the language or the Sephardic Jews, has been in intimate and continuous contact with numerous languages throughout the five hundred years of its existence. In spite of this contact, the language until recent times has maintained its own distinct identity, sociolinguistic, socio-historical reasons, relatively free from extensive foreign influence. Twentieth century developments have rather significantly altered this situation, however, as the three largest remaining communities of Judeo-Spanish speakers (Israel, Istanbul, and New York) have been subjected to considerable pressure by majority languages (Spanish, Hebrew, English, Standard Turkish, and French). This paper will examine the effect of these contact languages on Judeo-Spanish in the areas of phonology, morphology, and syntax.

In this paper we will examine the effect of these contact languages on Judeo-Spanish in the areas of phonology, morphology, and syntax. The language planning point of view, however, a lot remains to be done especially in the elaboration of functional lexical lists that cut across regional dialects and that could be used in the preparation of textbooks for all levels. Ten years ago a group of researchers from the Hagheb set out to prepare such a common list to be used in the preparation of primary school textbooks. Today this list is a reality.

The educational impact is yet to be assessed. The object of this paper is first, to critically evaluate the sociolinguistic criteria the researchers have based their lexical work on and, second, to suggest some of the steps that could be used to generalize the benefits of this work for the rest of the Arab world.

MATTHIAS MAZ\& KATHE KURLESTEN BLEIER, University of Texas

Negation in Kabyle Barber

In this paper we will examine the system of negation in Kabyle, a Berber language of northern Algeria. The language is characterized by a system of negation that is both complex and distinctive. The system of negation in Kabyle is characterized by a system of negation that is both complex and distinctive. The system of negation in Kabyle is characterized by a system of negation that is both complex and distinctive. The system of negation in Kabyle is characterized by a system of negation that is both complex and distinctive.

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Toward a Restrictive Theory of Grammatical Relations and Lexical Rules

Grammatical relations (GRs) intervene in the connection between the semantic roles or relations (SRs) that have a verb and the expressions of these roles (structural positions, case markings) in sentences. Only two GRs, subject (SU) and object (OB), exist. Within a lexical entry for a verb, SRs link to SU and OB, and SU and OB link to expressions of the remaining SRs associated with the verb and are linked directly to their expressions. A verb is either transitive—has a SU and an OB—or intransitive—has only a SU. Some languages may allow a verb more than one OB. Lexical rules apply to lexical entries of verbs and must be composed of the following primitive operations: 1. Addition of a SR to SU or OB, 2. Addition of a SR to SU or OB, 3. Translative verbs (removal of SU), 4. Detranslative verbs (removal of OB). Passivization, for example, is a translative and the removal of the SR from SU; the "promotion" of OB to SU is an automatic consequence of these operations. In many languages, causativization involves translative and the restriction of SRs. Some authors argue, based on evidence from Mexican Seri, that these facts provide a new argument for an analysis of passive clauses which posits more than one syntactic level. The framework of relational grammar is one of the most promising approaches to the study of language. The origins of modern sociolinguistics are to be found in American pragmatist philosophers and social psychologists of the 1910's and 20's: John Dewey, G. H. Mead, and especially Grace A. de Laguna. De Laguna's study of speech in the social context predates 'sociolinguistics' by a quarter of a century; however, through the work of J. R. Firth (Speech, 1930) and the practice of social psychologists of the 1910's and 20's, through the work of John Dewey, G. H. Mead, and especially Grace A. de Laguna, the field of modern sociolinguistics was born.

Social Roles and Linguistic Code Switching

On the basis of a preliminary analysis of interview material of Kalunga dialect of Swedish (Dalarna) it can be concluded that the social roles of authority as well as the particular topics of discussion are the primary factors in the choice of codes (dialect vs. standard) and have a decisive effect on code-switching/splitting.

Some more general aspects of linguistic attitudes and identifications and male/female roles will be discussed.
The common approach to the study of vernacular black English (VBE) has been to take Standard English (SE) as basic and describe VBE in terms of reduction or alteration of SE features. This approach has led to an unsatisfactory characterization of the phonological patterns of children using VBE. Underlying phonological representation was investigated by recording the spelling errors of second grade children. Research has shown that the phonological system of VBE both exists and is characterized by a limited number of phonemes.

The central hypothesis investigated is that the cognitive function of transitivity in clauses is the encoding of causality. A claim has been made (e.g., Hopper and Thompsett 1980) for the dimensionality and scalability of transitivity and for its connection with the communicative function of Grounding. This study builds on previous work on Samoan sentence types and transitivity (McCraw 1984), and shows that speakers (N=10) (i) scale clauses, (ii) sort them according to a dimensionality of semantic dimensions linguists have identified in morphosyntax, transitivity in particular, and (iii) make judgments of causality predictable from the transitivity of sentences. Among the non-determined sentence types, Find descriptions of generality ("Xs always go around doing Y to Zs"), the assignment of credit, fault and blame, etc. These patterns of inferences are found to be related to morphosyntactic differences among sentences, lexical differences among verbs, speakers' ratings of the 'transitivity' of sentences, and judged similarity of sentences.

George P. McCran, University of Pennsylvania

Kurylovics' First Law of Analogy: Analogic Change and Sound Change

According to Kurylovics' law, all unattested sounds of a language may be realized as 'phonetic' or 'phonetic' additions. This property is thus plausible only if the sound change prequisites are elaborated. A sound change reflected in MGB (Twaddell,1986) produced many new unattested sounds of a kind not found in any other language. A more limited split from reassessment, /b/ to /p/, had taken place in OGB, e.g. noun pl. Go, gusta (guests) > OGB gesti. The new unattested allomorphs, which had many occurrences, was described by subsequent analogic processes. Haus, Teng had not been affected by sound change because they had been followed by /-ə/- in the plural. Analogic change (Rosengweij,1960:30) is descriptive of the OGB unattested allomorphs of ; Haus, Teng. 

Marlyns McClaran, University of California, Los Angeles

Transitivity and Causal Inferences: A Samoan Example

The central hypothesis investigated is that the cognitive function of transitivity in clauses is the encoding of causality. A claim has been made (e.g., Hopper and Thompsett 1980) for the dimensionality and scalability of transitivity, and for its connection with the communicative function of grounding. This study builds on previous work on Samoan sentence types and inference (McCraw 1984), and shows that speakers (N=10) (i) scale clauses, (ii) sort them according to a dimensionality of semantic dimensions linguists have identified in morphosyntax, transitivity in particular, and (iii) make judgments of causality predictable from the transitivity of sentences. Among the non-determined sentence types, Find descriptions of generality ("Xs always go around doing Y to Zs"), the assignment of credit, fault and blame, etc. These patterns of inferences are found to be related to morphosyntactic differences among sentences, lexical differences among verbs, speakers' ratings of the 'transitivity' of sentences, and judged similarity of sentences.

Richard Morgan, University of Arizona

The Phraseless Generation of Sentences: Modern Application of Pidgin Principles

The origin of a sentence lies in a speaker's understanding of, and desire to communicate, an event. This desire, therefore, is the driving force of linguistic production. This desire results from a confluence of motivations: (i) the desire to express oneself, (ii) the desire to understand oneself, and (iii) the desire to understand others. The desire to communicate is the fundamental motivation of linguistic production.

The phraseless generation of sentences (PPG) is a model of language production that is characterized by a lack of structure in the linguistic data. This is in contrast to the traditional model of language production, which is characterized by a high degree of structure in the linguistic data. The PPG model is based on the assumption that language production is a stochastic process, and that the output is a probability distribution over all possible sentences. This is in contrast to the traditional model of language production, which is based on the assumption that language production is a deterministic process, and that the output is a single sentence.

The PPG model is a useful tool for understanding the process of language production. It is particularly useful for understanding the process of language production in natural settings, where the input is often incomplete or ambiguous. The PPG model can also be used to simulate the process of language production, which can be useful for understanding the behavior of language production in artificial settings, such as computer systems.

Richard Morgan, University of Arizona

A Methodology for the Elicitation of Language Competence

In this paper we wish to distinguish between 3 concepts and their elicitation in field situations: Language Competence, Language Attitude, and Language Sentiment. Until recently, linguists (Ingold, Lamber) have measured language attitudes as stereotypes through various projective techniques (semantic differential, matched guise, questionnaires) implying that attitudes represent the whole of the native speaker's language conscience. For language conscience encompasses not only language attitudes, but also language sentiment, and finally the relationship of the two. While attitudes (public stereotypes, tense and inflectional affixes, if needed, are also chosen. Only then, after selection, are the concepts and attitudes ordered to create words. And words are then ordered to form sentences. Phrases never evolve as a separate entity since the linearity轴 is applied to words just once—to form the complete sentence.

Richard Morgan & Rainer E. Nabel, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico

The theory of language competence is the study of the native speaker's language competence. The native speaker's language competence is defined as the set of knowledge and skills that enable the native speaker to produce and understand language. The theory of language competence is based on the assumption that language is a dynamic system, and that the native speaker's language competence is a function of the environment in which the native speaker lives. The theory of language competence is used to explain the distribution of language across different social, cultural, and geographical contexts. The theory of language competence is used to explain the distribution of language across different social, cultural, and geographical contexts.
The primary claim of this paper is that there exists a vast intricately structured multi-leveled manifold of speech act types which has as its root the class of social pressures (e.g., obligations). I call this the PCM.

In part one I define and argue for the existence of the PCM. In part two I demonstrate the PCM's relevance to speech act theory by using it as a perspective to argue for a cumulative series of revisionary proposals. Austin's, or rather Austin's collectively autocentric class should be reinterpreted as a superclass, but as a superclass; (ii) that all exercitives partake of a characteristic tricomponential design (the speech act, the exergetic, the illocutionary object): (iii) that Speech's direction of fit analysis in his classification needs revision because for the directives, commissives and representatives it is a feature of the illocutionary object, while for the declarations it is a feature of the illocutionary act.

There is no rule of Subject Pronoun Drop in English. The evidence floating would have to occur before SPD, phonologically conditioned, since the presence of and type of preverbal object is assumed to determine the illocutionary force of the clause. For some speakers of American English, a singular form may be used with a plural subject in WH-questions where the WH word is a question word. For those speakers who allow this kind of number neutralization, the only case that allows it is the purely copular use of be, and not a be used in periphrastic constructions such as the progressive or passive. The following grammatical contrast: Where in hell's the answers? VS Where in hell's the man running? This distinction has important consequences for such questions as the deep structure of passives, and wider implications for most theories of syntax.

- ROBERT B. LEES, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

- PETER KLEIN, University of California, San Diego

- RICHARD J. NEWMAN, University of Washington

- JOHN T. ESHER, Concordia University
The existence of 'adversity' interpretations in connection with the suffix *sase* has long been recognized in studies of Japanese grammar. Such interpretations arise in other contexts as well. For example, sentence (1), which contains the 'causative' suffix *sase*,

1) Hanako wa masuko o sase-te-a.

Hanako topic-marker son object-marker die:SASE:past

is applicable to situations in which Hanako (a) intentionally brought about her son's death, (b) let her son die, or (c) failed to prevent her son's death. In addition to these 'causal' interpretations, (1) supports an interpretation on which it is applicable to a situation in which Hanako played no role in her son's death but suffered as a result of it. This is the 'adversity' interpretation which arises in connection with *sase*, and it can be shown that under certain circumstances, simple lexical transitive verbs support such 'adversity' interpretations as well. The circumstances which give rise to 'adversity' interpretations in the cases discussed above must be distinguished from the circumstances which allow an 'adversity' interpretation in connection with *sase*.

It is possible to formulate two distinct concepts of 'adversity' which accord well with the linguistic and pragmatic factors which condition the possibility of 'adversity' interpretations in these different contexts. Finally, we comment briefly on the syntactic consequences of these facts and our analysis of them.

MICHAEL NOONAN & CAROLYN SCHAFNER, State University of New York

The Noun-Class System of Kabre

Kabre has an unusually complex noun-class system for a Gur language. There are 10 classes, 9 of which may be used for singular nouns, 6 for plurals. 15 singular/plural pairings have so far been discovered. Class markers are suffixes on nouns, but concord is indicated by both prefixes and suffixes. In our paper, we will examine the morphology and syntax of the noun-class system, discuss the semantic content of the classes and class markers, and speculate on the link between the class system of Kabre and other Gur languages and Proto-Benue-Congo.

GEOFFREY NUNBERG, Stanford University

Individualism, Holism, and Linguistic Idealization

When Chomsky equates his picture of idealized competence with Saussure's notion of langue (at the beginning of *L'année* and elsewhere), he assumes as most modern linguists that there is no empirical difference between an idealization to language as an individual fact, and as a social fact or collective representation, provided the idealization is sufficiently severe. It is easy enough to show that this equation is justified only where it is commonly known--in the favored sense--that each individual is subject to the same performance considerations, roughly, as each other. Once an individual speaker can construct his phonology, for example, in private consultation with the properties of his own mouth. But while the conditions that allow the equation of the two idealizations do hold for the performance factors that constrain the selection of a phonology and syntax, they do not hold when we come to construct a semantics, since no speaker could construct a theory of the meaning of a word, for example, without asking himself about the patent disparities of belief that he observes within the community.

This point is much emphasized in recent philosophical work on meaning, particularly by Putman, Kripke, and Gareth Evans, but its consequences for linguistic methodology have been largely ignored: in the lexicon, at least, an idealization to the competence of an individual is vastly more severe than an equivalent idealization in syntax or phonology, and so is correspondingly less fruitful.
Much of the discussion in the literature on Chicanan English concerns whether Chicanan English is a truly social dialect with community norms of its own. While some authors have attempted to list phonological/grammatical variants which reflect shared norms, none have proposed the notion that some variants could be assigned both to interference behavior and normative behavior. This paper examines variants of English used by various Chicanos with the goal of assigning them to interference behavior, normative behavior, or both.

**STANLEY PETERS, University of Texas at Austin**

**An Alternative to Wh-Movement**

Unbounded dependencies such as that between the on-phrase in dislocated An-phrases in their surface structure position to the location in surface structure peculiarities of unbounded dislocation revealing developmental trends. This is especially true between the age of two and a half were used to group the subjects, Group was a significant factor for tests 3 and 4 at .004. If an F ratio was used, it was not significant. When the first two tests were used to group the subjects, Group was a significant factor for tests 3 and 4 at the .006 level (.025 with F). The use of the pretest and 2, which were designed to test the child's linguistic knowledge of elements crucial to the interpretation of the constructions tested in tests 3 and 4, provided a clearer picture of the strategies used at different stages which the use of age as a grouping obscured.

**MARIANNE PULLEY, University of Massachusetts, Amherst & Smith College**

**The Use of Grouping Variables in Language Acquisition: Age vs. Pretesting**

In language acquisition research, the grouping of the subjects is often crucial in revealing developmental trends. This is especially true between the ages of three and seven. Some studies have shown that children of different ages use different strategies for interpreting particular constructions. However, it seems true as common to find that age has no effect, particularly when the construction being examined is syntactically complex.

A part of a larger study, children ages three to six and a half were given four tests: 1) imitation of complex sentences with that complements, 2) imitation of sentences with infinitival complements, 3) interpretation of SS and OS relative clauses, and 4) interpretation of WH questions from complex sentences with that complements, where the WH word referred to a gap in the complement sentence. Analyses of variance showed that while age was a significant factor in tests 1 and 2, it barely reached significance (.05) for tests 3 and 4. If an F ratio was used, age was not significant. When the first two tests were used to group the subjects, Group was a significant factor for tests 3 and 4 at the .006 level (.025 with F). The use of the pretest and 2, which were designed to test the child's linguistic knowledge of elements crucial to the interpretation of the constructions tested in tests 3 and 4, provided a clearer picture of the strategies used at different stages which the use of age as a grouping obscured.

**JOYCE PENFIELD, University of Texas at El Paso**

**Chicanan English: Interference and/or Community Norms**

Clitic pronouns in Spanish can, in certain circumstances, be detached from a subordinate clause and be assigned an indirect object. This paper investigates one set of cases in which this clitic promotion (CP) is not possible. If the superordinate verb is, for example, Prohibir 'to prohibit', and the clitic pronoun of the subordinate verb is a direct object, CP is not allowed. But if the clitic pronoun is an indirect object of the superordinate verb, the output of CP is only interpreted as the indirect object of the superordinate verb. Juan prohibi6 escribir. Juan le prohibi6 escribir. Juan prohibi6 writing it. Juan prohibi6 escribirla.

The listener interprets a clitic by means of a left-to-right processing with assigns a clitic to the first semantic function which is available. In the sentences cited above, the first possible assignment of la is as the direct object of escribir, since prohibir never has an underlying nominal direct object. However, prohibir frequently does have an underlying indirect object, and consequently any surface indirect object attached to it is interpreted as its underlying indirect object. The existence of this obligatory interpretive strategy necessitates the imposition of a transderivational constraint on CP.

**ELENA POLANTI, University of Amsterdam**

**Time and Place in Stories and Conversation**

Patterns of tenses in conversations containing stories suggest that speakers make use of some notion of "discourse worlds" along with the tense marked on the verb of each sentence to indicate the "time" of the sentence. In storytelling, propositions are asserted for evaluation as the world of the embedding conversation. The temporal structure of discourse is proposed which distinguishes several types of time -- including Involving Final Conversation, Conversational Time, and Universal Time. The temporal structure of an assertion is thus considered to be defined by the tense and aspect of the verb, the type of discourse world in which it is made, and the piece of other verbs in the discourse whose own scope of application is open. These temporal structures create the temporal junctions in the case of stories, for example. Changes of speech act, the use of discourse particles and tone of voice, among other "shifters", may indicate change of world. Once in a world, anaphora functions, appropriate turntaking rules are observed and the tense patterns themselves may act semiotically to indicate the type of world involved.

**ALMA POPACK, Center for Puerto Rican Studies, CUNY**

**Note About Puerto Rican Spanish-English Contact**

There has been a long tradition of studies critical of Puerto Rican Spanish (PRS) by educators, linguists and other interested observers. PRS phonology involving final consonant reduction is decried as resulting in faulty communication between Puerto Ricans and speakers of other dialects. On the syntactic and semantic levels, "incorrect" word-order and pronoun placement, and confusion in the tense-mood-aspect system are said to indicate the deterioration and simplification undergone by PRS. Lexical borrowing and code-switching are seen as evidence of a development of the lexicon and syntax, respectively. A common theme in this tradition is that the features cited are all due to contact with and contamination from English, and that there is a general lack of adequate theoretical or comparative analysis of the languages involved. We review here recent quantitative linguistic re--search adopting a critical stance towards the role of external influence in this contact situation. The evolution of NP plural marking and S-V concord is part of a long-standing phonological pattern unrelated to English influence. The verbal system closely parallels that of Spanish, as do many other features of PRS which shows no perceptible convergence towards English. Code-switching entails no qualitative or quantitative deformations of either of involved. Indeed, English influence seems largely confined to providing new lexical items which are gradually integrated into Spanish, and is violent to the grammar or phonology. A critical and systematic sociolinguistic approach is the first step in combating these pejorative myths and achieving social and educational reform.
Borrowing: The Synchrony of Loanwords

Traditional studies of borrowing have concentrated on either the phonological restructuring of loanwords, or the assignment of grammatical features such as gender and derivational morphology, or the sociolinguistic correlates of loan use. All these aspects, however, operate based on the phonological and morphological structure of the borrowing process. Thus we undertake here a comprehensive, operatively phonological and morphological investigation of the dynamics of loanword assimilation, taking account of all of these processes as well as the relationships among them. This report describes a number of hypotheses advanced in the literature, e.g. that phonological integration of loanwords increases as a function of its frequency of use, and that members of a bilingual community use phonologically less integrated forms than their monolingual counterparts. Our analysis requires the formal and empirical characterization of loanwords. We define two indices measuring these different aspects of lexical expression of phonological processes as well as of the relationships among them. This report describes our results.

P.J. Prince, Haskins Laboratories

Japanese Flaps, American English Flaps and Distinctive Feature Theory

Flaps in Japanese (J) and in American English (AE), it is shown, manifest substantial acoustic, articulatory and perceptual similarities. The number and type of distinctions maintained in the two languages, however, differ considerably: Intervocalic flaps in AE contrast with J /d/ but not with retroflex or lateral phones. Though the area of overlap of AE with J flaps may be large, differences exist, primarily in the probability with which a particular feature may occur, e.g., voicing in closure or existence of glottal release. This difference, however, is not because the Japanese flap assimilation is correlated with both frequency of use and phonological integration, confining the previous hypothesis that the word becomes more integrated as it becomes more phonologically integrated. In order to test this hypothesis, children's production of borrowed materials is closer to the source than that of their parents, and we may generalize a successively generalized successively generated at each stage of assimilation, which disappears as the word becomes more phonologically integrated. This postulate is supported by the community norm.

J.N. Prince & Gerald Prince, University of Pennsylvania

Differentiating between Topicalization, Focus-Movement, and Yiddish-Movement

Sentences of the form (a) [X₁ Y₁ ... Xₙ Yₙ] where X₁ is a noncanonical NP and Y₁ is a correlative referential, have been treated in the literature as a single construction (e.g. Harris 1957, Pastoe 1974), as a standard construction and as a nonstandard construction (e.g. Ross 1967), as two standard constructions (e.g. Gundel 1974), and as three constructions, depending on the way they are intended to be interpreted (e.g. Jackendoff 1972). This paper being evidence to support Jackendoff's three-way distinction and provides criteria for distinguishing among them.

Topicalization (I) involves a leftmost NP representing an entity that is already known in the discourse, and the occurrence of a noncanonical referential X₁ in the sentence. Focus-Movement (II) involves a leftmost NP which does not represent an entity at all but represents rather a value of a feature, and the fact that the entity in question has the feature in question. The remaining part of the sentence is then interpreted as the remnant. Yiddish-Movement is not a way of representing an entity but is rather a way of representing an entity. The Yiddish-Movement is a way of representing an entity which is represented by a remnant. In Yiddish-Movement, it is the remnant which is represented by a remnant. In the remnant, the remnant represents an old information, but the leftmost NP is relatively unrestricted: it may represent an entity (known, inferable, or new (3b)).

Emma Rappaport, Eastern Illinois University

CONCLUSIONARY STUDY OF COMPLEMENT MEANINGS AND FORMS

No set of complement meanings will be identified and shown to be distinguished by complement forms across languages. One set involves those complements about the truth of a proposition, like statements, reports, questions, references, decisions, etc. These two types are frequently distinguished by complement forms, as in English: "I told/persuaded her that it was so" and "I told/persuaded her to do it." These meanings underlie the epistemic/nontopic distinction in modal and the similarities and differences among speech act and non-speech act types. A second set of complement meanings involves a non-discrete scale of alternatives to the proposition of which the sentence is performing, one extending from necessary, with other alternatives available, to possible, with other alternatives equally likely.

Eliza Poulton, University of Washington

In Category Status of Infinitival To

Generative grammarians usually treat infinitival to as a category that is not associated with any word-class. This has never been explicitly justified. Informally, to is sometimes referred to as a "particle" (but clearly not in the sense that Particle Movement behavior defines) or as a "prototypical" (though with little complementizer implantation for ellipsis). An alternative that one might consider instead is that to as a preposition in all its occurrences, but that some verbs like want do not allow the preposition to, while others like take allow to + PP complements but do not allow to + VPs by an adverb (the "split infinitive") while prepositions can never be separated from their complements. One further possibility is to take seriously the idea that verbs play the role of "auxiliary" in infinitival constructions, and analyse it as a defective auxiliary. Thus the possibility that a category assignment (originally suggested by Postal) disappears when the sentence is examined closely. I offer a four arguments in its favor: one that is straightforward, another that is stronger, one that can be generalized without any particular assumptions about the nature of the infinitival construction, which disappears as the word becomes successively integrated. This postulate is supported by the community norm.

SUNY Horn: University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Inheritance of Subcategorization in Deverbal Nominals: Learning Exceptional Rules

The problem of how children learn exceptions to rules must be understood in a language acquisition theory. Given the rule-governed way in which children learn a grammar, how does child derive from an incorrect generalization without negative evidence (Haber 1979) is child able to access to knowledge of what is ungrammatical? The productive rules for deriving verbal nominals in -ing and -ed provide a case study.

SUNY Horn: University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Available accounts of the origin of relationships of OE fôrban and fôrbonde (van Dijk, 1979; Mitchell, 1965; Carver, 1976: Erickson, 1977; O'Neill, 1977) are incorrect, each at least one respect. In the earliest OE texts (GE, CR, and Chrona), fôrban but not fôrbonde appears as an adverb as well as a 'correlative'. Both appear as conjunctions subordinating a reason clause, but only fôrbonde appears separated from the reason clause. Hence it is correct to assume that fôrban originate in Pre-OE as prepositional phrase functioning as reason adverbials. Fôrbonde plus reason clause originates as (A)

(A) [For Det Bing Comp] PP

while fôrban originates as (A) without the complement S. The two prepositional phrases then undergo a restructuring caused by the deletion of the headnoun ‘cause’, reason and the consequent compounding of for plus det plus gap. By the time of our earliest texts, the headnoun ‘cause’ rarely appears, but its appearance provides crucial evidence for regarding (A) as the origin of fôrban and fôrbonde. ‘Correlative’ fôrban is a copy of the subordinating conjunction.

MICHAEL REIDER, University of Iowa

Theoretical Aspects of Nasalization in Brazilian Portuguese

Schanze (1971) has proposed that ‘if, on the surface, a feature is contrastive in some environments but not in others, that feature is lost where there is no contrast.’ Thus in French, oral and nasalized vowels contrast word-finally and before a nose-nasal consonant (cf. [b] ‘beautiful’, [b] ‘good’; [b:z] ‘with boots’, [b:ts] ‘goodness’), but not word-initially or word-medially where now one oral vowel occurs, at an earlier stage of French, only nasalized vowels preceded a nasal consonant; a rule has since been generalized which nasalizes a vowel before a nasal consonant, precisely the environments in which there is no surface contrast.

In this paper it is shown that a major dialectal difference in Brazilian Portuguese (cf. [ã]nu ‘animal’, [ãnã] ‘banana’ in Northern Brazilian; [ãn]nu, [ãnã] Southern Brazilian), previously analyzed as a difference in nasalization rules (e.g., [ã] for [â], [ã] for [ã]), is more adequately explained by the presence in the Southern dialect of a rule of nasalization, similar in form and function to Schane’s rule for French. Thus, Brazilian Portuguese constitutes another case for Schane’s hypothesis, at least as far as the formal details of the phenomenon are concerned.

Additionally, it is shown that this analysis is consistent with Kiparsky’s (1973) “Elsewhere Condition,” which correctly predicts that this rule of nasalization and denasalization in Southern Brazilian must be applied disjunctively.

60
The role of grammatical meaning in sound change has long been an important topic of discussion in current, generative syntactic theory. In general, the grammatical conditioning is regular and predictable whereas phonological (grammatico-syntactic) conditions are unpredictable and irregular. This is true for both BI and INTP, although initial INTP conditioning is this: if in-/bi- preceded by an intransitive initial invariable verb, there is no shift (e.g., Sin-ki-o' to Sin-ki-i 'I cried'). The grammatical conditioning is this: if in-/bi- occurred before an ergative pronoun the shift took place (e.g., Sin-ko-to 'I helped me') before an ergative pronoun the shift did not take place (e.g., Sin-ki-to' to Sin-ki-i 'they helped me').

Incomprehensible as it may initially sound, it is the strategy of the children's acquisition of INTP to acquire the role of the subject in the environment.

For instance, we argue that 'both synchronic and diachronic study show an intimate link of solidarity and independence between the [A] actuality of structures and arguments and the [B] actuality of grammatical conditioning. The future provides opportunity to investigate the non-grammatical nature of grammatical conditioning.'

THOMAS ROEPER, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Some Facts and Thoughts on Parameters in Real-Time Acquisition

We shall argue (1) that linguistic theory has gained sufficient precision to allow us to replace the evaluation metric with a parameter-setting approach (Chomsky 1980), 2) that evidence from acquisition, in subtle detail, conforms to the predictions made by case-theory. In particular, case-theory very precisely predicts that children will acquire the ergative complement without subjects (I like to sing) before they acquire them with subjects (I like for you to sing). We shall also discuss the appearance of a particular preposition like for you to sing which Children's Acquisition of INTP provides the environment for the shift to take place. With Jacobson we agree that "both synchronic and diachronic show an intimate link of solidarity and independence between the [A] actuality of structures and arguments and the [B] actuality of grammatical conditioning. The future provides opportunity to investigate the non-grammatical nature of grammatical conditioning.'

JAKE M. ROSENTHAL

How Do In the Aztec Possessive?

The expression of possession in Classical Nahuatl and the modern Aztec dialects differs from such expressions in other Uto-Aztecan languages. The Aztec possessive is characterized by having no real alelable/finalizable opposition, and location and similar "prepositional" notions are expressed with possessed noun phrases.

Some of Aztec's unattested Middle American neighbors show certain similarities in their possessive phrases: Potloma in the juxtaposition of elements and Mayan in the expression of locational relations as possessives. This paper examines the possible morphological influence on the development of the Aztec possessive by comparing it and its features with those in either Uto-Aztecan languages and in other Middle American families.

JANE M. ROSENTHAL

Structure in Nonphonological Conditioning: From Colonial to Modern Cakchiquel

The role of grammatical meaning in sound change has long been an important topic of discussion in current, generative syntactic theory. In general, the grammatical conditioning is regular and predictable whereas phonological (grammatico-syntactic) conditions are unpredictable and irregular. This is true for both BI and INTP, although initial INTP conditioning is this: if in-/bi- preceded by an intransitive initial invariable verb, there is no shift (e.g., Sin-ki-o' to Sin-ki-i 'I cried'). The grammatical conditioning is this: if in-/bi- occurred before an ergative pronoun the shift took place (e.g., Sin-ko-to 'I helped me') before an ergative pronoun the shift did not take place (e.g., Sin-ki-to' to Sin-ki-i 'they helped me').

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A series of experiments employing congenitally deaf subjects who utilize American Sign Language (ASL) (oral and manual means of communicating) have shown that various grammatical devices are used to mark lines, verses, and larger units of Chippewan narrative.

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ELLEN SRANXL4ND, San Diego University

The child may focus

Karttunen by proposing that factivity is best handled as another

The notion of factivity was originally introduced by Kiparsky and Kiparsky, who attempted to define it using a series of syntactic characteristics, and to motivate these characteristics using the semantic notion of presupposition. However, they added themselves that there are problems with their approach: A significant task in this project is the explanation of computer technology in language other than the enormous corpus of computer terminology which has evolved over a surprisingly short time.

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ELLEN SRANXL4ND, San Diego University
Is Language Behavior Rule Governed?

The purpose of this paper is to consider the possibility that linguistic behavior may not be rule governed. Language usage sometimes suggests that speakers use rules to produce novel forms. Nonetheless, certain critical cases show that an algorithmic approach to language usage is more appropriate. These critical cases include the following: (1) the transition in behavior across a "rule boundary" is probabilistic in nature and the likelihood of the transition depends upon the density of the data; (2) the closer an exceptional form is, the greater the probability that behavior will be deterministic, but nonetheless there are severe conceptual difficulties in learning and using probabilistic rules.

IAN SMITH, Monash University

Should Alternations Be Listed in Lexical Representations?

The proposal by Hudson (1974, 1980), Hopper (1975, 1976) et al. that the alternating parts of a morpheme should be listed suppletively in its lexical representation is examined in the light of available evidence concerning psychologically realizable analyses.

Crucial data are of the type mentioned by Hale (1973). Hale's oft-quoted example concerns /r - ə/ alternations found in Maori verb paradigms, as illustrated in the following active/passive pairs: auhi/awhita, hopu/hopukia, aru/arumia, tohu/tohanga, etc. Hale demonstrates that for native speakers, the active serves as a base from which the passive is derived by specification of -tia, -kia, -m/a, etc. Since the Hudson/Hopper model would allow the alternating consonant to be assigned to the root rather than to the affix, it fails to predict the strategy native speakers will use in abducing a grammar. A model which does not suffer from this defect is one which assumes (a) that lexical representations are existing word-forms (rather than roots or stems and affixes), and (b) that one paradigmatic form (usually the most frequently occurring or that found in the most unmarked morphological environment) serves as a base for the generation of the other forms.

References will appear on the accompanying handout.

MARY REGINA SMITH, University of California, Los Angeles

Phonetic Vowel Length and Stress Perception

The binary feature of phonetic vowel length is important in phonological descriptions of word stress in English. However, it is uncertain whether this feature is used by listeners in the act of perceiving stress. If it is used, then evidence should exist that listeners find different vowel durations suitable for stressed and unstressed long vowels. Further, these durations should be different from those suitable for stressed and unstressed short vowels, other factors being equal. Perceptual experiments were conducted with nonsense disyllables that varied only in the phonetic length and actual duration of the vowels. The results show no evidence that such a binary feature is being used. Rather, a more continuous dimension such as inherent vowel duration seems to be important to listeners. Complex information about the first syllable in the target word appears to constrain the expectations listeners have about the properties of the second syllable. In other words, listeners are able to construe phonetic knowledge by means of the properties of the vowels in the language. However, the binary feature of phonetic vowel length does not characterize this knowledge.

ROYAL SKOUSBEN, Brigham Young University

Multiple Topic Constructions in Korean

Topics are hierarchical in Korean sentences. The so-called multiple subject or nominative constructions are nothing but a subset of multiple topic constructions. Specifically, (a) is systematically related to the sentences in (b) both structurally and semantically.

- John tongsayng i mwn i khe. b. John un tongsayng [{i mwn i khe}]

Contrary to what many traditional, structural, and generative grammarians claim, I show the so-called subject particle /i/ka as having a dual function of a (nominative) case and a topic. As a topic marker it has the semantic content of an exclusiveness-neutrality continuum, whereas the so-called topic particle /un/nu has the semantic content of a contrast-theme continuum. Syntactic-semantic environments of the particles are largely responsible for the occurrence of marked (exclusive or constrastive) or unmarked (neutral or thematic) cases. When an environment is indifferent with respect to markedness, the speaker has control over the degree of markedness by means of stress placement. There are many pieces of syntactic, semantic, and morphological evidence in support of the foregoing proposal.

SUNI~E SMITH, University of California, Santa Cruz

Syntactic Reduction, Iconicity, Markedness and Meaning

The focus of this paper is on the syntactic reduction (first discussed in detail by Borkin) found in sentence sets such as the following:

a) I thought that Sam was crazy.
b) I thought Sam to be crazy.
c) I sensed her to be growing more hostile.
d) I sensed her growing more hostile.

The analysis of these and other data shows that much of English complementation participates in the grammaticalization of directness, i.e., the directness of the relationship between the embedding verb subject and what the complement clause expresses. The more reduced the complement, the more direct the relationship.

The analysis presented revise and extend that presented by Borkin by 1) focusing on a wider range of data, 2) considering the data with respect to markedness and iconicity, and 3) specifying the subtype of directness correlated with each level of reduction. Since directness is expressed iconically and is involved in a major chunk of English grammar, new questions are raised concerning 1) the relationship between iconicity and utilization in oral languages and 2) the consideration of surface form in syntactic and semantic analysis.

NORI SINDAB, State University of New York at Stony Brook

Code Mixing and Psychological Models of Bilingualism

This paper attempts to evaluate the adequacy of current psychological models of bilingual language processing in light of recent studies of intra-lexical code-switching or separate storage model is unable to account for the syntactic properties of code-mixed utterances. Other psycholinguistic issues such as complexity of processing, psychological reality of constituents, stages in sentence production, relationship between syntactic units and thought units are also discussed in light of the new data.
Three Subject-Verb Agreement Rules in Tamil

In Tamil agreement between a subject and finite verb is signalled by verb suffixes that simultaneously express person, number, gender and are inflectible to the position. We show, despite morphological fusion, the existence of three separate agreement rules; one each for personal pronoun, number, and gender. In specified grammatical and pronominal contexts, one pronoun may stand in for another, e.g., nām 1pl. for nān 1m; nān 2pl. for nān 1m; nān 3pl. for nān 1m, etc. Data show that in verb suffixes person is assigned according to extended reference; number according to morphological gender and reference. Suffixes are not copies of features of the noun phrase subject of the verb.

Substitutions of one pronoun for another are likened to antecedent-anaphor pairs and, via referential markemes, are combined with language hierarchy of antecedents and anaphors; data point to the positioning of a performative clause to provide antecedents for these substitutions.

1 -first person; 2 - second person; 3 - third person; a - singular;
p- plural; Inc - inclusive; R - reflexive; H- honorific; pr - proximate.

NANCY STENSON, University of Minnesota

The Statistical Structure of Vowel and Consonant Systems

Previous discussion of the statistical, cross-linguistic relationship between vowel and consonant systems suffers from several weaknesses: 1) no attempt is made to control for sample bias; 2) reporting only the extreme values of inventory sizes makes identification of the form and parameters of the frequency distributions impossible; 3) expression of the data as a relative relation is unsound; 4) no implications are drawn for either general phonetic theory or for diachronic state-process theory. Based on a genuine random sample stratified according to the genetic diversity of the language phyla of the world, this paper demonstrates that V and C systems are independently and lognormally distributed. Earlier apparent observations of "balances" are chance effects predictable from the likely structure of judgment samples. The lognormality and independence have implications for diagnostic feature the language (e.g., the number of requisite distinctive features for V and C systems should be normally distributed, a prediction which is confirmed; 2) if distinctive feature theory is to have cross-linguistic predictive power, it must be compatible with the statistical independence of V and C systems. Current theories are evaluated accordingly. Finally, diachronic processual regularities causally responsible for the observed statistical results are outlined.

LAURENCE STEPHENS, Stanford University

The Characterization of Syntactic Positions

Within the theory of generative grammar, it has long been assumed that in the so-called configurational languages such as English, the phrase structure rules of the base determine structural positions in the expansion of specific categorial phrases which are reserved for a constituent of a specific category. For instance, in the base rules expanding S and NP, the phrase structure rules may define a "subject" position, which is distinct from the NP.

It will be argued that the rules of the base do not in fact have this power to impose asymmetries in the expansion of various categories, and that the rules of the base ought to be restricted to some elaboration of the general core principles of X theory. It is shown that the subject position as a case in point. I will show that most of the apparent asymmetries in the phrase structure of various categories can be explained in terms of other principles of syntactic theory, such as the assignment of syntactic case and the association of referential indices with thematic roles. In syntactic cases where independent principles are satisfied, it is possible for other categories (AP, PP, etc.) to contain syntactic subjects, and it is even possible for non-nominal constituents to fill this position. This conception of phrase structure makes it possible to resolve longstanding problems associated with copular deletion and violations of X principles.

JOHN S. JUSTESON, University of South Carolina

Acute Accent Loss and the Multiple Application Problems

Anderson (1974) has argued that multiple application of the rule of acute accent loss in English, V[-accent]/[\{robust\} [-accent]], is in accordance with a simultaneous algorithm. Vago (1977), however, has reformulated the rule as V[-accent]/[\{robust\} [-accent]], in which a lefward direction seems to work. Anderson's rule requires a non-directional, iterative application of the simultaneous algorithm, an extremely powerful (cf. Johnson 1972), hence undesirable device. Vago's rule has an option of V[-accent]/[\{robust\} [-accent]], in which a lefward direction seems to work. Anderson's rule requires a non-directional, iterative application of the simultaneous algorithm, an extremely powerful (cf. Johnson 1972), hence undesirable device. Vago's rule has an option of V[-accent]/[\{robust\} [-accent]], in which a lefward direction seems to work. Anderson's rule requires a non-directional, iterative application of the simultaneous algorithm, an extremely powerful (cf. 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Grady (1972) 'The English Absolute Construction,' Linguistics 90, 5-10.

The literature on Gapping is replete with arguments both for a deletion analysis of sentences like (1) and for an interpretive analysis. Both approaches entail anaphoric—that they stand for some portion of the surface structure or logical form (LF) of their host clause, and that this relation to an antecedent is specified by a linguistic rule. Here, I examine elliptical expressions like those in (2), which Grady (1972, 6) term 'deceptive absolutes' (DAs). After a preliminary comparison of

(2) They paced about, she swiftly, she mincingly.

DAs and gappings, I argue that the gaps in certain sorts of DAs aren’t anaphoric—that they cannot be related to superficial or logical antecedents by any linguistic rule (whether this be a rule of deletion or a rule of interpretation), but are instead evaluated inferentially; I further suggest that the pragmatic principles by which language users evaluate such gaps suffice for the interpretation of DAs generally, and of gapping. In this view, the issue of whether Gapping is a transformation or a rule of interpretation simply doesn’t arise.


Peripheral treatments have been written about the English absolute construction. The literature on Gapping is replete with arguments both for a deletion analysis of sentences like (1) and for an interpretive analysis. Both approaches entail anaphoric—that they stand for some portion of the surface structure or logical form (LF) of their host clause, and that this relation to an antecedent is specified by a linguistic rule. Here, I examine elliptical expressions like those in (2), which Grady (1972, 6) term 'deceptive absolutes' (DAs). After a preliminary comparison of

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...
T!lpewriter Keyboards for West African Languages

Efficiency in the typing of materials in extra-character languages can be enhanced by making use of certain principles which determine the placement of added characters on the altered keyboard. A number of factors are involved in the process of keyboard planning: vernacular language for which the typewriter is to be usable; whether the national language is to be typed using the same keyboard; which of the numerals and other non-letter characters need to be retained in the word-processing alphabet; and what characters are frequently used in the language.

The insights upon which the suggested principles are based are the following: (1) The typewriter keyboard should be designed for efficiency of young adults who will be regular typists; (2) Additional characters that will be added on the altered keyboard should be positioned according to associations of the phonological unit to be symbolized; (3) Low frequency characters should be added on the top row area. High frequency characters should be added on the top row, "closest" to the key of an associated sound. Closeness is decided in terms of the units used in typing. Sample multi-language keyboards will be shown, which have worked for random languages of three language groups in W. Africa.

LINDA J. THAYER, University of Texas at Arlington

Tone Orthography--Conventions for Languages with Two Tone Levels

Practical orthographies for tone languages of Africa have often gone to one of two extremes: (1) no tone is symbolized, or (2) an attempt is made to symbolize all tones. Economy in tone marking leads to rejection of only those tones which the native speaker needs clues to decode/encode possibly ambiguous utterances. Conventions regarding how to use tone marking symbols are suggested for a typical language. Adjacent tone levels of the language are given a downstep and tone spread. The conventions involve marking (1) downstep, (2) the nucleus high-tone syllable of the tone spread unit, and (3) lexical low-tones on words where distinguished tone results in ambiguity. "Tone letters" are used to mark downstep (the right-hand boundary of the tone spread unit) and the tone spread nucleus syllable (the left-hand boundary of the tone spread unit).

Native readers need to recognize occasional tone marking in "sight" words; they also must learn to react to the symbols which signal the beginning and end of a tone spread unit. The full tone marking system must be mastered by only a minority of persons: writers, editors, those who will read aloud public texts heavily marked for tone, and language analysts/dictionary compilers or users.

ROGER M. THOMPSON, University of Florida

Portuguese Influence in the Copula of English-based Creoles

Based on lexical and historical evidence, Whinnom (1965) suggested that English-based creoles grew out of pidgin Portuguese rather than simplified English. But because of the syntactic similarities of European languages, the ensuing controversy over the origins of pidgin and creoles has included little syntactic evidence. Second-language acquisition studies indicate that the use of the copula is an early syntactic development in at least some languages. Therefore, the English-based pidgin and creoles could provide syntactic evidence for this proposed Portuguese base since in Portuguese (as in Spanish) there are two verbs, ser and estar, function for the English be, ser is used with nouns, estar with expressions of time. The nonsubject clitics have special functions and are assimilated to the subject. In English, sub-arguments are indexed by prefixes or suffixes. In creoles, clitics are used on verbs.

The Original Language of San Antonio, Texas: A Structural Sketch

Cohuistleco (Palailete), now extinct, is known to us primarily through a bilingual professional published in 1760. It is an SOV language, with postnominal modifiers in the noun + Modifier + Demonstrative. The Modifier may contain a relative clause, producing center-embedding. Demonstratives are marked by a suffix to indicate subject versus nonsubject status of the noun. Subject agreement is more frequently used than subject agreement with the nominal of the noun. A clause modifier will be used in constructions that are used for truth-value questions; information question-words occur in sentence initial position.

Negation is attested only by a postposition to the verb, is (a) which precedes the subject. Subject and object arguments are indexed on the verb by prefixes, which are functionally determined by tense and aspect. Morphologically, Cohuistleco is 'non-stative'; interrogative or imperative forms of verbs are the same as possessive prefixes on nouns. Plurality is marked by infixes in verb or noun stems and/or by changes in classifier or demonstratives. Nominal and pronominal reflexive nouns, base-case nouns, and pronouns are based on copulative verb stems agreeing in gender and number with the nominal head. Verb postpositions indicate differences in tense, sex, and causation/transitivity of the subject.
on the Production and Perception of Tones in Mandarin Chinese

Some acoustic correlates of Mandarin tones and their interaction have been tested. Production studies have demonstrated that lexical tones were most clearly

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The Importance of Personality Factors in Determining Perceived Meaning

Most linguistic theories fail to take into account how perceived meaning diverges from intended meaning. Attention has been devoted to the influence of paralanguage, pragmatics, and shared presuppositions. Kinesics is still not recognized by old-fashioned grammarians but is eventually coming into focus. The background of the perceiver is considered only anthropologically and not psychologically. The latter is the concern of this paper.

Statistical evaluation of forced-choice rating tests administered by this author and her students shows that in addition to verbal, nonverbal, pragmatic, and cultural factors, personality factors depending on the combination of sex, age, and profession play a vital role in determining what a message means to the receiver.

Individual Differences in Schizophrenic Language

Interest in schizophrenia, dating to at least 1400 B.C., has frequently focused on the odd communications that schizophrenics sometimes produce. Attempts to provide "defining characteristics" of schizophrenia (e.g. Chalkley 1974; Rochester & Martin 1979) have not met with success for a number of reasons. First, there is by no means agreement as to what schizophrenia is: individual diagnoses as schizophrenic may be in error, or generalizations about schizophrenic behavior may be inappropriate to some or all schizophrenics. Second, theoreticians have not recognized the range of individual variability and difference among schizophrenic types and among individuals within a single diagnostic category.

In this paper, in addition to a review of the relevant literature, the authors report on a survey of practicing clinicians who were asked to describe the linguistic characteristics of schizophrenic patients. Not surprisingly, there is little agreement, although each clinician is certain that he/she could recognize schizophrenia. An attempt is made to provide a preliminary model, integrating the possible contributions of a theory of individual differences with the basic definitional problems inherent in the concept of schizophrenia as a single disease process. In particular, attention is paid to that small spectrum of the schizophrenias which seem to have an underlying organic, and hence quantifiable physiological, basis (e.g. Gur 1978).

Neurolinguistics and Grammatical Theory

Paradis (1978), in discussing the stratification of linguistic levels from a neurolinguistic point of view, has suggested that the evidence from studies of aphasia in bilinguals supports a modified form of the stratificational grammar described in Lamb (1972). The present paper argues that there is no theoretical reason why generative grammars, arguably more satisfactory on formal grounds, are incompatible with the criteria of adequacy identified by Paradis. It is further argued that a generative grammar which rejects the autonomy of both the phonemic and syntactic levels is in fact more satisfactory on purely neurolinguistic grounds.

The Unwary Triumph of a Concept: The 'Disease' Conception of Alcoholism

This paper (a) briefly examines the history and eventual triumph of the 'disease' conception of alcoholism in American society; (b) discusses several problems and challenges to the 'disease' concept of alcoholism, particularly in respect to the positivistic underpinning of the concept; (c) shows that previous views of alcoholism stressed that alcoholism was 'immoral', emphasizing the notion of personal culpability and moral failure. The 'medicalization' of alcoholism proceeded steadily in the twentieth century, until the 'disease' concept was formally constituted as a major explanatory for alcoholism. This positivistic concept permitted alcoholism to emerge from the confines of the dark closet to the bright scientific light of the medical arena. The positivistic 'disease' concept of alcoholism has been formally relinquished by most alcoholologists and the medical, scientific, and governmental establishment.

Critical of alcoholism as a disease has emerged from labeling theory and from the growing disenchantment with positivism in the social sciences. The absolutistic and all-encompassing nature of the term 'disease' hinders attempts to explain all. In the opinion of many critics explains little or nothing. Continuing debate over the basic concepts and nomenclature of alcoholism will go a long way in determining the future of alcoholism policies and programs, and indeed beyond that the attitudes toward this complex phenomenon held by professionals and citizens alike in American society.

A Source of the Doubled Roots in Arabic

The patterning of the double roots in the verbal paradigm in Classical Arabic is unusual when compared to the other major dialects. The geminates in all dialects but Classical Arabic occur intact. In Classical Arabic, however, a stem vowel occurs to break up the double root cluster of the suffix is consonant initial. We propose that the differences in patterning between Classical Arabic and the dialects reflect the historical source of these roots. Originally they were biconsonantal and due to a phonological rule of gemination, a third consonant was created. This third consonant was later treated as lexical, the process which created a third consonant was in part morphologically supported by the existence of morphological gemination. The fact that most verb roots contained three consonants must have also played a role. A third factor concerns the notion of word length. Lehiste (1970) found that, within a word, if one consonant is geminated at some time, the following phoneme will be compensatorily shortened. Lehiste's work seems to indicate that languages have temporal targets which govern the length of individual segments over a given domain. If the verb root constitutes the domain which is subject to temporal compensation and the target time is based on the forms of the triliteral root, then geminates of a consonant may be expected. This historical development of the doubled roots may be understood only in terms of the complex interaction between the phonology, the morphology, and certain recognized but poorly understood notions of lexis.
A Psychological Theory of Allomorphic Relatedness and Morphological Segmentation

This theory consists of general assumptions and specific hypotheses about the notion of speakers' internalized morphology that are intended to provide a framework for research on psychological real morphology. Some general assumptions are: 1) In making phonological analyses, speakers use the cognitively simplest process available to them for a given type of language data; this does not result in maximally simple grammars; 2) phonological rules are influenced by speakers' previous morphological analyses, not vice versa; 3) speakers' analyses are greatly influenced by the degree of transparency between two more possible related forms, defined as the number and location of phonetic alternations in possible allomorphs and the degree of semantic closeness and allignty. Relative opacity between possibly related forms can result in the use of other kinds of data in abstracting and segmenting morphemes, or in failure to abstract them at all. The specific hypotheses include three strategies used in segmentation, the circumstances under which speakers posit nonmeaningful morphemes, and how degrees of semantic and phonetic closeness interact to influence allomorphic connections, aspects of which are already supported by previous experimental and language change research. By imploring this theory also constrains possible hypotheses about psychologically real phonological rules. It proposes an internalized morphology that differs on many points from that implied by the theory of generative phonology.

ERIC S. WHEELER, University of Toronto

Semantic for Recognition Grammars: The Case of hit and break

The design of grammars for the recognition and interpretation of natural language expressions includes such problems as the selection of an informative yet well-activated semantic notation. The verbs hit and break show this: John broke the window has the paraphrase The window broke but John hit the window has no paraphrase. While surface form leaves the distinction uncaptured, traditional 'case gramars' accounts make semantic distinctions unmotivated in the language. Using a system in which each participant in an event is represented as a Player and each Player is engaged in a Pose (state of being or action) even if there is no surface word to name the Pose, one can account for the hit-break difference without too little nor too much notation. Other distinctions follow and the notation can be applied generally to describe participant roles.

Marilyn J. Wilson, Michigan State University

Acquisition of Narrative Discourse

This study of thirty 8 and 11 year old children uses William Labov's description of narrative structure to analyze the children's retellings of fairy tales. Psycholinguistic and anthropological analyses of the narrative also form part of the theoretical study. Differences between the two age groups were found in the children's ability to control and use evaluative elements in the development of the narrative, specifically in establishing the conflict in the orientations and early episodes of the narrative and in producing coherent chronological sequencing. However, both groups appear to have greater control of the complex evaluative syntax necessary for a well-formed narrative. In addition, controlling more complex syntactic structures of some kinds allowed the older children, more often than the younger, to preserve a well-formed narrative structure. The acquisition of narrative discourse and the acquisition of syntax are interrelated.
Modifying Subjacency with Immediate Domination

In its current form, the principle of subjacency (Chomsky 1977, Rizzi 1977) cannot account for the pattern of island constraints found in Swedish and Norwegian (where topicalized constructions are islands, but indirect questions and complex noun phrases are not), and it makes some incorrect predictions concerning extraction out of simple sentences in English and multiply embedded questions in Italian. If subjacency is modified so that bounding nodes block binding only if they occur in a mother-daughter configuration where one bounding node immediately dominates another, the facts of Swedish and Norwegian are predicted as one of three possible patterns of island constraints in languages that allow unbounded movement (these three patterns being the ones generated by a choice of S and/or S in addition to NP as bounding nodes) and the predictions for English and Italian are improved. Predictions for the Italian type that go beyond the data investigated by Rizzi are confirmed in Brazilian Portuguese. Finally, these results support the notion that topicalization does not involve Wh movement and that subjacency is a constraint on binding rather than on movement.

Rizzi, L. 1977 "Violations of the wh-island constraint in Italian and the subjacency condition" Mimeographed, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa.

The paper will discuss Min and Wu tone sandhi, using Fuzhou and Shanghai as representative cases. Underlying forms of the tones are set up, and sandhi is defined on a w-w metrical tree for Min. The proper sandhi forms are derived via a rule which moves tone markers away from the end of a strong boundary. The Min system is then contrasted to Shanghai, with a s-W metrical tree and a mirror-image rule for disyllabic sandhi.

abstract

of colloquium paper
A Semantic Typology of Causatives

The notion of contact in causation is fundamental in the description of causatives, and if incorporated into a semantic typology of causatives it provides explanations for many hitherto unanswered questions in this area.

I. CLAIM

The notion of contact in causatives and elsewhere can be considered a sum of contact initiation and contact completion. Initiation and completion, furthermore, can be stated as conditions on the parties involved. To illustrate with a non-linguistic example, consider John's contacting Mary by phone. In order to initiate contact, John must dial Mary's number; and in order to complete the contact, Mary must pick up the phone. Given these conditions, John will be able to contact Mary by phone only if John dials Mary's number and Mary picks up the phone. John will not be able to make contact if either John does not dial Mary's number or Mary does not pick up the phone. Thus, in order for contact to take place, John and Mary must fulfill the conditions that constitute contact initiation and completion respectively.

In a parallel manner, contact in causation, too, is a sum of contact initiation and completion, and these components are statementable as conditions on the parties involved, viz., the causer and the causee. These conditions can be stated as follows: in order for causative contact to be initiated, the causee must be personally involved in the verb activity; and in order for causative contact to be completed, the causee must be affected by this activity.

In Hindi grammar, a personally involved causer is signalled by the suffix -aa on the verb; a non-involved causer by the suffix -raa on the verb; an affected causee is marked by the case marker (c.a.) -log and a nonaffected causee is marked by the c.a. -see. (Saksena 1979: ch. IV shows this distinction on causes to be independently justified.) These definitions predict that the c.a. -suffix combination -log/-see will signal contactive causation, and the three combinations -raa/-log, -aa/-see, -raa/-see will signal noncontactive causation. With these predictions, four pieces of hitherto puzzling and unrelated semantic data fall into place.

1.1 Semantic Contrast: The analysis predicts that the causative suffixes -aa and -raa will signal the semantic contrast between contactive and noncontactive causation with -log causees, as in (1) - (2). (1) mai-nee raam-koo pah lai-aa-ya 'I taught Ram the lesson' vs (2) mai-nee raam-koo pah-pah-vaar-ya 'I had Ram read the lesson'.

1.2 Semantic Property: The proposed analysis correctly predicts that the suffixes -aa and -raa will not signal the contrast between contactive and noncontactive causation with -see causees, as in (3). (3) mai-nee nukaar-see kaaz haa laa-vaar-ya 'I had the servant do work'.

1.3 Minimally Contrastive Cases: Although both the -aa and -raa forms in (3) alike signal noncontactive causation, the EC form is perhaps more appropriate if the causative agent wanted his own work done (Masica 1971:53), or if the causative agent is helping or overseeing the action. The notion of 'personally involved causer' positions the causative suffix -aa for as those intuitions about the EC form in these writers elegantly.

1.4 Minimally Contrastive Case: Consider (4). (4) mai-nee raam-see/-koo kitaab pah-vaar-li 'I had Ram read the book.' In (4), when the causee agent of 'read-causative' is stated by -log, the goal is to get the causee agent to read the book. When the causee agent is marked by -see, the goal
is to get the book read, and the causee agent is merely an instrument towards this end. This semantic contrast is to be expected if the -kaa causee is analysed as the affected, and the -ga causee analysed as the non-affected causee.

The pair (1)-(2) above shows that the contrast between active and nonactive causative can be attributed to an intermediary, as has been maintained in both general (Moholyová 1969) as well as Hindi (Keillogg 1972) linguistics; and the fact that the suffix -aa sometimes signals causative (as in (1)) and at other times noncative (as in (3)) causation shows why the semantics of contact cannot be regarded as a single semantic notion (as assumed in the suffix -ga).

2.3 Cross Linguistic Generalization: In many languages the dative or the accusative c.a. typically signals direct, causative causation, and the instrumental c.a. signals indirect, nonactive causation (Cole 1976). Assuming that a dative or an accusative c.a. signals an affected causee and the instrumental c.a. signals the nonaffected causee, we can say that universally, an affected causee is a necessary condition for active causation (Hindi additionally requires a personally involved causee realised by the suffix -ga) while a nonaffected causee is a sufficient condition for nonactive causation. Lexical and syntactic restrictions on c.a. distribution explain why Hindi departs from other languages to introduce contrast on the causee as well.

3. A Causative Typology: Constraints

With a causative - nonactive contrast, we can set up a semantic typology of causative case frames in (5), where ~ symbolises causative, ~ symbolises nonactive causation.

(5) Typology: Examples

I: [Obj] haa 'get cut'
II: [Agt, Obj] haa 'cut', ban-aa 'make'
III: [Agt, Agt, Obj] dekh-aa 'teach'
IV: [Agt, Agt, Obj] saah-aa have study'

Notice that this typology replaces the blanket term 'causative' with a set of very precise terms.

3.1 Markedness: The case frames of the typology (5) permit interesting observations in terms of universal markedness. Cross-linguistic data shows the nonactive causative frame I (5) to be the most highly marked case frame, the single transitive frame II to be the least marked, and both transitive frame I and the causative causative frame III in between.

3.2 Upper Bounds: In transformational analyses (e.g., Kachru 1971) where causativisation applies with potentially infinite recursion, there is no explanation for why causativisation ceases to be morphologically expressed after a certain number of stages, and why this number happens to be four (as in /dikh/ 'get meat' /dekh/ 'see' /dirh-aa/ 'show' /dekh-aa/ 'have show'). The typology (5) yields an explanation because it provides for exactly the four semantic contrasts represented by this paradigm.

3.3 Idiosyncratic Number of Contrasts: Paradigms that have the maximum of four semantic contrasts are nevertheless rare; typically, verbs show three or fewer semantic contrasts. This apparent erraticness is rendered quite systematic using the notion of systematic gap in (6) which result if prerequisites specified for these case frames are not met. For example, causative causation in case frame III (of (5)) requires an affected causee (Section 2).

Thus, if a verb does not have an affected agent, -aa suffixation will not be able to create the case frame III, creating a systematic gap that leaves us with only a three way contrast, as in (7).

(7) I: (gap); II: /dau/ 'run'; III: /kar-aa/, /kar-aa/ 'have run'. Both I and III are lacking in a paradigm such as (8), leaving only a two way contrast. (8) I: (gap); II: /kar/ 'do'; III: (gap).

Therefore the base verb /kar/ does not have the long stem vowel required for the intransitive rule.

3.4 Systematic Accidental Gaps: In obtaining semantically systematic gaps, this typology distinguishes these from semantically accidental gaps (which sometimes occur for phonological or other reasons, and which can surface marginally and show up in cross-dialectal variation).

To conclude, this paper shows the proposed definition of contactive causation to be crucial for both descriptive and explanatory adequacy in the grammar of causatives.
abstracts

of the American Association for Applied Linguistics
APPLIED LINGUISTICS IN EDUCATION

The applied linguistics projects focusing on education are described in brief reports. The data bases covered include various native, second and foreign language speakers of various ages and ethnicities. Elicited and naturalistic methods are represented involving both oral and written language. The brief reports show a range of purposes, analytic tools and theoretical constructs. Problems arising from analytic and data collection efforts are discussed as are the consequences of the research language as a school subject or as a medium of instruction is the unifying focus.

In addition, three longer papers will consider some issues of general importance to linguists involved with educational research. One deals with the relations between native and second language research efforts; a second considers the interdisciplinary nature of the work; the third deals with some of the actual and potential roles of linguists and linguistics in an educational research effort.

The session discussion will focus on the actual and desired state of the art, given the general issues and the work exemplified in the basic reports.

APPLIED LINGUISTICS IN THE LAW COURTS

EUGENE BRIERE, University of Southern California

Linguistics and Testing in the Certification Process of Federal Court Interpreters

Congress passed Public Law 95-539 in 1978. The law, commonly called the "Court Interpreters' Act," directed the Administrative Offices of the United States Courts (AOUSC) to "prescribe, determine, and certify the qualifications of persons who may serve as certified interpreters in (federal) courts in bilingual proceedings..." This paper describes the certification procedure which was developed and adopted by the AOUSC and the reasons for adopting this specific procedure. The procedure involved a written screening test in English and Spanish, each of which contained five sections, and an oral performance test designed to measure the skills of an interpreter based on performance of job-related activities which actually occur in court proceedings.
The Role of the Linguist as Expert Witness

The purpose of this paper is to outline the practical and ethical problems which arise when a linguist is asked to serve as an expert witness in a court case. It grows out of personal experience in several such cases and is intended as a focus of discussion in this complex area. Since the courts are recognizing more and more the usefulness of linguistic testimony, the need to identify the role of the linguist in such cases becomes clear. This paper addresses the question of the guilt or innocence of the person being defended, ways of communicating technical knowledge to the attorneys and to the jury and judge, the physical shock of cross-examination, treatment by the press and media and the differences between the scientific requirements of linguistic expert witnesses and other expert witnesses, such as physicians and psychiatrists, who frequently base their testimony on opinion.

Applied Linguistics in Medicine

Susan Fisher, University of Tennessee

The Selling of Treatment: Decisions in Doctor-Patient Communication

This paper addresses the ways in which doctors and patients communicate to reach treatment decisions. The patients were women with abnormal Pap smear results, diagnosed and treated in one of two clinical settings in a large teaching hospital -- a community clinic staffed by residents, under the supervision of staff physicians, and a faculty clinic staffed by professors of medicine. I found that patients diagnosed and treated in the community clinic were more likely to receive less conservative treatment i.e., to receive hysterectomy.

In the exchange of information between doctors and patients language was used strategically to move interactions toward the accomplishment of treatment decisions. On some occasions, doctors for information functioned as Questioning Strategies. They both provided specific information and gained access to less specific information. Both doctors and patients used Questioning Strategies. On other occasions information was provided in ways that function as Presentational and Persuasional Strategies. These strategies were "selling mechanisms." They both provided specific information and suggested or specified how that information was to be understood. Persuasional Strategies were soft sells while Persuasional Strategies were harder sells. Only doctors used these strategies and they used them while providing information about cancer and treatment options.

Frame Analysis as a View to Doctor-Patient Communication in a Pediatric Setting

Based on a series of videotapes involving a pediatrician, her colleagues, a handicapped child, and the child's parents, analysis focuses on linguistic evidence of differing frames, or of structures of expectations, growing out of demands of the immediate interaction, roles, prior knowledge and concerns, and communicative habits.

Demands of the immediate interaction include the pediatrician's need to perform 3 distinct tasks (examine the child, entertain the child, consult with mother) in a single setting (pediatrician's office). Each task is associated with a distinct code addressed to a distinct audience (report to video camera, teasing child, conversing with mother). Furthermore, their previous knowledge and concerns lead the doctor and mother to differing definitions of such concepts as "health," and such differences can be seen in how they talk about the child's symptoms.

Microanalysis elucidates linguistic determinants of differences in how the doctor describes the dangers of the child's condition to the mother and to her colleagues. It is seen, too, that her expectations and concerns influence the form taken by her questions, which in turn influence -- even constrain -- the mother's answers. Thus an understanding of differing frames has practical implications for communication in the pediatric setting.

The Expression of Uncertainty in Physician-Physician Discourse

Following a pilot project investigating some difficulties in providing intensive care, we undertook a comprehensive study of a large pediatric intensive care unit. An initial hypothesis, that physicians are comfortable dealing with medical-technical matters and experience difficulties (frustration, depression, anxiety) only when faced with ethical matters, was confirmed in which they lack formal training, was ultimately rejected: the data showed a remarkably high degree of uncertainty in the medical-technical domain itself, suggesting that this in fact was the cause of the emotional difficulties. For a period of six months, the ICU morning rounds were taped, and six 2-hour sessions were transcribed. One of the authors (E.P.) corrected the transcripts, removing all identifying references to persons and institutions. These transcripts were turned over to another author (E.P.) for linguistic analysis, the tapes and original transcripts being destroyed. Hedging is exceptionally frequent and is virtually confined to medical-technical statements. Two types occur: approximators, which indicate that reality is nonprototypical with respect to some category, and generics, which indicate that speaker-commitment is marked in some way, some implicating uncertainty, often as a result of plausible reasoning, others attributing the belief to another. Many self-repairs involve the addition of hedges, especially shields, constituting a high percentage of total disfluencies. This suggests that uncertainty about the truth of one's medical-technical statements represents a salient and ongoing concern of the physicians and perhaps indicates a source of the emotional difficulties encountered.

SUSAN HENN, University of California, Santa Cruz

The Micropolitics of Medical Encounters

Recently, an increasing number of lay and scholarly sources have suggested that something is "wrong" with the talk that goes on between patients and their doctors. Medical journals and popular magazines are rife with advice on what to do about it. A major problem with such advice is its lack of grounding in systematic empirical research on physician-patient communication. In order to know, for example, how to educate patients to ask "better" questions, one would first want to know what kinds of questions patients ask. Similarly, in educating physicians to 'improve' their rapport with patients, one would benefit by knowledge of the kind of rapport currently in existence. If communication is the issue here, then an investigation of the structure of communication itself would surely be a first priority.

This paper reports findings of preliminary research on actual conversations between physicians and patients recorded in a medical setting. Employing recent work in conversation analysis, the paper shows how such commonplace occurrences as interruptions and displaced questions may be related to traditional sociological interests in power and control.
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