Linguistic Society of America
Fifty-sixth Annual Meeting
December 27-30, 1981

American Association for Applied Linguistics
Fourth Annual Meeting

Association for Computational Linguistics

New York, New York

Meeting Handbook
Introductory Note

The LSA Secretariat has prepared this Meeting Handbook to serve as the official program for the Fifty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, the Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Association for Applied Linguistics and the meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics.

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance provided by the LSA Program Committee (Jean Berke Gleason, chair; Joan Bybee, George Cardona, D. Terence Langendoen, William E. Merrifield, and Jacqueline Schachter), the AAAL Program Committee (Marcia Farr, chair; Nancy Hoar, Reynaldo Machias, Leonard Newmark, Betty Robinson) and the ACL Program Committee (Stanley R. Patrick and D. Terence Langendoen, co-chairs, Lance Miller, John Moyes, and Naomi Sager). In addition we wish to recognize and thank the Planning Committee for the Careers in Linguistics Conference (Donald R. H. Byrd, chair; Charles Cairns, Arthur Bronstein, Susan Jagendorf, John Klosek, William Stewart, and Ricardo Otheguy).

We especially appreciate the help which has been given by the New York Local Arrangements Committee (D. Terence Langendoen, chair; Frank Anshen, Mark Baltin, Nancy Frishberg, and Virginia Teller) and the students they have recruited to assist the Secretariat during the meeting.

We hope this Handbook will be a useful guide for those attending, as well as a permanent record of this New York meeting.

LSA Secretariat
December 1981
BOOK EXHIBIT

There will be an exhibit of linguistic publications in the Empire Ballroom E of the Grand Hyatt. The Exhibit is scheduled to be open during the following hours:

Monday, 28 December  
10:00 am - 2:00 pm  
3:30 pm - 6:00 pm

Tuesday, 29 December  
10:00 am - 2:00 pm  
3:30 pm - 6:00 pm

Wednesday, 30 December  
8:30 am - 11:30 am

The display copies in the LSA Joint Book Exhibit will be sold beginning at 8:30 am 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 am. Unclaimed copies will be resold and the advance payment donated to Linguistic Institute fellowships.

PAPER COPYING SERVICE

As a service to those attending this meeting, each author on the program is invited to provide the Service with a reproducible copy of his or her paper. Submission of such a copy is authorization to reproduce it upon request for anyone at the meeting. Attendees may place orders for copies in the Lyceum Room during the following hours:

Monday, 28 December  
8:00 am - 4:00 pm

Tuesday, 29 December  
8:00 am - 4:00 pm

Wednesday, 30 December  
8:00 am - 12 noon

All copies will be offered at cost.

JOB PLACEMENT CENTER

A Job Placement Center will be set up in the Edison Room during the Annual Meeting. On 28 and 29 December the Service will be open from 8:30 to 6:00 pm. It will also be open from 9:00 am until noon on 30 December. Lists of openings will be available and the staff will arrange interviews between the applicants and the employers. Interviewers are asked to list openings and check in with the Service so that an interview schedule can be arranged.

DEPARTMENT AND PROGRAM CHAIRS MEETING

A meeting of chairs of departments and programs has been scheduled for 29 December at 8:30 am in the Balcony Room.

MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN LINGUISTICS

An open meeting of the Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics will be held Tuesday, 29 December in the Empire Ballroom C of the Grand Hyatt at 1:30 pm immediately preceding the LSA Business Meeting. Dr. Manjari Ohala will chair this meeting. All members are invited to attend and encouraged to participate in the discussions.

LSA BUSINESS MEETING

This year the Business Meeting has been scheduled for 29 December from 2:00-4:45 pm. This meeting will be chaired by Fred W. Householder, LSA President. The members of the Resolutions Committee are Harvey Sapir, Chair; Osamu Fujimura and Herbert Penfield. The rules for motions and resolutions appear on p.xii.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Fred W. Householder, the 1981 LSA President, will deliver the Presidential Address on Tuesday, 29 December at 4:45 pm in the Empire Ballroom C. The address is entitled Syntactic and Language Change.

CASH BARS

Cash bars are scheduled from 5:00-6:30 pm on 28 December and from 6:00-7:30 pm on 29 December in the Foyer on the Ballroom Level.

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

Paul Chapin, Program Director for Linguistics at the Foundation, will meet with interested members in the Brooks Atkinson Room at the following hours:

Monday, 28 December  
9:30 - 10:30 am  
2:30 - 3:30 pm

Tuesday, 29 December  
9:30 - 10:30 am

Wednesday, 30 December  
9:30 - 10:30 am

In order to explore employment opportunities for linguists outside of academia, the Linguistics Society of America has organized a special conference as a part of the 1981 Annual Meeting. In addition to panel discussions focusing on "What linguists can do outside the academic sphere" and "what linguists are doing at the present time," there are social events planned for participants in the Conference. The program for this conference follows below:

CAREERS IN LINGUISTICS: HORIZONS

Monday, 28 December  
Empire Ballroom C  
7:00 - 9:00 pm  
Grand Hyatt Hotel

What Linguists Can Do

Moderator: Arthur S. Bronstein (CUNY Graduate Center)

Panel:
Fred Mish (G. and C. Merriam Co.) Lexicography
W.O. Baker (Bell Laboratories) Computers
Tracy Gray (Center for Applied Linguistics) Language Planning and Government Policy
Luther Simon (Publishing Consultant) Publishing
Frank J. Macchiarola (New York Public Schools) Education
Alan Westaway (United Nations) Translation

Tuesday, 29 December  
The Auditorium  
10:00 am - noon  
CUNY Graduate Center

What Linguists Are Doing

Moderator: G. Richard Tucker (Center for Applied Linguistics)

Panel:
Norma Rees (CUNY Graduate Center) Language Disorders
Stuart Flexner (Random House) Lexicography
Mark Liberman (Bell Laboratories) Computers
Marcia Farr (National Institute of Education) Research
Robbin Battison (American Institutes of Research) Plain English
William Labov (University of Pennsylvania) Language Policy

From 9:00-10:00 am before the Tuesday morning panel, the CUNY Graduate Center is hosting a "New York Breakfast" in the library lobby area of the Center. During breakfast, participants are invited to view an exhibit of English-language dictionaries, which have been assembled for this special event. The following publishers have donated copies of their dictionaries: American Book Company; Barnhart Books; W. and R. Chambers Publishing Company; Collins Publishers; Doubleday; Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich; Harper and Row; Hippocrene Books; Houghton Mifflin, Publishers; Longman, Ltd; Macmillan; Merriam Webster; Oxford University Press; Random House Publishers; Scott, Foresman; Simon and Schuster; and Scbner-Hansem. This display will be open throughout the Annual Meeting and all are invited to visit the exhibit.

Immediately following this panel discussion, there will be a no-host luncheon in the Dining Commons on the eighteenth floor of the Graduate Center.

On Tuesday at 9:15 am and again at 1:30 pm, Mr. Steve Gorelick will conduct guided tours of the CUNY Graduate Center. Those interested should meet at the LSA Registration Desk at the time noted for the tours.
American Association for Applied Linguistics

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SPOKEN AND WRITTEN LANGUAGE

9:00  DEBORAH TANNEN (Georgetown U): Spoken and written discourse as overlapping phenomena
9:45  JANET A. GILBERT: From speaking sense to writing skill
10:00  CINNIA GABRITZ (U NH)& KARL ULLER (U NH): Process and pedagogy in writing:
Neurolinguistic considerations
10:15  ANDI DRAZAR (PA S U/Baptist Hospital of Miami): Literacy and aphasia in adults
10:30  JERSEY K. GUNDEL: Spoken vs. written language: Effects on second language acquisition
10:45  NANCY AINSWORTH: Neurolinguistic considerations

READ THE WRITTEN LANGUAGE

11:00  JOYCE PENFIELD (U TX-El Paso): Literacy development in bilingual contexts: Mexican
American parents
11:15  CINDY A.K. GREENBERG (Queens C, CUNY Grad Ctr): Syllable structure in L2 acquisition
11:30  FRED MARSHALL (U Pittsburgh): A new approach to passive in English
11:45  S.J. GUESS: Pedagogical implications of TESOL
12:00  ROSE-MARIE WEBER: Intonation in silent reading

THE ASSOCIATION FOR COMPUTATIONAL LINGUISTICS

28 December

The Association for Computational Linguistics is sponsoring three sessions on "Computer Modeling of Linguistic Theory" in conjunction with the Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America. Two sessions of contributed papers will be presented and an evening panel session will complete the offering of ACL/LSA sessions.

Shea Music Box/Morose

ROBERT C. BERNICK (MIT, Artificial Intelligence Lab): The Formal Language Theory of Lexical Functional Grammar
9:00

KENNETH CURCH (MIT, Lab for Comp Sci) and RAMESH PATIL (MIT, Lab for Comp Sci): Coping with Syntactic Ambiguity or How to Put the Block in the Box on the Table
9:30

HELEN M. GIGLEY (U Ma, Amerast): Neurolinguistically Based Modeling of Natural Language Processing
10:00

RONALD K. KAPLAN (Xerox Palo Alto Res Ctr) and MARTIN KAY (Xerox Palo Alto Res Ctr): Phonological Rules and Finite-State Transducers
10:30

D. TERENCE LANGERDOORN (Brooklyn C/ CUNY Grad Ctr) and JOHN A. MOYNE (Queens C/ CUNY Grad Ctr): On the Form of the Output of the Human Sentence Parsing Mechanism

The Independence of Visible Language in L2

ROB MILNE (U Edinburgh): The Implications of the Word HAVE
2:00

RALPH GRISHMAN (NYU) and NGO THANH NHAN (NYU): Resolution of Noun Phrase Anaphora
2:30

KAREN JENSEN (Hofstra U), RONALD AMENGIO (Hofstra U), ROBERT GRANVILLE (Hofstra U),
MICHAEL KUGEN (Hofstra U), AMY ZARICO (Hofstra U): Computer Generation of Topic Paraphrases: Structure and Style
3:00

LAURI KARTTUNEN (U TX, Austin), REBECCA ROOT (U TX, Austin), and HANS USEKOREIT (U TX, Austin): Morphological Analysis of Finnish by Computer
3:30

BARBARA PARTEE (U MA), EMMO BACH (U MA), and BRIAN WHITE (U MA): On Friedman et al's Montague Grammar Programs

NORMAN K. SONDEHEIM (Sperry Univac) and RALPH M. WIESCHEDELE (U DE): A Computational Linguistic Approach to Ungrammaticality Based on Meta-Rules

KUNIKO UEHARA (Osaka U) and JUNICHI TOYODA (Osaka U): A Pattern Matching Directed Parser: PAMPS

8:00

COMPUTER MODELING OF LINGUISTIC THEORY

Chair: Stanley R. Petrick (IBM T.J. Watson Res Ctr)

Discussants: Joyce B. Friedman (U MI)
Ralph Grishman (NYU)
Ronald M. Kaplan (Xerox Palo Alto Res Ctr)
Michelle M. Mercus (Bell Labs)
G.R. Pullum (Stanford U)
Arnold M. Zwicky (OH S U)

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SYMPOSIUM: THE CHVENUE Relation and ITS IMPLICATION FOR SYNTACTIC THEORY
DAVID PERLHUTTER (U CA, San Diego)

Discussants: Thomas Wasow (Stanford U)
Pauine Jacobsen (Brown U)
Bernhard Comrie (U. S.

9:30-11:00 BLOCKED FOWARDS COREFERENCE
GZY CARDEN (U British Columbia)

Discussants: Robert Freidin (McGill U)
Anthony Kroch (U PA)
Suzuha Kuno (Harvard U)

MODERATOR/SYNTAX:
Chair: Anthony Kroch
Ballroom C (1)

9:00
HEVETE DMC (Stancford): A unified analysis of agreement and quantificational and aspect
9:10
PETER HERRELL (UCLA): Object quantification and aspect
9:20
JOHN DUHREME (UC Berkeley): The semantic nature of Reichenbach's tense system
9:30
WILLIAM DAVIS (U Wash): A constraint on the interpretation of null subjects: Portuguese
9:40
LOUIS MARQUIS (Cornell): The semantics of Norwegian passives and causatives
10:00
KING DON (U MA): The presence of self in hypotbinations in Japanese
10:10
PHILIP F. PASNERON (Syracuse U): Intermediate quantifiers
10:20
JEAN-CLAUDE CHAUDHARI (U Tunis): An idomatic interpretation of null subjects
10:30
STEVE NELSON (Harvard U) & PHILIP PETERSON (Syracuse U): Event

PHONETICS/PHONOLOGY:
Chair: Osamu Fujimura
Ballroom A (2)

9:00
AUSTIN ALBANO (CT, Massachusetts) & MAUDE I. BROWN (CUNY): Variable data and the "neogrammarians vs. diffusionists" hypothesis
9:20
THOMAS D. CAVENDER (U GA): Intervocalic consonant weakening in a phonetic-based hierarchial phonology
9:40
MICHAEL W. KNUDSEN (Harvard): Intereference between two diphthongization rules in Serbo-Croatian
10:00
CHARLES BACH (U PR): A new tool for the modernist movement
10:20
FREDERICK H. ANDERSON (U NJ): The use of a pronominal word in some of the world's deepest languages
The following rules for motions and resolutions were prepared by William J. Gedney and Ilse Lehiste and approved by the Executive Committee at its June 1973 meeting. LSA members are urged to follow these ground rules in order to have their motions and resolutions considered at the Business Meeting.

RULES FOR MOTIONS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

2. Procedure regarding motions.
   a. 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.
   b. Motions initiated by the Executive Committee require for their passage a majority vote of the members voting at the meeting.
   c. Motions initiated from the floor, if they receive affirmative vote of a majority of members voting at the meeting, are then to be submitted by the Executive Committee to a mail ballot of the membership of the Society in the next issue of the LSA BULLETIN. Passage requires: a) majority of those voting, and b) that the total of those voting in favor must be at least 2 1/2% of the personal membership.
   d. If a member wishes to introduce a motion, but prefers to avoid the delay involved in 3c above, the motion may be submitted in advance to the Executive Committee (before their regular meeting preceding the business meeting at which the motion is to be introduced) with a request that the Executive Committee by majority vote of the Committee approve the introduction of the motion at the business meeting as a motion initiated by the Executive Committee (see 2b above).

3. Procedure regarding resolutions.
   a. A Resolutions Committee consisting of three members will be appointed by the president prior to the beginning of each regular or special meeting. Any member wishing to introduce a resolution must submit it in advance to the Resolutions Committee, which in addition to its traditional duty of formulating resolutions of thanks and the like, will have the duty to make sure that the language is clear, and that duplication is avoided. The Resolutions Committee may meet in advance for this purpose or may, if necessary, retire to caucus during the course of the meeting.
   b. A resolution expressing the sense of the majority of the meeting requires for its passage the affirmative vote of a majority of the members voting at the meeting.
   c. If at least ten members present at the meeting so desire, a resolution may be broadened to express 'the sense of the majority of the membership,' regardless of whether or not it has passed the procedure in 3c above, by the following steps: the resolution is forwarded to the Executive Committee for submission to the membership by mail ballot (in the next issue of the LSA BULLETIN). Passage of such a 'sense of the majority of the membership' resolution requires the affirmative vote (over 50%) of the membership responding.
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<td><strong>SEMINAR</strong></td>
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<td>9:00</td>
<td><strong>RELATIVIZATION/TOPOICALIZATION</strong></td>
<td>Chair: Ellen Prince</td>
<td>Ballroom D (1)</td>
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<td>9:00</td>
<td>JOHNS HUTCHISON (Boston U) &amp; JOHN B. WHITMAN (Harvard): The lexical sources of complements in a typology of relativization</td>
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<td>9:20</td>
<td>BERNAN SANNY CHOMSKY (U Illinois/IL): Relativization with verbal antecedents</td>
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<td>9:40</td>
<td>PAULINEI. J. JACOBS (Brown U): Multiple relativities without stacking</td>
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<td>10:00</td>
<td>ALICE DAVISON (U IL): Constraints on relative clauses and wh-questions in Hindi</td>
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<td>10:20</td>
<td>CATHERINE EDDIN (U / Wayne SC): Bulgarian free relativitives and the matching effect</td>
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<td>10:40</td>
<td>GERMAN W. WESTPHAL (U SC / Simon Fraser U): On the French gapful phenomenon</td>
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<td>11:00</td>
<td>WAYNE E. NARSETT (Cornell): Left dislocation and inverse attraction</td>
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<td>11:20</td>
<td>SUSAN C. SHEPPERS (FREE U): Topicalization and the syntactic status of pronominal elements in Ancient Greek</td>
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<td>11:40</td>
<td>RICHARD WODICK (Syracuse U/Colombia U): On so-called verbal topicalization in Breton</td>
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<td>12:00</td>
<td>SYLVIA JOSEPH GALTOMOS (Tales): A synchronic and diachronic portrayal of topic-prominance in popular spoken French</td>
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<td><strong>SYNTAX</strong></td>
<td>Chair: Paul Hopper</td>
<td>Ballroom B (2)</td>
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<td>9:00</td>
<td>CHARLES W. BRESLOP (Chiba U): Anti-trasparency in Chamorro</td>
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<td>9:20</td>
<td>ALICE HARRIS (Vanderbilt U): On antipassives in Uti</td>
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<td>BRIAN JOSEPH (OH SU): Indirect object in Uti</td>
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<td>10:00</td>
<td>VIDA SZEKETI (UCLA): High branching modifiers in Persian (Kafe) and implications for B syntax</td>
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<td>10:20</td>
<td>JOSEPHINE L. MAY (Groningen): Aux and auxiliaries in Persian</td>
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<td>10:40</td>
<td>KAREN ZAGHANA (MIT, U WA): On the structure of Spanish auxiliary gerundives</td>
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<td>11:00</td>
<td>JORGE MANZANAN (UCSC): A note on the structure of complex adjective phrases</td>
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<td>11:20</td>
<td>THOMAS ENSER (U IN): Adverbs dominated by NP in English</td>
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<td>11:40</td>
<td>JESSIE PENNAN (IN U): A constraint on the role of comparative obliterations</td>
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<td>12:00</td>
<td>MAUREEN A. SCHMID (AE SU): The periphrastic: Remarks on cross-linguistic definition</td>
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<td><strong>PHONOLOGY/PHONOLOGY</strong></td>
<td>Chair: Nancy Dutta</td>
<td>Ballroom A (3)</td>
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<td>9:00</td>
<td>B.P. WALLACE-CADDEN (CUNY-Grad Ctr): Number and case in Basque nouns</td>
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<td>9:20</td>
<td>TRACEY THOMAS-HINTERMEIER (UCLA): Subject marker agreement in Maricopa: Derivation or inflection?</td>
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<td>9:40</td>
<td>REBECCA BOIE (U TX-Austin): Modelling of the creation of lexical representations</td>
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<td>10:00</td>
<td>CAROL L. MOZER (SUNY-Buffalo): Prototypes in morphological classes: English strong verbs</td>
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<td>10:20</td>
<td>JESSIE S. WILSON (UC-Irvine): Proto-lexical and closed syllable adjuvants in French</td>
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<td>RICHARD D. JARRA (U AZ): Two unassimilated verbs and their claim to orthodoxy</td>
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<td>11:00</td>
<td>DIANE REEDER HARRIS (U): The phonology of deleted and not in Puerto Rican Spanish</td>
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<td>11:20</td>
<td>LARRY NESSLY: A test of the &quot;swelled filter&quot; hypothesis for English stress</td>
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<td>GERARD CLERE (U Maa.: Syntactic conditions on reduplication (doubling) in Italian</td>
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<td>12:00</td>
<td>DAVID GOREN (VA U): Syntactic conditions on phonological rules in Kintamani</td>
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<td><strong>DISCOURSE ANALYSIS</strong></td>
<td>Chair: Robert Langston</td>
<td>Schubert/A (6)</td>
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<td>9:00</td>
<td>ALICIA M. MONTO (UC): A discourse processing model: Evidence for language universals from L2</td>
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<td>9:20</td>
<td>DEBORAH SCHIFFFRED (U FLEM): Discourse in everyday discourse: The role of paradoxes</td>
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<td>9:40</td>
<td>WILLIAM RIVERS (Humboldt SU): Building texts with topic-comment units</td>
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<td>10:00</td>
<td>LIVIA PULANT (U Amsterdam) &amp; PAUL HOPPER (SUNY-Binghamton): A revision of the fore-and-aft/foreground/background distinction</td>
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<td>10:20</td>
<td>HEATHER R. HARDY (No.TX SU): Auxiliary verbs, ancilliary phrases, and discourse cohesion in Tolkien</td>
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<td>10:40</td>
<td>ELLEN RAPPERTY (U WI): Syntactic change in Malay and Indonesian oral narrative</td>
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<td>11:00</td>
<td>ROGER W. SHIBA (Georgetown U/CAL): Referencing in litigation involving commission agreements</td>
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<td>11:20</td>
<td>DEBORAH DAH (U WI): THE LINGUIST: The phonology of deleted and not in Puerto Rican Spanish</td>
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<td>11:40</td>
<td>ROBERT S. KIESHER (UCLA) &amp; VINCENT J. YAMADA (UCLA): Selectively intact language and the positioning of demonstratives</td>
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<td><strong>LANGUAGE ACQUISITION</strong></td>
<td>Chair: Lisa Henn</td>
<td>Julliard/O (5)</td>
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<td>9:00</td>
<td>WILLIAM J. FRANKLYN (U DE): The complement hierarchy: Evidence for language universals from L2</td>
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<td>9:20</td>
<td>FRED R. ECKMAN (U WI): Towards a typology of interlanguages</td>
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<td>9:40</td>
<td>CLOY A.E. GREENBERG (Queens C, CUNY-Grad Ctr): Stereotypes in L2 acquisition</td>
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<td>10:00</td>
<td>MARC GERHARDT-RHOADES (U DE): Syntactic complexity, topic, and definite anaphors in interlanguage</td>
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<td>10:20</td>
<td>LAURA K. MURPHY (UCLA): The role of a production-motivated language acquisition</td>
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<td>10:40</td>
<td>S.K. CURTIS (UCLA): The role of a production-motivated language acquisition</td>
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<td>11:00</td>
<td>RACHEL MAYER (Northwestern) &amp; SUSAN D. FISCHER (UTD-UT): Sign language fluency and language processing</td>
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<td>11:20</td>
<td>SUSAN FISCHER (UTD-UT) &amp; RACHEL MAYER (Northwestern): Levels of sign language processing: Qualitative measures</td>
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<td>11:40</td>
<td>GERALD F. BENNET (UTD-UT): Control judgments by deaf adults and by second language learners</td>
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The abstracts which appear in this Meeting Handbook are photocopies of the originals submitted to the LSA Program Committee.

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STATEMENT FROM THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE

In English, the passive sentence corresponding to the active causative sentence, John made Mary open the suitcase is Mary was made to open the suitcase (by John). Some languages, however, do not allow such passives and instead would have something like (lit.)

The suitcase was made open (by John). Both Japanese and Turkish use suffixes to express causative and passive constructions, but they differ from each other with respect to the passivizability: Japanese is like English and Turkish is not. Since Japanese (transitive) causatives are superficially identical to ditransitive sentences with respect to the distribution of case, where the latter allow two objects to be passivized, an extra mechanism is necessary to rule out illegal passives in causatives (e.g. global condition).

The present paper introduces a theory of derivational morphology that goes beyond the mere concatenation of stems and affixes but generates elaborated categorial structures on the basis of the particular type assignment of the relevant morphemes to be combined (e.g. CAUSE = TV/IV, PASSIVE = IV/TV, etc.). It allows two modes of derivation: one is exemplified by Japanese and the other by Turkish. The former mode involves somewhat traditional calculation of types to obtain a coherent structure, whereas the latter mode involves a new notion of composite types (e.g. Turkish causative verb = α-TV/IV, where α is the type of the stem). The difference in passivizability is a consequence of this difference.

In phonetic validation of distinctive features: A test case in French

Much of the phonological literature shows little concern for recent phonetic data. Even in a provocative overview of Jakobsonian phonology (Jakobson and Vaugh, 1979) that does give much attention to recent phonetic research, the latter is not exploited very convincingly in defining certain distinctive features. A case in point is the notorious French chestnut embodied in vous la jetez vs. vous l'achetez, a pair of expressions traditionally said to be distinguished by a voicing feature in the palatal fricatives, which appear here as initial elements in consonant clusters with /t/. It is reported, however, that the /j/ of jetez is devoiced through assimilation to the following /t/, and it is argued that a feature of "fortiness" or "tensity" is therefore needed. We have tested two hypotheses: (1) Such pairs are likely to be distinguished in production and perception. (2) When they are distinguished, the phonetic basis is glottal adduction vs. abduction. Informants' productions were excised from passages of speech, randomized, played to native speakers of French for identification and analyzed instrumentally. The results suggest instability of the distinction, with a perceptual bias toward /j/; thus largely rejecting the first hypothesis. Insofar as the distinction is maintained in speech communication, analysis supports our hypothesis of laryngeal control. Implications for distinctive-feature theory are discussed. Jakobson, Roman and Vaugh, Linda. 1979. The sound shape of language. Bloomington: Indiana U. Press.

Protest phenomena and social structure in the classroom

In suggesting new directions for the Ethnography of Communication, Sherzer (1977) challenged ethnographers to show how speech event structure relates to other community structures. Study of protest sequences, the speech activity (Gumperz, 1977) children use to negotiate peer/peer conflict in the classroom, finds that while it is less highly ritualized than a speech event (Hymes, 1972), this speech activity is nevertheless patterned syntagmatically and paradigmatically. A protest turn follows a perceived offense and may be followed by an acceptance or another protest. Because protesting is a Face-Threatening Act (Brown and Levinson, 1978), felicitous performance requires speakers to choose forms for the protest function by precisely calculating the power relationship and social distance between speaker and hearer at the moment of speaking, as well as the seriousness of the perceived offense. This paper shows that speakers shape consecutive turns of a protest sequence according to their interpretations of local shifts in these factors. Video-taped data gathered across the school year in a first grade classroom support Blumers's (1972) theory that group life is "an ongoing process of fitting together the activities of its members. It is this complex of ongoing activity that establishes and portraying structure."
ELEONORA ALBANO DA NOTA MAIA, PUC-SP

Semantic-pragmatic factors in the acquisition of phonology

This is a study of the influence of non-phonological factors on the variability of children's pronunciation. Evidence is provided that phonologically mature renditions of familiar vocabulary emerge first and occur more often in contexts over which the child has semantic and pragmatic control.

The subjects are two Portuguese speakers between MLU's 1.5 and 2.0. Utterances containing different renditions of the same content words were analysed into a set of phonological and semantic-pragmatic categories based on consensus knowledge about universal order of emergence. Phonologically mature renditions are more frequent in replies to questions than in utterances spontaneously initiated by the child. Within the latter, variability seems to be determined by semantic-pragmatic complexity in addition to length-of-utterance and phonological complexity.

The findings add a new dimension to the interactionist view of child language, which, though profusely supported in the realm of meaning, has, so far, remained virtually unexplored in the realm of sound.

STANLEY ALEJANDO, Société internationale de linguistique appliquée

Making Quebec French morpho-syntax non-sexist

In Québec, Canada, social and political developments have led to increased attention on the purportedly "sexist" dimension of the gender marking system of French syntax, i.e. the generic value of "masculine" forms. Because of the functional implications of both natural and grammatical gender marking in French morpho-syntax, the problems raised by conscious attempts to manifest sexual equality are enormous. Various strategies of double-marking, as in réelle, leçueur (rice) and bonne-tante, among others, are discussed. An intriguing development, as instanced by some examples, is the fact that certain gender agreement rules may be loosening as a result of efforts to find a viable alternative to the cumbersome system of double gender marking.

HOMA ANDERSON, University of Connecticut

Nominal genitive NPs in modern English

Recent work on the principles of thematic roles and case assignment suggests the need for a reanalysis of the syntax and semantics of genitives. The one I propose is an attempt to provide a principled account of an apparently diverse phenomenon. In Modern English the relationship between a genitive and its head noun covers a wide range. Traditional descriptions have distinguished simple possessive, Mary's store, subjective genitive, John's ascension into the mountains, objective genitive, John's tomorrow, descriptive genitive, children's clothing, and partitive genitive, Bill's arm. More recent analyses have accounted for these differences by deriving some genitives from subjects of underlying verbs, by positing generalized cases, by presupposing objects of the head noun and by generation of some genitives in pre-nominal position in the base. I claim that the source of pre-nominal genitives varies with the semantic class of the noun. For those which are derived from object position, pre-nominal genitives are generated in the possessive morpheme is lexically inserted in the base before concrete nouns such as store and transformationally inserted as a semantically empty marker before abstract nouns such as ascension. There is syntactic and semantic evidence for this dichotomy. The diagnostic frame, This is John's, distinguishes between the two sets of nouns and the semantic classes, abstract and concrete, support this distinction. This system allows for the proper assignment of thematic roles conforming to Chomsky's Ω Criterion.

MIRA ARIEL, Tel Aviv University

Givenness marking

Givenness has been defined mainly for NPs (Chafe 1976, Clark & Marshall 1978, Prince 1979). I suggest it be extended to whole propositions and used in accounting for linguistic phenomena which have not been treated as involving givenness. This is illustrated with examples of an merging as given if it is assumed (1) the known(KG) (b) refer to the physical environment (PG) (c) have been mentioned in the preceding discourse (LG). These types are illustrated in (1):

(1) (a) If I knew(KG) to children, I'll give (PG) those toys (PG). 
(b) KG = children, PG = toys. 
(c) All nouns and prepositional phrases are mentioned in the preceding discourse.

Frequently a related adverb, or correlative, such as before therefore ('for that') occurred in the main clause with these and other adverbial clauses. In this paper I discuss several studies dealing with these clauses and their connective conjunctions and adverbs and argue that these clauses were not relative clauses associated with the main clause (O'Neill, 1977), but were embedded noun phrase complements; however, the demonstrative pronoun was not the result of the deletion of the noun 'cause; purpose' (Redlick, 1980), but was a base-generated demonstrative adverb of the preposition. Also, I analyse the main clause adverb as the pronounization of the trace left after extra-position of the subordinate clause and not the result of topicalization of the subordinate clause (Erickson, 1977), or as prepositional phrase copying (Carden, 1976); this accounts for both the correlative constructions and the split cases in which the proposition and pronoun were in the main clause, but the subordinating particle and clause had been extra-posed. In conclusion I discuss implications for recent work on relative clauses with correlative such as hear there; where (Allen, 1977, 1980; Van, 1978).

JEN BACHURSKY, Naval Research Laboratory

Acronyms and compressed NPs in a telegraphic style of English

Telegraphic styles of English rank among the most common and least studied forms of variation. Though many observations have been made concerning telegraphic 'jargon', there exists little systematic work on the properties of linguistic compression in these styles and, in particular, on the grammatically determined limits of telegraphic expression. This talk will examine patterns of compression for a class of NPs that occur in the telegraphic style of Navy messages. My discussion will be based on a grammatical description of acronyms like the following:

(i) ASO (Aviation Supply Office)
(ii) NAVORDTEST (Naval Ordnance Test Unit)

The central claim of my analysis is: (i) Data like (i), (ii) represent two acronym types. Lexical acronyms like ASO are word level items belonging to the class of unstructured 'odities' described in Aronoff (1976). Complex acronyms like (2) are words possessing an internal structure resembling that of complex nominals. (ii) The grammatical operations that derive complex acronyms constitute a subset of the operations for deriving the more general class of telegraphic NPs, e.g. RANGER, an increased allot. My analysis suggests that complex acronyms represent an extreme case of grammatically determined compression, i.e., the processes that optionally derive other telegraphic NPs have stabilized in the derivation of complex acronyms. This conclusion, if correct, may offer a partial explanation for the hybrid quality of complex acronyms as well as provide a useful perspective on the analysis of other telegraphic constructions.
on extraction from nouns, and that only a complement PP may be extracted from within a NP by wh-movement or, in the Romance languages, clitic displacement. (1) Who did you give a picture of to Sally? vs. (2) Who did you give a book about to Sally?) This generalization can be integrated with the Empty Category Principle proposed in Chomsky (Lectures on Government and Binding, 1981, Foris Press). Crucially, a lexical head noun governs, not a modifier PP, and the ECP requires that traces be properly governed.

CHARLES H. BARRBACK, University of Washington

Old English palatalization and umlaut: An enigma

Richard Hogg (Old English palatalization. 1975, TFS 1979, 89-113) notes an enigma in the ordering of (1) the palatalization of velars (specifically *g*) in the environment of front vowels and (2) umlaut, the fronting and raising of vowels by /i/ in following syllables. *G* key 'from primitive OE *eG* indicates that, since palatalization failed before from vowels caused by umlaut, it preceded umlaut. Yet forms with vocalized *g* such as *day* from *dazg* (where *G* is not due to umlaut) indicate that the characteristic medial, unlike initial, palatalization followed, hence counterfactually, umlaut. *G* rejects this solution as ad hoc and notes that class II weak verbs with medial *g* indicate that medial, like initial velars, were unaffected by umlaut (c) > (s) e.g. *symgan* 'to sin' from *symgian*. But Hogg's rejection here is premature: the imperative *G* weak (cf. hesseth) from *hast* indicates that, unlike initial, velars are palatalized by umlaut. The velar in *symgan*, however, precedes the umlaut of an unstressed vowel (c) > (s). All of which suggests the following order of changes as a resolution to the enigma: (1) palatalization of initial velars, (2) umlaut of stressed vowels, (3) palatalization of medial velars, (4) umlaut of unstressed vowels.

EDWIN BATTISTELLA, Graduate Center-CUNY

Note on exceptions to Hungarian vowel harmony

Hungarian, like other Uralic languages, exhibits a well-known process of backness. In the general case the pattern is that all of the vowels in a root and its suffix agree in backness. There are exceptions to this generalization, like the mixed vowel roots in (1) - (3), and these forms receive a curious treatment in the literature.

1. taxi ‘taxi’ takes back vowel suffixes only.
2. jones ‘Joseph’ takes front vowel suffixes only.
3. Agnes ‘Agnes’ takes either front or back vowel suffixes. The analyses of Vago (1976) and Zonneveld (1980) assume a vowel harmony rule of the form [syll] - [back] / [syll,back] C[s]. Each also employs a further subrule of diacritic or exception features assigned to mixed vowel roots. I argue that, given a vowel harmony rule with a general variable, [syll] - [back] / [syll,back] X∗, the exception features that define the mixed vowel roots will suffice to account for the pattern of harmony if we assume that some front vowel stems are only focal exceptions (Jones), some are only contextual exceptions (taxi), and some may be either (Agnes).

ROBERT BAUNGARDNER, University of Southern California

Prefixes of address in Persian: Revolutionary change in progress

grown and Gilman report that both the French and Yugoslav adopted the T-form of address as an expression of solidarity after their revolutions. Kantorovich, on the other hand, informs us that Russian revolutionary leaders encouraged the use of mutual V as an expression of respect. It has long been recognized that pronouns of address are inextricably bound up with prevailing socio-political trends. There exist, however, only after-the-fact reports on the effects of political change on these systems. From data gathered in Iran from 1975-80, this paper scrutinizes the effects of the Iranian revolution on Persian pronouns of address are examined in Brown and Gilman's power and solidarity framework. Two seemingly contradictory patterns are discernible: (1) the upper and middle classes began, on the one hand, to use the T-dominated speech of the lower class, the vanguard of the revolution, and (2) the same upper and middle classes also for the first time began to use their more elaborate V-dominated speech in address to the lower class. Both trends are interpreted here not as evidence of revolutionary solidarity or respect, but as a classic case of Iranian taqieh, or disimulation. The present data allows us a unique vantage point in the anatomy of pronominal change in progress as the direct result of revolution.

ROBERT BEARD, Bucknell University

The plural as a lexical derivation (word formation)

In IE languages (1) number is a lexical (not syntactic or morphological) feature and plural must therefore be lexically derived. Specifically, (2) there are two number features in each IE lexical stem which account for all number-related lexical classes and categories: singular, plural, count, mass, singularis tantum and plurals tantum forms.

...
In a one-year project on the nature of language proficiency, a comprehensive framework for comparative analysis of discourse was developed. Taped child and adult Spanish, grades K–6, were analyzed, using tapes which displayed an apparent range of proficiencies from low to high. No single linguistic level was found as a reliable indicator of proficiency, but had to be seen in terms of how they related to other aspects of the unfolding discourse. Strategies for achieving coherence, point and standard of literate language use in the school velar nasal is often indistinguishable from a heavily nasalized vowel, and it is suggested that what have been reported as velar nasals in word-final positions in Caribbean speech are more likely final nasalized vowels (after the processes of Harmonization and final nasal deletion). The theoretical implications of these phenomena for GENERATIVE PHONOLOGY, NATURAL PHONOLOGY, and AUTOSEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY plus other models of analysis will be fully discussed.

WILLIAM BIVENS, Humboldt State University

Principles for organizing sections and subsections of written textual material closely resemble topical/subparagraph arrangement of sentences. The overall schema, the topics of each subsection provide the opportunity to predicate subordinate ideas in the context of an initial sentence which introduces the subsection. As explaining, illustrating, proving or otherwise elaborating, these subsections creates a network of related ideas which cohere through a variety of repetitive ties to the introductory statement. The conclusion of each topic/comment subsection is marked by a variety of features. In Spanish, recognized closural devices which alert the reader to the fact that one subsection is over and another is about to begin, are segmentation boundaries marked by initial anaphorically tied topics and final closural devices are often marked typographically by paragraph indentation. In so far as these boundaries are visible, they serve as a signal for the reader to reiterate into larger units of the same pattern to produce long written texts.
On the binding conditions

Consider the binding theory of Chomsky (1981). (simplified for expository purposes) (a) an anaphor is bound if (b) a pronoun is free in L; (c) other NPs are free. (Bound = c-commanded by an NPI, free = not bound). Some local domain, "governing category" in Chomsky (1981) (NP, COMP position, etc.) (c) the governance of binding is controlled by the functional structure rule (NP, COMP position, etc.). (d) and (b) are "mirror images" only restate the binding conditions based on the precise identification and elimination of the redundancy. We show that a fourth binding condition is motivated independently, which certain elements be bound. This makes it possible to revise (a) (a) an anaphor is free outside L. (To allow Tom said he saw himself, we now understand free=not locally bound, e.g. bind y if x binds y and there is no x such that a binds y and x binds z, i.e. z is the nearest binder of y). We then restate (a-c) (a-d): (d) a non-anaphor is free elsewhere. This system has numerous advantages. In particular, it shows that "free" and "allotted categories" are appropriately defined and "free" in (e), but not in (d), is understood to exclude binders also in COMP position, then the effects of the Empty Category Principle and Subjacency follow.

ELLEN BROSELOW, University of Iowa

On predicting the interaction between stress and epenthesis

The interaction between stress and epenthesis -- that is, the extent to which forms with epenthetic vowels may violate otherwise regular surface stress patterns -- has generally been assumed to be arbitrary, and has been handled simply by ordering epenthesis with respect to stress assignment. I argue that, given a framework in which segments are organized hierarchically into syllables, feet, and words, the interaction of stress and epenthesis is predictable on the basis of the function of the epenthesis rule. I identify three types of epenthesis: (1) syllabically-conditioned epenthesis, which takes place as part of the organization of segments into well-formed syllables; (2) metrically-conditioned epenthesis, which takes place as part of the organization of syllables into feet; (3) segmentally-conditioned epenthesis, which takes place after metrical structure has been assigned and which functions to break up a particular sequence of segments regardless of their syllable or foot membership; e.g. Minneshe ko-ho-wa-ta, ko-ho-wa-ta 'be sick', since verbs must consist of at least two syllables, in accord with the restriction that stress be nonfinal. (3) segmentally-conditioned epenthesis, which takes place after metrical structure has been assigned and which functions to break up a particular sequence of segments regardless of their syllable or foot membership; e.g. Minneshe ko-ho-wa-ta, ko-ho-wa-ta 'be sick', since verbs must consist of at least two syllables, in accord with the restriction that stress be nonfinal. (3) segmentally-conditioned epenthesis, which takes place after metrical structure has been assigned and which functions to break up a particular sequence of segments regardless of their syllable or foot membership; e.g. Minneshe ko-ho-wa-ta, ko-ho-wa-ta 'be sick', since verbs must consist of at least two syllables, in accord with the restriction that stress be nonfinal. Thea C. Brunn, Center for Applied Linguistics

Effects of second language and culture on cognition

This paper will present some of the results of original research on the effects of bilingualism on cognition. Despite the volume of research in second and foreign language acquisition and on cross-cultural differences in cognition, there is relatively limited understanding of what happens to the first language and cognition of a person who has acquired another language. Research on color categorization and development of color lexicon among bilinguals has shown a tendency of categories of bilinguals to be broader than those of monolinguals, with less stable boundaries and more variable flow. There appears to be a bias toward the second language in tasks carried out in the first language. (Casey-Simons and Hinojosa 1972) Part of a study conducted by this researcher, however, suggests that the cognitive set -- shift toward second language is not followed consistently. Five groups of monolingual and bilingual subjects, completing both semantic differential and open-ended interviews in English in response to a series of short silent films, displayed a variety of patterns which did not follow the language bias exhibited in other studies. This paper will discuss the various factors, content of stimuli, sex, age, socioeconomic status, cultural experience, which besides the target language appear to affect the semantics and cognition in a person's first language.

WERN CHAO, University of Massachusetts

A constraint on the interpretation of null subjects: Portuguese

The interpretation of FIO in tenseless clauses obeys an interesting constraint if there is a sentential controller, FIO must be interpreted as a bound variable (Partee 1975). For example, (a) has the readings only John expected himself to escape. Compare (a) to (b), which has two readings, the one above, and one which can be paraphrased as "only John expected John to escape." (a) John expected FIO to escape. (b) John expected that he would escape.

The interpretation of null subjects of tensed clauses obeys the same constraint. In Portuguese, fi forces the bound variable reading for (a), whereas (b) allows the same interpretation as (a). (c) João pensava que fi era escapar. 'Only João thought he would escape.' (d) João pensava que João era escapar. 'Only João thought he would escape.'

On the basis of this and other related phenomena, I will argue against the standard assumption that null subjects are simply phonologically unrealized variants of definite pronouns, and in favor of a more fully articulated semantic treatment which identifies some of their key properties with properties of FIO.

MICHAEL BRODY, MIT, University of California, London

On the binding conditions

Consider the binding theory of Chomsky (1981). (simplified for expository purposes) (a) an anaphor is bound if (b) a pronoun is free in L; (c) other NPs are free. (Bound = c-commanded by an NPI, free = not bound). Some local domain, "governing category" in Chomsky (1981) (NP, COMP position, etc.) (c) the governance of binding is controlled by the functional structure rule (NP, COMP position, etc.). (d) and (b) are "mirror images" only restate the binding conditions based on the precise identification and elimination of the redundancy. We show that a fourth binding condition is motivated independently, which certain elements be bound. This makes it possible to revise (a) (a) an anaphor is free outside L. (To allow Tom said he saw himself, we now understand free=not locally bound, e.g. bind y if x binds y and there is no x such that a binds y and x binds z, i.e. z is the nearest binder of y). We then restate (a-c) (a-d): (d) a non-anaphor is free elsewhere. This system has numerous advantages. In particular, it shows that "free" and "allotted categories" are appropriately defined and "free" in (e), but not in (d), is understood to exclude binders also in COMP position, then the effects of the Empty Category Principle and Subjacency follow.

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Neutral tone vs nonstress in Mandarin phonology

In Mandarin phonology the neutral tone and the absence of stress have been universally viewed as two sides of one same entity. However, sandhi changes occur before certain neutral tone syllables (e.g., やさしい 'a mild') but not before others (e.g., 言葉 'chair'). Cheng (1973) suggests that the Tone Sandhi Rule operates across word boundaries but not within words. His interpretation of 'word boundary' is found to be ad hoc and circular. A survey shows that out of 760 lexical neutral tone items, 549 (72.2%) involve discrepancy in dictionary listings. Out of 55 items wherein a shift between neutral/full tones is supposed to signal a change in meaning, 48 appear to have remained unattested in meaning. The proposed explanation to these phenomena is: Neutral tone words. His interpretation of neutral tone becomes obscure yet it is still viable in triggering sandhi rate entities which, nevertheless, often concur.

In dictionary listings pertain to fluctuations between stress nonstress are two separate entities which, nevertheless, often concur. When a toned syllable is unattested, its tonal characteristics become obscure yet it is still viable in triggering sandhi rate entities which, nevertheless, often concur. Neutral tone must be regarded as a legitimate tonal category detached from nonstress.

In Italian a word initial consonant gets lengthened after a finally stressed word (RS). It has been claimed that RS occurs iff a 'left branch condition' is met (LBC) Ww, if neither W, W [W, [X], or (XW, [W, Y]). I will argue against (LBC): Counterexamples to it are:

An idiom interpretation rule (I.I.R.)

The purpose of an I.I.R. is to take over where analytical or compositional interpretation procedures become awkward (Chafe 1968; Fraser 1970). It has to be able not only to assign an idiomatic reading whenever required (come across; 'meet', but also to account for any non-idiomatic meaning of an idiom-like occurrence (wind instruments for meteorological purposes) and for any change in a specifically idiomatic reading (come across a story; 'near'/'read'). In order to do this, it has to include the setting (some, and possibly the context). The rule itself is a floating (non-positional) feature on top of a positional selection sub-rule (cold/fish; fish/cold), and a redundant satisfaction rule or transfer rule (adapted from Weinreich 1967) which supercedes selectional restrictions.

Such an I.I.R. is then powerful enough to deal with the metaphorical or figurative meaning usually attributed to idioms, but does not 'explain' the origins of distinction as in Wackel 1978 nor does it propose a classificatory system. As a formal device, the I.I.R. differs from a semantic interpretation rule (Chomsky 1965) inasmuch as it relates a given part of an actual utterance to its paraphrase, which can thus be defined as a feature mapping.

This paper documents and discusses properties of a relativisation strategy that has received little attention in semasiological study. In many Rom and Semi-Santadi languages of Africa (gerundives, infinitives, etc.) occur as the head noun of a restrictive relative clause as exemplified in (1) below.

(1) Odet me di idi ne se yiw; gave (the act) of eating the food which id; I gave him

'The eating which I ate the food paid him'

Similarly, sentences with English gloss as in (2) are possible.

(2) To the time which the chief sang the song he put the oil

'At the time which he put the oil'

General properties of the strategy are discussed in cross linguistic study involving Toruba, Edo, Pidgin English, Ogori, and Ngemba. A distinction is made between relatives with verbal noun heads as in (1) and relatives with infinitival heads in (2) with respect to strategy and semantic and syntactic properties. The former involve nominalisation (by prefixation) of a focussed copy of the verb as underlined in (1). Most Rom languages are limited to this. In Ngemba (Semi-Santu) relatives with infinitival heads are irreflexive with respect to nominal class and concord markers whereas those with verb nominal heads are subject to noun class and concord constraints.

The phonology of 'Special English'

'Special English' is an artificially created variety of English which is used on certain 'voice of America broadcasts to areas in which there is a relatively large number of non-native speakers of English. It differs from Standard American (broadcast) English chiefly in that it is spoken more slowly and with a limited range of vocabulary. This study examines the phonological effects of the reduction in the rate of speech, both from the perspective of a phonological analysis of Special English itself and from that of an attempt to use a new variety of 'external evidence' in studying the phonology of standard English. The study, which is still in progress, will be based on a corpus of rix tape recordings of news broadcasts of fifteen minutes each which were presented between May 35 and June 28, 1963 (samples will be played for illustrative purposes). Among the topics to be treated are: (1) the velar effects of lottal stop and/or prelottalization at the boundary of word categories; (2) exaggerated intonation (somewhat comparable to that reported as being used with children); (3) the underlying status of flaps and glottal stop which correspond to orthographic [v], [w], the underlining status of nasals before velar stops; and (5) the underlying status of schwa in the case of reduced vowels.

The /iu/ diphthong in a Vermont dialect

In their dialect survey (1961) Kurath & Raven McDavid found the falling diphthong /iu/ in music tune during to be highly recessive in New England speech. They note that /iu/ was going to /iu/ after bilabials and velars and /iu/ after alveolars. Their analysis is based upon field work carried out in 1933-34, in 1986 14 informants from Colchester Vermont were recorded reading a word list containing 496 items. These recordings were transcribed using a fine phonetic notation, no attention being paid to specific features. Three informants were selected for closer analysis. The striking occurrence of /iu/ in the speech of the youngest informant (age 87) was then analysed and a set of phonological rules demonstrating a sound change //u/ to /iu/ //w// could be stated. The fronting of /iu/ found in the speech of the youngest informant was then considered. It was consistently found as a sample of reduced words with respect to a consonant analysis. Stylized spectrograms were obtained using a linear Prediction Correlate program. Formant measurements were made approximately 100 msec, into the vowel and again towards the end of the vowel to determine the course of the glide. This does not pretend to be a stringent acoustic analysis but supports the transcriptions of both /iu/ //iw// and /u//.
DAVID W. COLLINS

A revised analysis of Proto-Slavic prosody

This paper is based on the hypothesis that prosodic systems are highly constrained; that a language like Proto-Slavic with mobile pitch accent uses a mora analysis and the principle of pitch spread. All change is from marked to an unmarked one, and four types of intonational change are identified (e.g., accent retraction). Preliminary analysis of the derivation of the Čakavian reflexes of Proto-Slavic prosodemes shows the current assignment of rising and falling pitch contours to be inconsistent with the above principles. Assigning the opposite values produces consistency and generalizes two natural redundancy rules for Proto-Slavic, along with several simple rules to derive the Čakavian reflexes. Similar rules, plus a new type of rule, explain the Slovenian reflexes. Czech, a language which has lost free accent, fits into the same framework. East Slavic, which has lost free length, also fits, but produces a complication. A morphological rule is then spread of the neo-acute accent from its phonetic origin. My conclusion is that the development of the Slavic prosodic systems was much simpler and more uniform than many accounts would suggest.

BERNARD COMRIE, University of Southern California

Morphology versus structure: The Maltese possessive predicate

The question whether morphology provides a direct insight into language structure is currently controversial. Data from the possessive predicate construction in Maltese provide evidence of one solid case where there is a clear discrepancy between morphological form and syntactic structure of a construction. The possessive predicate construction found in Maltese does not fit into the framework of a prepositional coreferential subject after another verb form, currently controversial. Data from the possessive predicate construction verb (not a preposition). In particular (a) a full noun phrase possessor must precede the deficient 'that' requires a definite form of both the adjective and the noun. The possessive pronominal suffix agreeing with that noun phrase; (b) is, and demonstrate that the arguments become void in light of case syncretism. They are actually not perfectly absolute (like vocatives and exclamations), as has been maintained by the 'require a particular case'.

MICHAEL COOPER, CASNR

With noun-phrases and context-free grammar

In this paper I argue that (a) so-called absolute constructions are actually not perfect

LEO CONTOLY, Memphis State University

Case grammar and the position of the subject in Modern German

In modern German the word orders SVO, OVS, and (X)VOS are normal in main clauses, while SOV order is usual in subordinate clauses. Except in SOV order, the subject may be preceded by an object pronoun or certain time and place expressions. The orders (X)VOS and OVS are unusual if the object is a noun in the dative or accusative case. Using case grammar one can state the conditions under which these orders occur.

MICHAEL COWINGTON, Yale

The medieval origins of some present-day syntactic terminology

The syntactic terminology of traditional grammar is medieval rather than classical in origin. This paper is an exploratory study of the origins of rule, govern, and various other technical terms of syntax. Rule in traditional grammar means 'prescriptive' or 'grammatical terms'. Govern (regere) arose as a synonym for 'agent' from the Latin root regis, probably under the influence of Arabic philosophy (Alfarabi, Liber de scientia). In medieval times expressing a syntactic generalization; it acquired this sense in the Middle Ages to mean 'require a particular case'. Depend on a word was then to pertain to its referent (e.g., the adjective pronouns; to depend on a word was to be dependent on the substantive that it modifies). The Modistae also had a concept of dependency similar to the modern notion of one element presupposing the presence of another; this they called the primum-secundum or prae-secundum relation.
The paper reviews three experiments which demonstrate that the syntactic analysis assigned to expressions of the flying-planes type is partly under the control of certain pronouns in prior context. That is, certain occurrences of they in initial subordinate clauses induce a statistically significant bias toward the plural NP reading of a flying-planes expression. E.g., replacing you with them in If you want change money, visiting uncle..., induces a shift toward the plural NP reading of visiting uncle.

The third experiment assesses three possible means of blocking this effect, those based on principles of logical form, selection restrictions, or pragmatic knowledge. The main result suggests that the pronoun bias effect is absent when a principle of logical form blocks any coreference relation between they and the flying-planes expression, but persists in spite of pronominal anomalies induced by such a relation. This tentative result suggests that logical form, pragmatic knowledge, and possibly selection restrictions affect these assignments only at some later stage of the comprehension process. This analysis supports an articulated (or "autonomous") theory of the language processing system rather than one which merges processes of structural and interpretive analysis.

Warren Conigli, Yale

The distribution of infixed and suffixed object pronouns in Old Irish

It is known that Old Irish personal pronoun objects are infixed before the verb in most situations, e.g., after the prefix of a compound verb, type g-e-uci 'understands it'; but in the situations where suffixed pronoun objects are allowed, Type be-iri 'applies it'. Scholars have thought they could optionally be infixed after a meaningless preverb bo-, type no-anguid 'hesseheen them'. I have found that in most places where suffixed pronominal objects are allowed in Old Irish prose, they are required: verb forms that allow suffixation always suffix 3rd singular masculine or neuter objects and suffix 1st or 2nd-person second-singular objects (no-anguid). Only 3rd singular feminine objects are both suffixed (it-tum 'eata her') and infixed (no-un-enassadeg 'makes her void')

Perhaps te- he/ with an object pronoun in the sense 'have' suffixes plural and non-third person objects in prose, type et-tum 'I have, est mhit'; but, at least in prose, the future of this syntagm infixes with ro-, even with 3rd singular masculine or neuter object, type me-mhir 'be he will have, eiri ei'.

Thomas D. Covens, University of Illinois

Intervocalic consonant weakening in a phonetic-based hierarchically phonological

Foley (1977) was the first attempt to address systematically the old question of hierarchically relationships apparently obtaining among constituent clauses in their synchronic and diachronic mutations. Synchronic data from Tuscan demonstrate, however, that Foley's theory is severely crippled by the insistence that phonetic control be excluded; the development of intervocalic velar in Tuscan (k-\xbar-x) and g-g-w) refutes the theoretical underpinnings of Foley's theory of strength hierarchies in that a theory-defined weaker voiced segment weakens less than its supposedly stronger unvoiced homorganic counterpart. The exclusion of phonetic evidence precludes a principled recognition that these are two trivially distinct word-formation strategies for phonological changes along a phonetically-defined multi-directional weakening scale. The Tuscan development is seen as change on the separate, but not necessarily completely independent, continua of vocalic intrusion (voicing) and occlusion loss (spirantization). This approach not only allows interpretation of cases not addressable within the framework of Foley (1977), but also opens the way to principled empirically-based explanation for the existence of strength hierarchies obtained differently in diverse languages.

Stanley Cushingham, Yale

Phonetic and phonological realization of emphasis in the Kjyany dialect of Nyam

Nyam is a Niger-Kordofanian Plateau 2b language spoken in central Nigeria. It is a small language possessing three phonemic levels. In the Kjyany dialect of Nyam, the discourse phenomenon of emphasis has phonetic and phonological manifestations not commonly reported in African tone languages.

In broad terms, emphasis is phonetically realized through increases of pitch, duration, and amplitude. The increase in pitch usually, but not always, realizes a phonological upstep: [\xbar-g]\ /k\xbar-g/ 'bone' or [\xbar-g]\ /k\xbar-g/ 'bone' but, [\xbar-g]\ /k\xbar-g/ 'bag' or [\xbar-g]\ /k\xbar-g/ 'bag'.

Two factors that may increase the half-vowel, realizing emphasis. In addition, final vowels or resonants of head sounds are lengthened in some constructions: [\xbar-b]\ /m\xbar-b/ 'my back' or [\xbar-b]\ /m\xbar-b/ 'my back'.

The increase in amplitude realizes the emotive aspect of emphasis. If an emphasized imperative were not accompanied by an increase in amplitude, a speaker would be viewed as weak-willed: [\xbar-\xbar-n]* 'build!' (normal emphasized command)

The scope of phrase and sentence subject to these manifestations is not entirely understood, but the results of research in progress on this question will be included in the report.
IDENTIFYING REFERENTS FOR TWO KINDS OF PRONOUNS

In many languages, non-focussed pronouns as in Was Sue called? Yes, Al called her differently from focussed ones as Who did Al call? Sue said Al called her. Even in English, where the two forms differ only in stress, they have different syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties (cf. Did you give Tom the books? *No I gave Mary them and Which books did you give Mary? I gave Mary them). Psycholinguistic studies of pronoun processing have uncovered two kinds of pronouns. Of the models that have been proposed, one posits a memory search for an entity matching the pronoun (e.g. Clark and Sengul 1979), while another suggests that pronouns function to maintain reference to a topic (e.g. Chafe 1977). 

In the second language, the linguistic differences between focussed and non-focussed pronouns suggest that these models are not incompatible. The first type of processing may be used for focussed pronouns and the second for non-focussed pronouns. If this is correct, one might expect processing of focussed and non-focussed pronouns to be more complex since the set of available antecedents is best restricted. In support of this hypothesis, a pilot study, based on 10 subjects, indicates that people make significantly more errors in identifying referents of focussed pronouns as compared to non-focussed ones. In this paper we present results of an on-going study of reaction time differences in identifying referents of pronouns.

ALEC DAVIDSON, University of Illinois

Constraints on relative clauses and wh-questions in Hindi-Urdu

In Hindi-Urdu, the derivation of relative clauses and wh-questions, which are very different in surface form, requires no obligatory NP movement. But both these constructions involve no movement, as well as a NP movement rule more like wh- movement in English (cf. Chomsky 1977), are subject to the Complex NP and Coordinate Structure Constraints, though not the Sentential Subject C. (Kachru 1979). It is not evident how to state general conditions on these diverse structures. If subjunction is extended to cover antecedent-anaphor relations in semantic structure, the feature is too strong, since it would include (3) which has an antecedent separated from a pronoun by two N nodes. It is proposed instead that the relevant constraints be stated as well-formedness conditions on antecedent-anaphor relations in semantic structure. Dallowing nested structures similar to (2) (cf. Bach 1977) while excluding (3), a violation of NP-Movement.

(1) [parviiN-keN liyer [jo{ kitaab pahNan] maskii thii] { [.

(2) NP, ..., pron, (3) QK ..., NP, x1 pron, (4)

A 'ji kitaab, kia-see ni[lu, [osi, asp-kho pahNn] zarun caaNiyed? Which book who-by wrote it you-to read-inf surely need' who to should surely a read book which _ wrote?'

RICHARD R. DAY, University of Hawaii

Self-repair and other-repair in native speaker and nonnative speakers of discourse

The purpose of this paper is to describe the role which self-correction and other-correction play in native speaker (NS) and nonnative speaker (NNS) discourse. Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) claim that self-correction and other-correction are not alternatives and that the organization of repair in conversation provides mainly for self-correction, which is achieved by either self-initiation or other-initiation. They further claim that the organization of repair is structured to favor self-initiated self-repair. However, they admit that there may be situations in which other-correction may not be as infrequent. Our research, involving tape-recordings of spoken conversation, reveals that the difference between the a and b sentences above are due to difference in meaning between the simple present tenses of the two languages.

The English present tense crucially refers to (a) (are you sure) and the anteriority implied by hebbing (whereas English would prefer such diverse means as simple past, English present (perfect) time, and English present (perfect) time). In Dutch, however, it is only limited in that it cannot refer to remote past. But it can refer to near past (b), or indicate duration (c), or refer to future (b). Accordingly, the Dutch present perfect need not refer to (d) and the anteriority implied by hebbing (whereas) makes this tense suitable for reference to remote past (b). An analysis will be provided of Dutch and English present perfect tenses in which these differences can be accounted for.
Anti-transitivity in Chamorro

Linguistic and morphological evidence suggests that Chamorro is a Philippine-type language, though loss or reanalysis of the focus system morphology which characterizes Philippine languages has resulted in fundamental syntactic change. Since actor and patient in Philippine languages are marked according to topicality and not case relationship, the nominative-accusative/ergative-absolute dichotomy does not apply. Reanalysis of such a system could thus be expected to result in a grammar with either accusative or ergative characteristics. Nevertheless, I shall argue in this paper that language, though loss or reanalysis of the focus system morphology, Reanalysis of such a system could thus be expected to result in a grammar

patient in Philippine languages are marked according to topicality and not case

3) Reanalysis of actor focus and goal focus as cleft and passive constructions.

Second fronting in the Old English dialect of the Omont Leaf

In Dresher (1980) it was argued that the Mercian Old English sound change known as the 'second fronting', whereby forms such as *deó 'day' became dé and déas 'days' became dásæs, actually consisted of two separate changes: the addition of a rule raising *a to ò and of a rule which backed a to a. This rule loss analysis was supported by evidence drawn from the dialects represented by the Corpus Glossary and the Vespasian Psalter, and was of theoretical interest in that it required the positing of 'abstract' homological representations. This analysis, however, has the apparent drawback of not being able to relate the change of ò to ò to the more general change of a to ò, which occurred also in the Rushworth Gospels, the Royal Glosses, and St. Chad. Moreover, the two changes appear to share similar restrictions, such as failure before a, which also receive independent explanations in the rule loss analysis. Evidence that the changes are indeed independent is provided by a leaf of Mercian Old English described by Schuaman and Cameron (1977). This previously unnoticed fragment, known as 'the Omont leaf', is written in a dialect where ò was not raised—hence *awæt 'water', *ealg 'belch', *æppel 'apple'. The Omont leaf supplies more evidence in support of the rule loss analysis and the theory from which it follows.
Investigation of data from second language learning has shown that learners acquire intermediate systems which, while distinct from both the native language (NL) and the target language (TL), are themselves languages in their own right. Selinker (1972) has termed these learner-languages interlanguages (IL). Given the postulation of ILs, one question that immediately arises is whether these ILs obey various typological laws which traditionally have been formulated about first languages.

This paper investigates a number of ILs which have resulted from the learning of English by speakers of various native languages. It was found that while some of the ILs are typologically distinct from both the NL and TL, these ILs nonetheless obey the same typological laws that first languages obey. Its are typologically distinct from both the NL and TL, these ILs nonetheless obey the same typological laws that first languages obey.

For example, Japanese allows no obstructions whatever to occur in word-final position. Japanese speakers learning English produce IL forms with only voiceless obstruents word-finally, or they produce IL forms with both voiceless and voiceless obstruents word-finally. Such an IL would violate well-established typological laws.

It was found that while some of the ILs are typologically distinct from both the NL and TL, these ILs nonetheless obey the same typological laws that first languages obey.

French genitive pronouns agree with the head noun in a case in which it occurs. The corresponding pronouns in English do not. I will argue that the contrast follows from the observations that English but not French permits full NP subjects of IL and that French has a system of pronoun classifier within English lacks. I elaborate a class of agreement features in agreement pairs that predict the nonagreement of NP subjects as an unmarked case. However, English and French both exhibit determiners which agree with the heads of the NPs they specify. Specifier/noun agreement is a reflex of the spellout of subcategorization features in a nonagreement position. Following Chemski (1980), Jaszczil (1980) and others, I take cliticization to be the spellout of subcategorization in nonagreement positions. Clitics may spellout in SPEC. The spellout of subcategorization in SPEC is compatible with agreement. Given that French genitive pronouns are clitics, they agree as required. Since English has only full pronouns but no clitics, genitive pronouns in English do not agree.
Adverbs dominated by NP in English

Traditionally, English adverbs have been generated as daughters of S, AP, and VP. I will show in this paper that adverbs may also occur as the first daughter of NP. Exactly and mostly roughly, just, even, maybe, and others are generated there by PS rules. However, some NP-initial adverbs may have sources within a prenominal NP, such as absolutely in We absolutely the most case of terminal quantifying I've ever seen.

ALICE FABER, University of Florida

(Non-affil: II)

Early medieval Hebrew sibilants in the Rhineland, South Central and Eastern Europe

It has been thirty years since first it was proposed that Medieval French and German, while lacking a [s]-phone, each had two [s] phones, one with the tongue tip as the primary constriction, generally transcribed [s], and one with the blade as the primary constriction [z]. While the distribution and development of these phones have been extensively studied, most recently by Fought (Lg 55.842-858), much of the study has proceeded in ignorance of the existence and value of contemporary Hebrew records from the Rhineland. Similarly, study of the Old Ashkenazi (Rhineland) values of the Hebrew sibilants by Gurnperz and others (summarized most recently by Elder The Hebrew Language Tradition in Medieval Ashkenaz, Jerusalem 1978), while aware of the problem of the Rhineland, South Central, and Eastern Europe, overlooks some of the detailed phonetic inferences available for the European languages. This paper is an attempt to synthesise discussion of the European and the Hebrew facts into a coherent whole.

LEONARD M. FALZI, Arizona State University

(TUSS Affil: 2)

On semantic islands

Attempts to explain the inability of wh-movement to extract NPs from islands in syntactic, either by using configurational constraints (the Complex NP Constraint) or by imposing otherwise motivated conditions on transformations or on grammar rules generally (Chomsky 75, 77, etc.). But it has been noted (e.g. Bach 77) that island constraints restrict the interpretation of quantifiers, a situation not involving movement. In neither (1) nor (2) can every have g in its scope: (1) every man loved the girl who got a prize; (2) John met a man who every girl kissed, because a (in (1)) and every (in (2)) are in islands. I propose that island constraints are logical-semantic and not syntactic, supporting this by showing that the scope facts of (1) and (2) are directly explained by the semantic component of the grammar in Reenan and Falez 78 without using constraints or other additional apparatus. If wh-words are, semantically, quantifiers (Chomsky 80, etc.), the usual island constraint facts follow for the same semantic reasons as in (1) and (2). Languages allowing violations in relative clauses lack the wh-quantifier of English relatives but the two kinds of relatives are logically equivalent in normal cases.

T. L. FINER, University of Massachusetts

(FN1 Affil: I)

French causatives in a context-free grammar

In this paper I propose an analysis of the French faîter (causative) construction within the non- transformational framework developed in Gazdar (1980). There, there can be no rules of subject raising or verb-raising, or any other transformations which have been variously proposed in, e.g., Goldsmith (1975), Alsentz (1974), Kayne (1975), Quirk (1980), and Vergnaud and Vericat (1980). Rather, phrase-structure rules (interpreted as node-adjacency conditions) and meta-rules interact to account for the data. The notion "phrase-structure rule" is crucially Semantics -- syntax analysis, and it enables the account of sentences la-b to be assimilated to that of la-b:

1a. Jean fera manger le poisson à Pierre. 2a. Jean donnera le poisson à Pierre.

'John will make Peter eat the fish' 'John will give the fish to Peter'

1b. Jean fera partir Marie. 2b. Jean mangera le poisson. 'John will make Mary leave' 'John will eat the fish'

The paper concludes with a brief comparison of the proposed analysis with transformational analyses.

DONN FISCHER, Northwestern University

(Non-affil: 11)

Transformational analysis: qualitative measures

We have reported elsewhere on an experiment with early and late learners of ASL which raises questions about the critical age for language acquisition. A detailed qualitative analysis of the errors from this experiment reveals differences in performance which reflect the alternative theories among the subject groups. In particular, both the early learners, who learned ASL before age 12 are far more likely to make addition or substitution errors at the syntactic/semantic level than those who learned after age 12; an example of this type of error would be the substitution of a sign for an equivalent facial expression. Those who learned after age 12 are more likely to make phonological errors than those who learned before 12; e.g., substituting one feature for another. Furthermore, those phonological errors made by late learners are more likely to result in surface forms than those made by early learners, suggesting that their inventory of lexical items is insufficient to distinguish a sign from a non-sign, though they may have some knowledge of sign formation rules. The subjects' error patterns suggest to us that early learners are able to process language more completely on these tasks (shadowing and immediate recall) than is possible for late learners. They have the extra time they need (Ladd, 1980) because knowledge of ASL enables them to process it more efficiently, even when it is scrambled. For the late learners with less ASL competence, more resources have to be devoted to surface processing, leaving fewer resources available for understanding.

ILENE FITZPATRICK, New York University

(Non-affil: 2)

Deep structure, surface structure and binding convention

Chomsky (1970) and others have argued that, although base structure determines grammatical relations, certain aspects of semantic interpretation are determined at the surface structure. The syntactic argument which supports this hypothesis is that certain elements -- modals, quantifiers, negatives, and some adverbs -- differ in their interpretation depending on their position within a sentence. The Indexing Convention (Chomsky, 1980) of trace theory claims to unify interpretation by a convention on transformations which indexes a moved constituent with the position from which it is moved, thus carrying the relational information, still determined at base structure, into surface structure. The Indexing Convention, being transformational, must leave indices for all moved constituents, even those whose base position is not relevant to interpretation. And, leaving uninterpreted why the index is not determined at base structure, some constituents depend on their surface position and others on their base position.

By alternative, the Feature Matching Convention, carries base structure grammatical information into the surface by rules which bind a moved constituent with a position X if the constituent contains a lexical head with inherent features and the host of the phrase dominating X requires that X have features. In this system, only those moved constituents which share cooccurrence features with a phrasal head in the same base position at surface structure. Those moved constituents which are not bound through cooccurrence to a base position are precisely those whose surface position alone contributes to interpretation, thus explaining the two-level input to interpretation.
The constituent of the verb phrase in Spanish which corresponds to the indirect object in English displays several properties shared by other noun phrases in Spanish, but is usually preceded by the particle a. This has led both traditional and contemporary grammarians to analyze the indirect object as a prepositional phrase or "adverb of interest" since a is also the form of the preposition meaning roughly "to." However, evidence from several constructions in Spanish (including those that are passive and object-initial sentences, as well as those employing clitics or the "personal a") provides motivation for regarding the indirect object as a noun phrase carrying the feature [-a]. Not only does such an analysis permit a more elegant formulation of the grammar of Spanish, but it also underscores the possibility of a formally unified treatment of case marking cross-linguistically, independent of whether a given language employs inflections or prepositions to mark the case of the NP arguments in a sentence.

This paper extends the categorial theory (as in the work of Flynn, Ailes and Steedman, Cordenere and others) to treat the relations between verbs and their nominalizations in English. The paper draws heavily on proposals by Dowty and Jackendoff.

Nominalized forms are assigned full lexical entries and a "template" sort of evaluation list is stated. It is shown how the theory provides a basis for explaining why nouns that are related to verbs are easier to learn than nouns that are not. Argument loss in nominalizations is discussed and treated in this manner. The paper concludes with a demonstration of how ordering conventions in categorial grammar capture syntactic generalizations across the strictly subcategorised level, and with some remarks about the implications of this treatment for other aspects of grammatical theory within the categorial framework.

This paper presents a semantic account of the ordering of elements in the English verb phrase. We claim that aspect, tense and modality are universal operators over a proposition, each of which has scope over different constituents. Aspectsual operators have the predicate within their scope because of their semantic function. Modality is understood here to denote the root uses of modals like can (ability), may (permission) and must (obligation), which express a relationship between action and action. Within its scope falls the core of the proposition (verb, agent, patient). Tense captures the temporal relationship between the state of affairs expressed by a proposition and some point in time, usually that of the utterance; the whole proposition is therefore in its scope. Thus we have the ordering tense-mode-aspect reflecting the scope of these operators from the outermost to the innermost constituents of the proposition. The morphological coding of these operators in English is largely through auxiliary elements (modals, have, be), and their ordering is exactly as predicted by the scope theory of propositional operators. Aspect markers have (perfective) and be (progressive) must occur as the innermost members of the auxiliary, adjacent to the main verb. Next are the modal elements which must occur to the left of the aspect morphemes. Tense is signalled morphologically on the left-most (outermost) constituent of the verb phrase. This analysis has cross-linguistic motivation, as languages.

This is a report of on-going research on forms used in meeting and parting rituals in Japanese and English. This paper is concerned with linguistic behavior in these rituals as an aspect of politeness phenomena in general. The data are 167 meeting scenes (77 Japanese, 90 English) from a total of 13 hours of Japanese and American television dramas. To facilitate comparison of behavior, the rituals were analyzed in a framework including such categories as announcement, introduction, greeting and post-greeting (Kendon and Farber 1973). The data to be presented exhibit cross-cultural similarities in purposes and strategies of negative and positive polite behavior (Brown and Levinson 1978). Discussion in this paper centers on culturally related differences in the meeting rituals, such as preference for negative or positive politeness strategies, the formality accorded an interaction, the amount of variation in forms, and reiteration of slightly altered versions of forms. The goal of our research is to analyze culturally-specific methods of displaying politeness in these rituals. At the same time, this research supports the theory of a universal base underlying variation in polite behavior.
Investigations of interactions between native speakers (NS) and non-native speakers (NNS) have demonstrated that NS make linguistic and discourse adjustments to NNS interlocutors. Such adjustments have been taken as evidence for the existence of a special register, labeled by Ferguson (1971) as Foreigner Talk (FT).

While the notion of FT has been useful in generating further examination of the distinctive features of NS-NNS interaction, much of the variability in the data analyzed remains unexplained, thus making the existence of such a register problematic. Furthermore, the full range of NS-NNS interaction has yet to be explored. The large majority of studies conducted so far has involved either classroom discourse between a NS teacher (or 'teacher' in the case of NNS) and students, or interactions between participants who are either unacquainted or anonymous.

The present study, an analysis of twenty-five interactions (ten NS-NS, fifteen NS-NNS) involving the same NS (PM) participant who had been enrolled in an undergraduate course for fifteen weeks, examines the extent to which performance on four interactional features—(1) present/non-present temporal marking of verbs, (2) topic-contingent/-nominating moves, (3) topic-nominating moves in question form, and (4) self/referer repetitions—differs in NS-NS and NS-NNS discourse.

SILVIA JOSEPH GALENOS, Yale

A synchronic and diachronic portrayal of topic-prominence in popular spoken French

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that popular spoken French is a topic-prominent system. This goal is accomplished by comparing the characteristics of topic-prominent systems, as outlined by Li and Thompson (1976), to those of popular spoken French. For instance, Li and Thompson's proposal that passive constructions either do not occur or appear as marginal constructions in topic-prominent languages is shown to apply to popular spoken French. Passive constructions of the form Jean a etu par Pierre 'Jean was beaten by Pierre', necessary in formal standard French to place an object in the topical subject position, do not occur in popular spoken French. Rather, topic-comment constructions of the form Jean l'a etu par Pierre 'Jean, Pierre beat him' serve to fulfill the syntactic function.

The only feature mentioned by Li and Thompson that is shown not to characterize popular spoken French is the tendency of topic-prominent systems to be verbal-final: Popular spoken French is a SVO system. It is proposed, however, that this feature is acquired in second or subsequent time. A diachronic analysis of topic-prominent constructions in French suggests that the initial position of the subject and not the final position of the verb is the significant factor in the structure of topic-prominent systems; this structural characteristic is also shared by the topic-prominent languages examined by Li and Thompson. Finally, discourse-oriented vs. sentence-oriented communicative strategies are considered in a discussion of possible word order developments in French.

MARY E. GARCIA, National Center for Bilingual Research

Robert H. Berdan, National Center for Bilingual Research

Complementary approaches to quantitative analysis of Spanish locatives

In this study, variability between 'to' and 'para' towards in Spanish is hypothesized as distinguishing Mexican from American-Europeans, the latter expected to produce para more frequently than the former. As possible proximal influences on para production, the following linguistic factors are considered: preceding verb, the context, semantics, and concreteness of the following complement, and whether it is one of a series of complements. The social factors considered are: age, class, and nationality.

More than 5,000 tokens of these prepositions in locative phrase complements were subjected to statistical analysis to test these hypotheses. In addition, the data was subjected to a series of ANOVA analyses in order to arrive at a solution. The factors which affect the use of these prepositions are the following: (1) the type of preposition has traditionally (in sociolinguistic studies) been treated by variable rule analysis (VARBRUL), which utilizes data from a single speaker to arrive at a solution; (2) the variables defining the linguistic and social environments of the variable; there has been no provision for other variables in the analysis; (3) the data set was analyzed by VARBRUL in the use of analysis of variance (ANOVA). ANOVA specifically tests whether the variables defining the data set and independent or interact, although it proceeds from critical assumptions that are rarely satisfied in natural-language data sets.

The data set on Spanish locatives was first analyzed by VARBRUL, which did not converge at a solution. Subsets were then analyzed by ANOVA, interactions noted, and the data set partitioned on the basis of nationality for analysis by VARBRUL. These complementary approaches to the problem produced different types of evidence for (i) the conclusion that the rate of para use in these contexts distinguishes Mexican and American-Europeans; (ii) that the rate of para use is significantly conditioned by lexical, syntactic, and semantic variables; and (iii) that the linguistic patterning of the variability is highly similar across ethnic and social groups, despite the important differences in rate of production.
BEVERLEY GOODMAN, Pennsylvania State University
PHILIP BALDI, Pennsylvania State University

The syntactic and semantic development of *do*

This paper examines the history of English *do* and provides an account of the process by which *do* has become the default verb in cases of VP-deletion, and the default AUX in questions and negatives. After reviewing some proposals (e.g. by Vissers and others), the paper presents data from continuous stages of English since 800 A.D. which demonstrate the semantic and syntactic ambiguity of *do*. For example, *do* has always been used as a main verb ('The king did build a castle'), and as a substitute verb: 'John drinks good wine and Bill does, too'. It has also been used as a causative auxiliary (800-1600): 'The king did build a castle' ('caused a castle to be built by someone else'), and as an affirmative (`did' always placed after the verb): 'He did the dishes'.

It argues that the role of *do* in the Modern English AUX has developed through a syntactic and semantic analysis of the causative and affirmative constructions. It is further argued that the substitute verb usage which has occurred throughout the history of English provides the semantic model for *do* to become the default AUX in questions, negatives, etc. This results from the semantic weakening of *do* because of its habitual collocation with main verbs. Furthermore, the model which we propose for the historical development of *do* provides diachronic evidence to support a synchronic analysis of the Modern English AUX in which *do* is a base-generated place holder which is deleted when not utilized.

LYNN GORDON, Washington State University

Switch reference and hierarchical structure in Maricopa

Switch reference systems (morphological systems used to mark a clause as having a subject different from or the same as the subject of some other clause) are often described in Chichewa, a Muskogean language unrelated to Maricopa, also has a productive switch reference by more complex features of the relationships between clauses. A subordinate clause within a clause specifically controlled by linear order or contiguity. In Maricopa (a River language of the Yuman family), the switch reference system is clearly controlled not by linear order or by contiguity but by more complex features of the relationships between clauses. A subordinate clause is marked with respect to its matrix clause, regardless of whether it precedes or follows that matrix verb and of whether it is adjacent to that verb or to another verb.

CINDY A.K. GREENBERG, Queens College, Graduate Center-CUNY

Syllable structure in L2 acquisition

Second language phonology research has been scarce-ly pursued through studies have shown that phonological LI-L2 interference exists. This study found that 2nd language learners (SILL) compare grammars in terms of syllable structure and phonotactics, thus providing deeper insight into the LI-L2 interference process. The following hypotheses were tested: 1) SSL mainly alter syll. structure production of L2 via both vowel epenthesis & consonant deletion strategies. (Tarone) 2) syll. modification may be attributed to either LI-L2 interference or universal preference for the open CV syll. (Tarone) 3) Consonant clusters of LI will be correctly produced in L2 even if they are in a different syllable position in the LI word. Natural speech was tape-recorded and analyzed by 3 people. The subjects were speakers of Turkish, Egyptian Greek and Japanese. They were at an intermediate level of English study. Results: 1) 3 syll. modification types: a) clear linguistic modification (i.e.-vowels falling pause) b) performance modification (i.e.-vowels filling pause) c) ambiguities-either of the two 2) 7 syll. modification processes 3) Hypo. 1 was supported 4) 50% of the total syllable modifications were made via final consonant deletions 5) Strategy most preferred by each group may be attributed to negative transfer of cluster position 6) No evidence for a universal CV syll. preference.

GREGORY R. CUY, University of Sydney

Evidence for the study of change in progress

In studying a potential change in progress, how can we tell if, and in what direction, the language is moving. Historical evidence (from real time) is crucial, but the work of Labov and Bailey suggests that we can also use social and linguistic evidence, e.g. the existence of age-grading, or the occurrence of an "innovation" in linguistic contexts seemed to be "early" or more favorable to change. A recent use of such evidence is Naro (1981) which describes variable number agreement in popular Brazilian Portuguese (PB) as a change in progress away from the Standard Portuguese (SP) rule of obligatory agreement. This introduces variability in the application of the substitution in contexts, in which the occurrence of POA contrasts for finals only between labials and velars and by the occurrence of POA contrasts for finals only between labials and labials. Stage two, evidenced in the irregular application of the substitution in formal situations, is marked by variability in the application of the substitution depending on social context and a further tendency for alveolar finals to occur following front vowels in contexts where these consonants do occur.

VIRGINIA OUILFORD, CUNY

Patterns of borrowing in Okasapa Fin terminology

The pattern of borrowing in the kin terminologies of Okasapa and various Mountain Ok languages of Papua New Guinea is examined.

GREG GRIMA, Thammasat University

A vowel-for-alveolar substitution in Thai language acquisition

New data from two Thai speaking children will be presented showing the operation of a non-assimilatory vowel-for-alveolar point of articulation (POA) substitution for final consonants. This is the first such non-assimilatory backing observed in child language research. It is illustrated in the following adult-child pairs -- "tak-tak 'cut', "kaaw-kaaw 'ring", "chitchokh 'suit of clothes'.

Variability in the frequency of the application of the substitution in data gathered in formal and informal contexts will be examined. Differences in rate for the vowel-for-alveolar substitution in informal contexts, is characterized by the occurrence of POA contrasts for finals only between labials and velars and by the occurrence of POA contrasts for finals only between labials and labials. Stage two, evidenced in the irregular application of the substitution in formal situations, is marked by variability in the application of the substitution depending on social context and a further tendency for alveolar finals to occur following front vowels in contexts where these consonants do occur.

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Question intonation in declarative clauses in Australian English: Change in progress

A striking feature of some varieties of Australian English is the frequent use of a questioning intonation (a high rising terminal) in declarative clauses. It is clear that such clauses function as statements rather than questions, because they occur most commonly in narratives, explanations, etc., where they convey information not known to the listener. The intonation thus has an interactive function (e.g., eliciting feedback) rather like the tag question "you know?", and is analogous to the pattern which Lakoff (1975) claims to be found occasionally in women's speech in American English.

The present paper will describe the social distribution of this feature in Sydney. It is commonly believed to be more frequent among young people and women than among older people and men, which suggests the possibility of a change-in-progress, but previous studies (Nichol & Delbridge for their study of AE) are inconclusive on this point. We examine a representative sample of 60 speakers (each represented by a recorded interview) distributed by age, sex, and social class, looking for the age-grading, curvilinear class distribution, and sex differences that are usually associated with change-in-progress. For additional time-depth, we also examine interviews collected over 20 years ago by Mitchell and Delbridge for their study of AE (1985). These older materials show intonation patterns that might represent an early stage of the change.

John H. NAGAII, University of Hawaii

The language of teenagers in Nagoya, Japan

Based on interviews with 18 junior and senior high school students done in Nagoya in summer 1981, the appearance of declarative features in the teenagers' speech was examined. Transcription of the interviews will be completed in October 1981, but preliminary results indicate that phonological characteristics named in standard dialect studies based on data collected from adult informants in the 50's, such as centralization of /j/ to /ɰ/, /o/ to /ɑ/, and /ui/ to /jəj/, hardly occur in the speech of resident teenagers. These dialect forms, along with the sentence final particles (nan/naka) and (mo/mao), are highly stigmatized, often being used on television when the dialect is parodied. When asked for speech forms felt to be particular to Nagoya, forms with (maw) were given by all but one informant. Comparison with earlier dialect descriptions suggests that this is a case where the form is used above, similar to the case of /j/ in Los Angeles. In contrast, morphological features shared with western dialects, such as the use of -n and -n for negation (standard: -nai); /o/ and /wa/ for standard /aku/ and /aku/ and /t-ku/; respectively, in adverbial forms of adjectives; and /n/ nakereba ikenai showing necessity, do appear. Their distribution and frequency inversely vary with the formality of the speech context, as may be expected from labor's work on New York English. Lexical dialect forms observed, e.g., the use of oro for iru (be exist) and (-toru) for -t- (teiru), also shared, are less subject to variation.

PER-KRISTIAN HALVORSEN, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Semantics of passive in lexical-functional grammar

(TUES WORK: 3)

Michael M. EVERSON, University of California, Santa Cruz

A note on the structure of complex adjective phrases

Deerie (1979, 110.1) argues that hard to solve in (1) is a constituent, while hard to solve this problem in (2) is not:

(1) This prohlem is hard to solve.

(2) It is hard to solve this problem.

This paper presents further evidence confirming Deerie's conclusion regarding the constituent structure of Tough-Movement AP's, based on observations concerning the properties of Cast internal containing both an infinitival TM complement and a finite comparative complement.

(3) The primary data set will be the case of the comparative AP's, that is, CCA.

(4) *This problem will be harder than you expect to solve.

Evidence (some new, some well-known) that in (3) the C-clause forms a constituent with its head will be reviewed; it can then be seen to follow that the infinitival clause must also be a daughter of the dominating AP node. The badness of exx like (4) is explained under the assumption that hard to solve is a head of the complex AP, as indicated:

(5) [more] [hard [for NP]] AP to solve AP than S AP

Syntactic and semantic evidence supports the claim that the comparative element more has scope over hard to solve rather than just over hard. In testing consequences follow for the formulation of the Rule of Comparative Deletion (for its interpretive analogue).

WILLIAM BANKS, University of Chicago

Conditions on reduplication of deictics in Yucatec

This paper presents an analysis of the determinants of deictic reduplication in phrase-final position in Yucatec Maya. Such reduplication has been ignored in most of the work on Yuc, and yet it is a fundamental feature of everyday talk. Its linguistic significance becomes clear when we consider the principles by which it is organized.

The deictics in question are -a/-a' (prox), -a/-o (dist), -t/a'non) and -e/-unmarked). These have been traditionally assumed to be mutually exclusive, with only one terminal occurring per phrase. This assumption is contradicted by frequently attested doublts. Consider:

(1) Hi! there. It is hot out there. "hot out here".

The determinants of deictic reduplication may be divided into two kinds: local and global. The first of these lies in the grammatical structure of the sentence. By analyzing co-occurrence restrictions and word order, one can often pinpoint resources for the two surface deictics. Local determinants cannot explain, however, why reduplication occurs in the absence of grammatical motivation, and why it often fails to occur when predicted on grammatical grounds. We can treat these problems by considering global as well as local determinants. These lie in the pragmatic functions of deictic terminals, and in the interactive conditions under which these functions are invoked. This approach reveals a subtle interplay of grammatical determinants, conventional deictical functions and the communicative purposes of utterance tokens.
of the observed differences in the parameterization of case assignments. (1) The Pai branch of Yuman is known for making extensive use of an auxiliary construction that has been reconstructed for ProtoYuman. A great deal of aspects, modal, and adversative modification is expressed with auxiliaries. I will present data from Tolkanaya narrative texts to show that auxiliary constructions are not limited to scope in sentence-internal syntax, but play a large part in maintaining coherence in discourse. Auxiliaries may be used as pro-nouns in the tail-head linkage that often marks narrative peaks (shown in (1), as well as in their own right for purposes of anaphora. (2) Lexical NPs must have case. (3) In order to allow lexical NPs to appear in certain unmarked positions (e.g., TOP), some languages supplement the case-marking process of CG with language specific strategies, some of which assign to caseless NPs the case of the closest accessible identically indexed NP (agreement strategies). Therefore, the actual projection of the rules is not a barrier to accessibility for processing processes, such a strategy will yield the effects of inverse attraction.

HEATHER K. HARDY, North Texas State University

Auxiliary verbs, auxiliary phrases, and discourse cohesion in Tolkanaya

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WILLIAM HAYES, University of California, Los Angeles

Russian voiceless assimilation: An autosegmental account

Russian voiceless assimilation is a regular process: it assimilates every obstruent in a cluster to the voicing of the rightmost obstruent, but if a remnant should intervene, as in nat-rtu-len < nat-rtu-len, the theoretical interest of the rule lies in its treatment of the segment /v/, which undergoes the rule when in focus position, yet fails to trigger /v/ voicing in a context like novi-vrno, but *nati-vrno. Furthermore, /v/ can be skipped over by the rule, provided another obstruent occurs to its right: od-vdovy < od-vdovy. It can be shown that if we confine ourselves to standard features and notation, these and other facts lead inevitably to contradictory rule orderings, or else to unmotivated adjunction. In any event, the more articulated autosegmental feature system proposed by Halle and Stevens. In addition, the revised Voiceless Assimilation rule constitutes a clear argument in favor of Clements' claim that propagating harmony rules should be handled autosegmentally; the autosegmental version of the rule is straightforward, whereas a conventional right to left iterative rule would require global conditioning.

FRANK HENY, University of Groningen

Compositionality and logical form in the Government-Binding Theory

The central hypothesis of Transformational Grammar was that the defining properties of natural language (NL) are those modeled by a PSG together with relations between terms permitted by Universal Transformations. Recent work has been inspired by Chomsky may be interpreted as a very different claim: NL derives its characteristic properties from the manifestations of its interactions with other processes, such as content, context, and the asymmetries by which thoughts are expressed. There are elements, including pronouns, reflexives, reciprocal, "being," infinitives, which the syntactic component alone cannot account for: the semantic component is needed to account for these. The semantic component may be thought of as a device introduced simply to index the variable nature of the meaning of a sentence. This makes the syntax of a sentence in a way which maintains semantic barriers; this may serve distinguishing LEs and possessive local career aspirations (for young men) or act as relatives for (older linguists). Secretaries may act as a buffer by providing translation and other bilingual services; their behaviour in informal situations is similar. Such an ethnographic analysis reveals social factors operating in everyday use of language in the workplace, as well as the role of language use in social processes.

WINIFRED W. HELLER, University of California, Berkeley

Language and network in a Montre4al company

The process of language shift in Quebec has heavily affected private enterprise. Economic changes have reduced the numbers of Anglophones, who have been replaced by francophones in a changed system. Language legislation makes French the language of work. This paper examines the effect of these changes on the use of language in one Montreal company, with a focus on the cognitive and social factors operating in this shift. The network and ethnic group boundaries. A few scattered anglophones must now interact with francophones and in French in work-related situations. However, for informal encounters anglophone men seek each other out from all sources. Their company is a cluster to the voicing of the rightmost obstruent, even if a sonorant should intervene. It can be shown that if we confine ourselves to standard features and notation, these and other facts lead inevitably to contradictory rule orderings, or else to unmotivated adjunction. In any event, the more articulated autosegmental feature system proposed by Halle and Stevens. In addition, the revised Voiceless Assimilation rule constitutes a clear argument in favor of Clements' claim that propagating harmony rules should be handled autosegmentally; the autosegmental version of the rule is straightforward, whereas a conventional right to left iterative rule would require global conditioning.

Wayne Harbert, Cornell University

Left-dislocation and inverse attraction

Reads of relative clause constructions usually receive case by percolation from the superordinate NP. In several languages, however, including Greek, Latin, Middle High German and Old English, such heads could receive case instead from the relative pronoun introducing the modifying relative clause. Thus, in (1), from WHG, the head of the left-dislocated is in agreement, with the relative pronoun. (There is no possible source for the accusative /e/ for its accusative case.

An alternative interpretation of if is activated which permits the exclusion of variables.

Alice Harris, Vanderbilt University

On antipassives in Udi

Udi is a member of the Northeast Caucasian Family and is characterized by ergative case marking. The purposes of this paper are to demonstrate that collocating in antipassives the Udi differs from that observed for most languages with ergative patterns, and to propose a simple account of this difference. In most languages, subjects of antipassives are in the absolutive case. In Udi, however, they are in the ergative case. This is true both by the oblique-object construction (Latin boxomaxw the I.E. extended hand, DAT) and of the incorporated-object construction. Although this marking of the subject seems not to be typical of antipassives in other languages, it has been described for Welbili, Rambgili, and Dargili. In most languages with ergative case marking, the cases are assigned on the basis of simple surface transitivity. In Udi, on the other hand, cases be assigned on the basis of underlying transitivity. There is independent evidence from other constructions in the language that case assignment is sensitive to underlying transitivity. Thus, this solution is consistent with other aspects of Udi grammar and accounts in a simple way for the observed differences in case marking.

Heather K. Hardy, North Texas State University

Auxiliary verbs, auxiliary phrases, and discourse cohesion in Tolkanaya

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An alternative interpretation of if is activated which permits the exclusion of variables.
A categorical analysis of Luganda tone

Some of the Luganda tonal data in Stenik (1967, Cola 1969) are analyzed within the frame-

work of categorial phonology (Bach and Wheeler, 1982; Wheeler, 1981). A more insightful account of

this data than was previously possible results from the interaction of two innovations: linearization, and

whether relevant parameters are restricted to the phonemic or phonological level. Interaction of two

the phoneme, one of which is the pitch level. We assume that both phonetically and phonologi-

ally, the feature height determines the pitch level. The relative pitch levels are determined by

the interaction of three parameters: *height*, *boundary*, and *pitch level*. The main problem

posed by the Luganda tone is that of a single pitch drop, which occurs predictably, especially in

the verb; as suggested by the following:

\[ \text{pitch level} \rightarrow \text{boundary} \rightarrow \text{height} \]

In segmented-based phonology, including autosegmental aspects, the position of the pitch level

is determined independently from an arbitrary lexical discriminant (cf. Halle, 1973, 1974). This

is anomalous if, following OPK, we take the central phonological characteristics of language to

include the interaction of phonetic properties with syntax. In this analysis, the position of the pitch

level is determined not by a discrete but, quite naturally, by the interaction of prosodic and phonetic

categories at various levels. The resulting account is not only theoretically more coherent but also turns out to provide quite adequately for otherwise intractable data.

Jeanne L. Heny, University of Groningen

AUX and auxiliaries in Persian

Using the criteria developed by Amajian, Steele, Wasow and others, one can argue con-

vincingly that modern Persian contains an AUX, a constituent which marks tense and aspect,

falls in sentence-second position, and whose membership consists of two types: *gitaše* to have, and

*masan* to want. *Masan* has two forms in Persian: *masan* and *masan*.

One can further argue that second position is important in Iranian languages. The classical

Persian particle *ba* (progressive aspect) can be analyzed as basically sentence-internal.

Likewise, Middle Persian features a subject marker *am* at the beginning of a sentence:

\[ \text{word} \rightarrow \text{am} \rightarrow \text{ba} \rightarrow \text{sentence} \]

For himself...

These all suggest a sentence-second AUX. However, using the same framework, there are also evidences from the behavior of tense and aspect in modern Persian that an AUX-like

particle must be located at the end of the sentence as well. Furthermore, there are interesting historical and synchronic relationships between the two "AUX" positions. Analysis of these relationships leads us to propose that the AUX can be best defined as a couple of features, consisting of sentence-level operators which can be realized at one or more positions in a sentence, and which, contrary to the claims of the original hypothesis, need not be restricted to a single node in the syntax.

Donald Hindle, University of Pennsylvania

The syntax of self-correction

To parse spontaneous speech, it is necessary to systematically identify the well-formed sentences which underlie self-corrected and non-fluent surface strings. Labov (1966) presented evidence that simple surface editing rules can accomplish much of this task. The present paper, however, is concerned with the self-corrections, which has been implemented as one component in a computer-based parsing system, and applied to a variety of speech from a range of speakers. In this system, a set of rules specifies how much of a sentence may be self-corrected and how the self-corrections are resolved by rules which refer only to surface strings. Other rules, however, must refer to syntactic structure, and they are considered as non-fluent self-corrections. The self-correction mechanism, therefore, is a process by which the parser parses the entire sentence, and to the 3 node currently being processed, it must then apply the self-correction rules, which are specified in the following way:

\[ \text{self-correction rules} \rightarrow \text{3 node} \rightarrow \text{application} \]

The complete rule system reflects severe constraints on both the location and the form of self-correction in speech. The success of this approach for resolving the non-fluencies of speech suggests that the apparent degeneracy of spoken language presents no obstacle to real language acquisition.
Numerous analyses of the syntax of the English verb have recently been presented, this paper presents another, termed 'non-transformational', defined here as observing three prohibitions: no movement (Sanders' 'invariant ordering', an aspect of his 1972 Equational grammar), no deletions, and no (exotic) rule order (Vennemann 1972).

The constraint against deletion is new here; it excludes aspects of analysis such as Emonds' 1970 rule of do-deletion. Generalizations in the non-transformational analysis absent in Chomsky 1957: do-insertion applies to enable do to participate in all rules affecting other first auxiliary verbs; morphemes of negation, sentence affirmation, past tense, and subject agreement are placed by one rule (three in Chomsky 1957): the verbal affix class is assumed to be sufficient for the auxiliary node; the auxiliary node is absent in the distinction of auxiliary and main verb eliminated altogether (independently argued in Pullum and Wilson 1977). Chomsky's famous 'affix-hopping' generalization is denied (also in Kajianian and Masow 1975), but this was achieved in Chomsky 1957 only as the result of the claim as an artifact of analysis that tense/agreement is initial in the verb. In the non-transformational analysis the possibility is borne out (suggested in McCawley 1979) that several categories may be eliminated from deep syntax; no rules of the analysis refer to deep constituents.

Martin Huntley, Brown University
How to interpret infinitival embedded questions

The framework of Montague semantics requires that if, as there is reason to suppose, infinitival and finite embedded questions are of the same syntactic category their denotations must be of the same semantic type. Yet there is a semantic difference between the two types of question manifested by the fact that sentences containing finite embedded questions cannot in general be accurately paraphrased by sentences containing the infinitival form: a possible source of this difference is the fact that the finite verb forms are tensed while the infinitival forms are not, but another is that they differ in grammatical mood. I argue that the crucial difference between the forms has to do with temporal reference but with 'world reference', a notion I employ to provide semantic interpretation of the difference in grammatical mood of the finite embedded questions be interpreted in terms of indexical reference to a world as the world relative to which the possible answers to the questions are to be evaluated. (Other factors, such as reference is lacking in the case of the infinitival form.

John Hutchison, Boston University

The lexical sources of complementizers in a typology of relativisation

Existing cross-linguistic typologies of relative clause constructions have been based on: the syntax of RC types (Andrews 1975), the relation of RC types to recoverability of the RC constituent coreferent with the head (Koeven/Comrie 1977), and the relation of RC type to order of realization (Chomsky 1957). Our purpose is to develop a correlational between RC types and another relevant factor: the lexical nature of the complementizer (COMP). We propose that the indication of mood of the finite embedded questions be interpreted in terms of indexical reference to a world as the world relative to which the possible answers to the questions are to be evaluated. (Other factors, such as reference is lacking in the case of the infinitival form, which in this respect have a kinship with imperative sentences. This can explain the fact that a possible answer to an infinitival question, unlike a finite question, is more naturally an imperative sentence than a declarative sentence.

John B. Weiss, Harvard

Multiple relatives without stacking

[1] is widely assumed that multiple relative clauses (as in (1)) have a stacked structure: i.e., they are sanctioned by a phrase structure rule such as (2):

1. every man who you liked who you invited came to the party.
2. NP → NP + S

I will present an alternative analysis, whereby the second relative clause is an extraposed relative modifying the question pronoun who: this analysis also accounts for the ungrammaticality of (5) and NP's like (6): it will be shown that these follow from the fact that relative clauses without complementizers cannot extrapose:

4. *Every man who you liked who you invited came to the party.
5. *Every man who you liked who you invited came to the party.
6. *Every book the cover of which was torn which I had read

John E. Jacobson, Brown University: Multiple relatives without stacking

David Ingram, University of British Columbia: The emerging phonological system of an Italian-English bilingual child
The fortis/lenis distinction has long been controversial, partly due to its phonetic in-
formational status and partly due to the great variation in phonemes so far described and
discussed, as well as the lack of direct evidence for or against the existence of such a distinc-
tion. There are many languages in which there is no direct evidence for or against the ex-
istence of a fortis/lenis distinction, and linguists are unsure about how to otherwise characterize them. In this paper, the fortis/lenis distinction is compared to several other languages, including English, Danish, and Polish, and the variations in close type, consonant vowel duration, and the same set of phonetic qualities which are systematically different. These facts suggest that the fortis/lenis distinction is a useful and necessary linguistic concept.

RICHARD D. JANDA, University of Arizona

"Two unla.u.-heresies and their claim to orthodoxy"

There exists a certain body of widely-held beliefs and assumptions about the nature of unla.u.-orthodoxies: despite occasional-ly dissent or even outright rejection, these views are generally presupposed in linguistic textbooks. Such dogmas include (1) that the concept of unla.u.-orthodoxy consists of a single rule or rule-schema, (2) that Modern N.H. unla.u.-orthodoxy is the only possible orthodoxy, and (3) that Modern N.H. unla.u.-orthodoxy is the only possible orthodoxy. The present paper will introduce arguments that challenge the above dogmas. First, I will show that the concept of unla.u.-orthodoxy is a complex and varied, involving a number of different orthographic, morphological, and functional features. Second, I will show that the concept of unla.u.-orthodoxy is a complex and varied, involving a number of different orthographic, morphological, and functional features.

RICHARD D. JANDA, University of Arizona

"Two unla.u.-heresies and their claim to orthodoxy"
The traditional notion of the morpheme seems untenable when considering data from a wide range of languages. That is, the claim that words can be segmented into chunks of sound which correspond to unique elements of meaning is not supported by many morphological systems. Chickasaw contains many examples of sound-meaning correspondences which do not fit this definition of the morpheme: it shows one-to-many and many-to-one relations instead of one-to-one mappings. For example: (1) possession on nouns and verbal agreement markings are formally identical; thus one sound sequence indicates several different person/number agreement with subjects of negative sentences are the same, providing an example of one-to-many relations within the same paradigm; (2) suffixes on bases or base nouns e.g. verb negation is indicated by three formal markers - prefix, infix and vowel change. This type of system, characterized by nonunitary correspondences, presents problems for a morpheme-based framework. However, in the Extended Word and Paradigm framework, this type of system, as well as systems of the familiar ablautative type, are both described through the use of transformational rules, combining morphosyntactic and phonological representations. Thus, the rule, rather than the morpheme, represents the regular sound-meaning relations. Our account of the Chickasaw data sketched above provides support for the Extended Word and Paradigm framework.

Variable data and the neogrammarian vs. diffusionist hypotheses

In a recent LANGUAGE article (1981), Labov has discussed how some data can be explained only if both the Neogrammarian Hypothesis (NGH), and the Lexical Diffusion Hypothesis (LDH) are considered to be active forces in language change. An ongoing problem of the Neogrammarian Project (NGP) based on the Blankoff-Gedera morphological corpus shows that here too, neither hypothesis explains all the data. For example, the vowel-class of lengthened (e: is composed of 2 classes which actually pattern differently, one only longer by 1-500. NGH speakers are shifting to the short-e class. Similarly, the vowel-class of lengthened-a: is composed of more than one class. Although the a in -ation shifted to short-a in France two centuries ago, only younger NGP speakers are shifting to the short-a class. Possible reasons for the shift, which include important sociolinguistic considerations, will be explored and contrasted with the much more complicated structure for (e). The data demonstrate the necessity of integrating linguistic and sociolinguistic principles in a realistic model of language change.

Quantifiers, focus and negative scope in Korean

Kuno (1980b, 1981) notes three cases of exceptions to his generalization about the verb-bound nature of the scope in Japanese (and preradical negation in Korean). The three are: quantifiers, adverbials of certain information modes, and contrastive elements. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the systematic nature of these exceptions using evidence from Korean. The scope of Korean preradical negation can associate with focused constituents such as floated or shifted quantifiers, and non-initial adverbials. The attachment of the focus marker nun to these elements delimits their scope. The scope of postverbal negation which typically involves nominalization of the main verb and the addition of new (adverb) expletives to the sentence as a whole or be limited to a given focused constituent. (Kuno 1980b). The attachment of focus marker nun to the nominalized verb in the postverbal negation triggers generally the rule association of scope with focused elements rather than with the sentence as a whole. The present study suggests that the scope of negation in Korean and to a significant degree in Japanese as well is crucially correlated with the presence or absence of focus in sentence.

The principle of compensatory affirmation in metrical analysis

There are two sets of metrical rules for the 3-line Korean classical style. Metrical Rules 1 consist of constraints placed on two contiguous feet of a hemistich and Metrical Rules 2 of constraints on two noncontiguous feet in two constituent hemistichs of a line of verse. In Korean, it is not always possible whether a given hemistich is affirming or nonaffirming on its prescribed meter, and if affirming, whether simple or complex with respect to the syllable length prescribed for each of the two constituent feet of a hemistich, if the hemistich is judged nonaffirming then its metricality will be determined by an MR 2, which requires the use of compensatory affirmation, i.e. loss and recovery of metricality, by placing constraints on the offending W- or S-foot of a nonaffirming hemistich and specify the conditions under which this is a simple or 3-line version or S-foot the affirming sister hemistich by either compensatory lengthening or shortening. Any two identical W/W or S/S feet in the two constituent hemistichs in W/W for L, and S/S for L, are said to be well-matched if syllable equilibrium between them is maintained and ill-matched if otherwise (where a virgule separates two constituent hemistichs of a line and a hyphen two constituent feet of a hemistich). If equilibrium is maintained between the two identical feet, then the nonaffirming hemistich with an offending foot will be adjudged metrical, if not, unmetrical. A principle analogous to MR 2 seems to operate to some extent in Old English alliterative verse and in English iambic verse.

The pragmatics of 'Progressive Aspect' in Modern Dutch

Though Dutch verbal aspect has been well studied (Daalder 1974, Verkuyl 1972), the so-called 'progressive constructions' (Conrie 1976, Shuter 1974) remain curiously ignored. In 1967 showed that the aan het form (which is the only effect in which a progressive effect is in the process of disappearing) has never been discussed. The present paper marshals questionnaire and frequency data to demonstrate that aas aan' be explicitly what aan het only implies. That dass to, in comparison to aan het, has no negative but attracts objects NPs which sees, contrary to what it signifies a meaning (where non-agentive, non-scalar activity than DURATION, the non-agentivity and agentivity associated with aan het, in turn, must be viewed not as part of DURATION itself but as pragmatic inferences from that meaning. To deliberately characterize an event as durative is to draw attention to it, to suggest it in more 'interesting' than events described with the simple (unmarked) verb form. Finally, the fact that some speakers reject [2] (but never [1]) as 'too active' suggests that dass to be an innovation arising through a 'bleaching' mechanism which is the exact reverse of the synchronic inferential path: subject is busy [+active] > event in progress [+agentive] > generation in time).
In his 1979 reanalysis of the semantics of the Dutch demonstrative system, Kirsner presented quantitative data showing that deze,dit 'this/these' differ from die,dat 'that/those' in occurring (1) closer to the beginning of the sentence and (2) more frequently in subject vs. non-subject NPs and (b) main vs. subordinate clauses. In contrast, the syntactic domain. Examples from widely varying language families such as Romance, American languages, Australian languages, are given to support the fundamental thrust of the argument that the correct way to understand clitics is based on their positioning.

Given this view, a unified account of different clitic types becomes possible.

In this paper we develop a theory of the semantic properties of control verbs and infinitival complements in English. Among the facts we consider are the following: (1) the complement phrases of promise (NP to), strike (NP as) etc., are subjective-controlled but those of persuade (NP to), regard (NP as) are 'object-controlled'. (2) only in the object-controlled case is passivization possible ('Visser's Generalization') (3) 'equiv' verbs, but not taking may not be such unconsciously-learned automatic behavior. The analysis reveals aspects of the process of learning turn-taking by the children, and the overt teaching of turn-taking strategies might be included in Gumperz discussion of classroom discourse (Gumperz in press:1981) suggests that while there are a number of intricate turn-taking mechanisms at work in classrooms, there is very little if any overt instruction in the appropriate use of these strategies. Turn-taking strategies might be included in Gumperz discussion of 'automatic types of behavior that are not ordinarily commented on, but which nevertheless guide interaction and reveal the unstated conventions that may influence teacher evaluations of student performance.' (1981:6) In contrast, the present study is an analysis of the turn-taking strategies used by a Washington, D.C. kindergarten teacher and her students in four whole-group meetings. In particular, the video-taped data of these meetings reveals a good deal of discussion and comment by the children both on the strategies and on the turn-taking strategies used by the teacher, as well as some detailed instruction by the teacher. This analysis suggests that turn-taking may not be such unconsciously-learned automatic behavior. The analysis reveals aspects of the process of learning turn-taking by the children, and the overt teaching of turn-taking both by the teacher and the students.
A grammatical effect in Puerto Rican English syntax

Recent empirical studies of Portuguese, English, and Spanish relative clauses in connected speech (Mollica 1978, Kroch 1980, Flores 1981) have shown that subject position in the relative is much less likely to exhibit a resumptive pronoun than is direct object position. This difference is apparent even in those languages and is due to the right-ward movement of subject position to the head of the relative and to the fact that the subject position is the least embedded NP position in the sentence. Given the consistency with which subject position disfavors resumptive pronouns, it is surprising to find that in the English of Puerto Rican Spanish English bilinguals subject position is heavily favored as a site for their appearance. This paper will present an empirical analysis of the patterns of occurrence of resumptive pronouns in Puerto Rican English and will examine the possible explanations for its unique characteristics. In particular, it will consider two possibilities: 1) that overgeneralization of the suppression of subject pronoun drop causes subject resumptive pronouns to appear in Puerto Rican English though absent in native English and native Spanish; 2) that relative clauses with resumptive pronouns are a feature of Puerto Rican English grammar and so not subject to the performance factors that govern their occurrence. In the other cases that have been examined:

Paul V. Kroesberry, University of California, Los Angeles

Exceptionally instructive individuals in the Arizona Teen Speech Community

An examination of the linguistic performance of 3 members of the Arizona Teen speech community reveals a general pattern of stratification along the dimension of age which accounts for at least three individuals. This pattern is established on the basis of both spontaneous speech and elicited responses on tasks designed to gauge members' performance on 1) the observation of a morphophonemic rule of assimilation, 2) adherence to a semantic constraint on the production of semantically well-formed passives (i.e. that the subject-position be animate), 3) the production of phrasal conjunctions and degree of linguistic interference from English therein, 4) the production of relative clauses and degree of linguistic interference, and 5) ceremonial and other esoteric speech forms. A closer examination of the 'exceptional' individuals--those who defy the statistical pattern--reveals the biographical details which are at the root of their 'anomalous' performance. For these individuals reference group--that group to which they psychologically orient themselves--rather than the group to which they would be 'objectively' assigned to on the basis of such overt criteria as age, provides a more adequate indicator of linguistic performance. Such individuals are observed to provide for the sociolinguistic a valuable source of data comparable to the asterisked ungrammatical sentence for the grammatical. In addition these briefly detailed case studies demonstrate the utility of reference group theory and network analysis in t.c. humanistic study of linguistic variation thus fortifying sociolinguistic explanation.

Kengo Kupper, University of Canterbury, University of Massachusetts

The pragmatics of stretching

The marked temporal lengthening of a stressed vowel in pre-nominal modifiers is termed stretching by Bolinger (1972) and draw in Cristall (1969) has pragmatics very similar to repeating the same modifier. As such it provides corroborative evidence for a theory of rhetoric within pragmatics formulated in Kupper (to appear), namely that rhetorical phenomena are: 1) directly linked to other pragmatic phenomena, 2) semantically non-cognitive, 3) related to surface structure, 4) controlled by euphony constraints and 5) partly arbitrary.

David Ladins, University of Texas

Euphony and non-vocalic syllables in Moroccan Arabic

'Moroccan Arabic is offered as a possible example of a language which has syllables without centers.' (Richard Harrell, 1962)

Initial results indicate that Moroccan Arabic (MA) syllables do not usually have voca­
ic nuclei. In the absence of a vowel, sonograms clearly show that liquids and fricatives assume syllabic qualities. This contrasts with previous analyses in which lax vowels, epenthetic vowels, or vocalic transitions have been posited as the pertinent nu­
ic. Thus gls 'he sat' /gilat/ 'she sat' are the standard transcriptions for what appears to be the same form. Thus gls (gls indicates a syllabic segment) Sonograms show no crucial distinction between the two gls sequences. Paradigms of verbs with tri-conso­
lated roots have been modelled with greater emphasis on related forms in other dialects and Classical Arabic, rather than on actual Moroccan practice. This has led to rules of recognition: expressing vocalization, elision, and transition which are based on non-occurring forms. Further experiments will be directed toward two inter-related goals: a definition of the 'syllable' in MA, which will specify when non-vocalic segments become syllabic, and a more accurate statement of vocalization and elision in MA. My procedure will be to analyze tapes and sonograms which I elicit from urban Moroccan speakers. Besides adding data to current studies of what constitutes a syllable and how vowel epenthesis and elision operate, I hope to improve our notion of how NA relates to other forms of Arabic.
Primal Germanic (P.Gmc.) had short and long stem 1a-class nouns. All the Germanic languages except Old High German (OHG) retained both short and long stem masculine nouns. Some like Gothic retained different declensional patterns for the two classes. The difference between hairda (shepherd) and herti (shepherd) indicates that after dropping final nasals, vocalization, dropping final fricatives, and shortening of final long vowels, the short stem masculine nouns of this language were best attributed to analogy. But it is unclear why OHG herti (array) should take koomi’s (race) neuter gender and not retain herti’s (shepherd) gender. Studying the phonological changes by stages from P.Gmc. to Old suggests that interaction of rules dropping final nasals, vocalization, dropping final fricatives and shortening of final long vowels inherited from P.Gmc. resulted in a stage just prior to attested OHG where the short stem 1a-class masculine nouns looked the same as the neutrals on the surface. A theory of change based on language acquisition (Kiparsky 1977, Lahiri 1981) explains the shift in gender, emphasizing the role of the nominative as earlier suggested with reference to the levelling of Gothic 1a neutral nouns (Lahiri 1981).

Morris Lampert, University of Texas

The biologic basis of grammar

There is compelling neurologic evidence to establish the primacy of the inferior parietal lobe and adjacent terminal portion of the superior temporal gyrus as the major language area for the formulation of grammar. Based on a study of 1500 cases (children & adults), one can state that there are four neurophysiologic levels of language, namely, receptive (sensory), associative, formative (expressive), and motoric. Formative level includes five components: phonology, phonemic correlates, morphological and phonetic correlates, syntactic correlates, and motoric correlates. The study of pure agrammatism, a disorder of the syllable-phonetic level of formal language, reveals much about the anatomy and physiology of grammar. Clinically, the inferior parietal lobe is invariably involved, and lesions located in the inferior parietal lobe affect the adjacent portion of the superior temporal gyrus. The posterior aspect of the inferior parietal lobe & adjacent temporal lobe deals with lexical categories, namely, lexical vs. structural features. This region is involved in homophoneme and morphophonemic selection & sequencing. A lesion in this area results in a lexical agrammatism ("para-grammatism"); there is impaired morphophonemic selection & sequencing. The anterior aspect of the inferior parietal lobe deals with syntactic conceptual categories, namely, the programming, selection, & sequencing of syntactic or grammatical units. A lesion in this area results in a syntactic agrammatism ("motor agrammatism"); there is impaired sequential programming of syntactic or grammatical units. The region described is most probably phono-phonologically aberrated during language acquisition.

Eliza Lathey, University of Tubingen

Foreigner talk in the U.S. and Germany: Contrast and comparison

Foreigner talk, often discussed with broken language, pidginization or simplification, is seen as a sociolinguistic phenomenon involving speech adjustment in the presence of foreigners. Much of the research to date has been on English foreigner talk, for which syntactic as well as functional analyses have been put forward (Ferguson, Freed, Hacht et al.).

This paper presents foreigner talk data collected in the Fed. Rep. of Germany and compares these to English. The role of status (indigenous vs. ethnic language) in the development of foreigner talk is discussed, as is the significance of the position of immigrants in society. Observed differences in the linguistic treatment of specific national groups is traced to the sociolinguistic setting.

While the effect of sociocultural and sociolinguistic factors should be acknowledged, the existence of linguistic explanations for differences between English and German foreigner talk is not to be ignored. These explanations generate specific syntactic systems and provide insights into the different nature and effects of simplification in English and German, thus accounting for the marked difference in impact of the two foreigner talk varieties.

Beatriz Lavandera, CAFIC

Same thing avoided: Spanish se/uno/usted-voz

The analysis groups the pronominal forms se/uno/usted-voz in contexts of generalization.

These forms meet the requirements of "saying the Truth" only insofar as they avoid the same kind of reference, i.e., they allow the speaker not to make specific reference to the persons of the discourse. Yet it will be shown that each of them is saying something different and by means of a different kind of device.

Thus, it is the most straightforwardly impersonal: Dicen que se engorda de nervios. 'They say you gain weight because of being nervous.' Uno is mainly a strategy that allows reference to oneself, self without making any further reference to others: Y uno me lo pide, yo no quiero contestar. 'I keep quiet, but I don't want to answer.' Usted can be shown to be quite a different kind of device which consists of a request to the hearer to accept a hypothetical role: ¿Vos te creés que poniéndole una fábrica vos vas a hacer ir así? 'Do you think that by building a factory you can make them go there?'

Yet beyond these differences, each and all of these forms succeed in avoiding identification of a definite agent, which can be any of the three persons of the discourse.

The corpus of 90 hours of speech was recorded in 1973 in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and has been supplemented with data on intonations and tests of grammaticality. The analysis involves quantification and interpretation in context.

The conclusion reached in this paper is that semantic distinctions among variants of a linguistic variable are most interesting in that they constitute the essence of style.

W.S. LEBEN, Stanford University

Metrical or autosegmental?

Autosegmental phonology and metrical phonology have provided enrichments necessary for the description of prosodic phenomena in speech. Unfortunately, these frameworks are no powerful that we now often possess too many ways of dealing with a given process. One approach to this problem, taken by Halle in recent work on vocal harmony, is to restrict autosegmental analyses to non-directional harmony systems and to restrict metrical analyses to directional ones.

In this paper I show that such a solution will not work for other phenomena such as tone and nasal harmony. In contrast with Halle's proposal, which in effects put metrical and autosegmental views in complementary distribution, argue that the two systems are really one and the same. Of course, there are certain differences between the two systems as they now stand. The most obvious is that autosegmental structures are considerably flatter than binary branching hierarchically arranged metrical trees. But few are arguments have appeared in support this difference; some that have appeared can be dismissed. For example, McCarthy has proposed that English flapping is sensitive to hierarchical position in the metrical tree, but this observation lends itself to restatement in terms of linear position. In general, hierarchical binary metrical structures currently do little other than encode linear order.

W.S. LEBEN, Stanford University

Tone alternation in Zimea

Zimea, a Volta-Conoe language, has a morphosyntactic system that is quite a bit more intricate than its reasonably close relative Tui, or for that matter than its sisters Anyi and Baule. Comparative evidence shows that citation forms of nouns have historically undergone a change that basically involved dropping off the rightmost tone. But when these forms occur non-finally in a constituent, they exhibit their historical tones. For example, a constituent word in Zimea that is final in isolation has L final in a constituent: \( L^H \to L \). Meanwhile, nouns with the citation pattern LH are LH, non-finally, where LH designates a falling tone on a single syllable.

Certain phonologists have proposed that there is a tendency to make the citation form basic in languages, but in Zimea this leads to numerous problems. In particular, it is impossible to predict certain non-final forms from their corresponding citation form. In addition, the verbal system, where tone is one of the principal means of distinguishing the different aspects, would be harder to describe under this assumption.
The significance of literary 'black phonology' in Spanish America

The black African has been a traditional character in Hispano-American literature. Most authors have given their black characters a particular speech style, with certain phonetic deformations. It gradually became accepted that there existed a 'Black American Spanish' distinct from that of speakers of European or indigenous origin, and that common phonetic deformations originate in the black populations of the colonies and are attempts to refute these hypotheses, by examining literary fragments representing black speech in 19th and early 20th century Spanish America, known historical developments, and sociolinguistic observations of the Spanish currently spoken in the countries studied (Cuba, Puerto Rico, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Panama, Costa Rica). Modifications in loss of syllable-final /s/, confusion of syllable-final /l/ and /r/, and loss of intervocalic and word-final /l/. Based on comparison of literary, historical, and current sociolinguistic evidence, the following claims are made: (1) the changes are part of the common Spanish heritage; (2) except for buzzes (blacks recently arrived from Africa, speaking little or no Spanish), it has never been possible to define a black dialect vis-à-vis a white dialect in any Spanish American country; (3) the exclusive attribution of the above characteristics to black speakers is a sociolinguistic phenomenon, reflecting portions of the class and status; (4) in the past 100-150 years, the social connotations of these changes, and their reflection in popular literature, have changed significantly.

ROBERT E. LONGACRE, University of Texas, Arlington

Verb ranking and the constituent structure of discourse

The current interdisciplinary development of textlinguistics into text theory must not be allowed to discourage continued linguistic investigation of the structure of text. A fruitful focus for the latter is the study of the function of verb tense/aspect/mood in discourse. The simple distinction of mainline or foregrounded material versus supportive or background material (cf. Gleason, 1961) can be replaced by a rank scheme of the verb forms and clause structures of a language. Such a rank scheme is presented for the verb forms and clauses of Biblical Hebrew narrative. In this scheme the most dynamic form of the verb (the perfective or sequential with the perfect) ranks highest while the most static form, the nominal clause, which has no verb, ranks lowest. Rank schemes are also suggested for other types of discourse. It is then proposed that the constituent paragraphs of a Biblical Hebrew discourse, when properly identified as N (narrative), P (predictive/procedural), H (hortatory), and X (expository) are found to conform to the rank scheme so that the more prominent parts of the paragraph have clauses with verbs that rank highest in that type. Thus, verb morphology provides an essential control for constituent analyses.

ARLENE MALINOWSKI, North Carolina State University

Judeo-Spanish language maintenance efforts in the United States

This paper will report on the phenomena of language maintenance and language shift among speakers of Judeo-Spanish (also known as Ladino or Judezmo). The leaders of approximately fifty Sephardic communities throughout the United States were contacted in an attempt to ascertain the size and cultural vitality of the Sephardic component of these communities, and, in particular, to determine the extent to which Judeo-Spanish continues to play a role within the group. Attention was focused primarily on the maintenance and shift of Judeo-Spanish in four domains: the periodical press, radio and television broadcasting, religious services, and ethnic community schools.

Within the framework of a sociology of language, the transition from Spanish to English will be discussed in terms of Fishman's (1966, 1968) analysis of maintenance and shift, van der Plank's (1978) evaluation of the role of national identity in linguistic assimilation, and Lieberman's (1971) treatment of demographic evidence.

JUDITH MCNULTY, Université du Québec a Montreal

The faire-infinitive construction revisited

Both Kayne's (1975) and Quitoill's (1980) analysis of the Fi construction are incomple- itive with the basic fact that complements which subcategorize the verb are part of VP: Kayne moved the V and its Do, violating the Constituent Constraint; Quitoill's answer to the Constituent Constraint violation (V-Preposing) posit that the Fi is sometimes part of V, sometimes not. (?)

This paper argues that the Fi construction is really Subject Postposing. Though it has been proposed before (Goldsmith, 1975), this solution has never been seriously considered because of the following problems:

1. What would make Subject-Postposing (MoveC) obligatory in this construction? 2. How could the difference between Jean la lit a fait lire t. t. and Jean la lit a fait téléphoner t. t. be explained if these sentences had identical structures? 3. How would the answer to the second question (see Kayne, 1980) and the answer to the third question differ? If the 0-position cannot be bound across an (asymmetrically) c-commanding 0-position (except, of course, when movement is local), then the answer is that.

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HEATHER MCCALLUM-BAYLISS, Georgetown University

Tenseless finite clauses in English

The 'absolute' construction of With the bus drivers on strike, we'll have to ride our bikes to work is argued to involve a deep and surface embedded S, in line with Jerns's treatment and contra a recent analysis by Blomquist. The status of the bus drivers on strike etc., as a constituent is demonstrated by its availability as antecedent of pronouns and as the locus of conjoining. The constituent in question behaves like an S in at least the following respects: (i) it serves as a cyclic domain, (ii) it serves as a scope for quantifiers, and moreover, the interpretation of these quantifiers parallels that of independent S's even when scope does not match linear order, and (iii) a negation in that constituent does not support negative polarity items in the main clause, nor does it trigger inversion. Similar projection of absolutes is based on the gratuitous assumption that all absolutes would then involve a deleted have or be. Examples such as With your brother having lost everything in the market graphically make clear that the -ing of absolutes is generally only a mark of subordination having nothing to do with progressive be. There are, however, processes deleting certain kinds of be and have, and these provide an explanation of the peculiar distribution of adverbs in absolutes: in some absolutes an adverb may precede the NP, in others not; the predicate of an absolute allows adverbs even if of a category normally not allowing them.

LYNN MCKREDDY, Georgetown University

Navajo switch-reference isn't

Several recent papers (e.g., Foley & VanValin 1977, Saville-Troike & McCreedy 1979) have claimed or assumed that Navajo exhibits switch-reference via the use of YI/BI-alternation in clause sequences such as the following: YI: [aff dinaagii yishash n'te' n'te' yisate'] BI: [n'te' n'te' yisate']. This paper presents the claim that YI/BI-alternation cannot be termed switch-reference (Jacobson 1967), although it can serve a reference-switching function. In addition to support from morphological and semantic differences between reference-switching in Navajo and 'classical' switch-reference.

References:

The role of a production modality in language acquisition

This study introduced speech synthesizers to a population of young handicapped children who could use no other means of expressive language production. Our results show that the control over an expressive modality has a critical role in the acquisition of language. This is contrary to the claims of previous researchers who emphasize the role of comprehension. Lenneberg, for example, claimed that the absence of an expressive modality had no effect on a child's acquisition. The construction of an internalized grammar was seen as resulting from analysis of the language heard in the environment.

The subjects were six children between the ages of 18 months and 36 months with normal intelligence and who were normal and unable to use sign language. Their diagnoses included cerebral palsy, Down's Syndrome and severe language delay. Language baselines were established prior to device use. Within ten sessions dramatic changes in language performance on the devices, in sign language, and in oral language were noted. These included rapid vocabulary growth, spontaneous word combinations and improved comprehension skills. Use of synthesized speech output greatly accelerated their rate of acquisition.

These results show that control of a production modality increases attention to language thus aiding comprehension development. Further, acquisition is seen as an active process where the child makes use of the feedback of his own productive utterances rather than as merely a passive process of analysis of the speech of others.

Semantic interpretation of Japanese stative predicates

In Japanese the property expressed by a stative predicate represents either (A) the speaker's judgment or (B) the EXPERIENCER's (usually the sentential subject) judgment. (1) and (2) exemplify (A) and (B) respectively.

(1) Hon ga iru. Taro dat bok nom need
'Taro needs a book (according to the speaker's judgment/perception).'

(2) Taro ga hon ga iru. Taro nom bok nom need
'Taro needs a book (according to Taro).'

Inoue (1978) proposes a set of surface interpretation rules within the Extended Standard Theory that accounts for this distinction. However, the rules assign a wrong interpretation to some sentences and mark a number of good sentences as unacceptable. By revising the rules, we can account for the above distinction for all stative predicates and also account for other phenomena such as the required occurrence of first person pronoun with some stative predicates.

Prototypes in morphological classes: English strong verbs

Classes of lexical items which undergo the same morphophonemic or morphological processes are often considered to be arbitrarily formed. However, one instance of such a class, the strong verb class of English, exemplified by string/strung, shows a high degree of productivity and has been attracting new members over the centuries (Stybee and Siobin 1981, Jespersen 1942). We propose that this class is organized around a prototype in the same way that natural categories are (Wittgenstein 1953, Rosch 1978). Each member of the class shares some feature or features with the prototype; the more features a particular verb shares with the prototype, the more likely it is to be included in the class. An experiment was designed to test this hypothesis. Thirty-four adult subjects were presented a set of nonce verbs. These verbs were varied along three phonological parameters: the initial consonant, the vowel and the final consonant. Subjects were asked to give the past tense forms of the verb presented. The results point clearly to a morphological class consisting of verbs bearing a family resemblance to a prototype. The implications of this finding for a theory of morphology are discussed.
With the syntax of the situation being what it is...

A seldom discussed construction in English is the so-called absolute construction, consisting of with, a noun phrase and a present participle phrase, such as 'With John playing', and not with John who is playing. This paper is an investigation in the semantics of the absolute construction, and of the more general use of part of the construction, consisting of with, a noun phrase and a present participial phrase. The analysis is based on the semantics of which it appears. I conclude that the function of a nexus is to allow the embedding of modifications which should instead be viewed as part of the repertoire of phonological possibilities which appear in Judeo-Spanish lexical items are associated by the speakers of this dialect with specific languages. Modifications which occur in the manifestation of a post-creole continuum (for studies of acknowledged creole languages), or without having access to the norms of that language. It is recognized as an aspect of all languages, and as only being especially apparent in those which are not standardized. The extent to which these proposed definitions may hold is an important matter. We can conclude that they are true only in the following circumstances

in which $t_0$ does not extend beyond $t_1$ and is not completely prior to it.

References

Geoffrey S. Nathan, Southern Illinois University

Phonological stereotypes in Judeo-Spanish

The characteristic of the Indianapolis dialect of Judeo-Spanish which I shall discuss here is what I term 'phonological stereotyping'. That is, various sounds and sound combinations which appear in Judeo-Spanish lexical items are associated by speakers of this dialect with specific languages. One manifestation of this stereotyping appears in the modification of Judeo-Spanish by some speakers in certain situations towards a stereotyped target language. For example, a Judeo-Spanish sentence such as [t-lúg na rešeš] 'I have ears' may be modified towards a stereotyped Modern Spanish, viz. [t-lúgo ñeñes].

Selectional modifications are usually characterized in linguistic studies as instances of code-switching (for studies of multi-lingual/dialectal speech communities), the manifestation of a post-creole continuum (for studies of acknowledged creole languages), or even as 'structural' is a consequence of language death and is due to Barwise and Perry, who introduced it in a revised version of the model theoretic semantics originally proposed by Montague. Using the definition of situation that they suggest, it is possible to characterize the nexus as receiving a uniform interpretation in all three contexts in which it appears.

I conclude that the function of a nexus is to allow the embedding of an entire situation into a context denoting a real state of affairs, thereby commiting the speaker to a stronger ontological claim than that involved by embedding a situation into a belief context.

Julie Nemier, Indiana University

Phonological stereotypes in Judeo-Spanish

In Elements of Symbolic Logic Reichenbach distinguished speech time $t_0$, event time $t_1$, and reference time $t_2$. The event time of a clause is the time it purports to say something about. (Thus truth conditions for atomic sentences are based on $t_1$.)

Reference time is the time from whose vantage point the 'event' is viewed. These distinctions are formally interpreted in a three dimensional tense logic and applied to the analysis of the German adverbial particles nach and schon in their temporal use. Contrary to some accounts, these particles make a clear contribution to truth conditions. For echt 'he is going' does not imply er geht schon 'he is already going.'

An analysis of schon is proposed in which SCHON(t) holds at the triple $t_0$, $t_1$, $t_2$ if $t_1$ holds at the triple $t_0$, $t_1$, $t_2$, and $t_1$ is non-past, relative to a context in which that time is the time from whose vantage point the 'event' is viewed. The semantic conditions of the model theoretic semantics originally proposed by Montague are true only in the following circumstances

$$t_0 < t_1 < t_2$$

in which $t_0$ does not extend beyond $t_1$ and is not completely prior to it.

John A. Honebone, Ohio State University

Semantics of Nach and Schon in a Reichenbachian tense logic

In the extensive literature on the syntax and semantics of phonological idiom (see e.g. Fraser 1970, Katz 1973, Heringer 1976, Chomsky 1980), it is invariably taken for granted that idiom meanings are 'non-compositional'. But the argument is faulty; if idiom senses are compositional, we get the syntactic and semantic properties: for example, idiom parts can be modified (see Ernst 1980 and quantified, as in 1980, as in 1980, sounds or syllables, to which they can be topicalized, and their denotation thus focused, as in His closets I could find no skeletons in; and they can be used in constructions like VP ellipsis, where the antecedent must be a semantic unit. We can also explain the 'transformational defects' of idioms entirely by reference to the semantic properties of the senses of their parts: take a back seat doesn't passivize, for example, because its predicate is analyzed as the 'middle' take of a sure 7% (although the passivizing take advantage may be analyzed as the active take of a card. We conclude by sketching a surface-based formal semantics for idioms based on these observations, making use of the notion of partial functions to ensure the relevant dependencies among idiom parts.

David Cudden, Washington State University

Syntactic conditions on phonological rules in Kimatuumbi

The extent to which syntax is relevant in phonology has been the focus of research in a number of papers. Selkirk (1974) proposes that rules cannot refer to labeled syntactic bracketing, but may only refer to boundary symbols, which are an indirect reflection of syntactic structure. In Kimatuumbi, there are many rules which apply between words, and an investigation into the applicability of these rules in various syntactic configurations provides empirical evidence concerning the influence that syntax may have on phonology. In this paper I discuss some of the sandhi rules of Kimatuumbi. I discuss a vowel shortening rule which applies when a long vowel stands in a word which has the back of a noun is analyzed as the 'middle' take of a sure 7%, whereas the take of the passivizing take advantage may be analyzed as the active take of a card. We conclude by sketching a surface-based formal semantics for idioms based on these observations, making use of the notion of partial functions to ensure the relevant dependencies among idiom parts.

Larry Hessly, Stanford University

A test of the "vowel filter" hypothesis for English stress

For English stress I propose a "vowel filter" hypothesis, that is, a syllable which is syllable if its end in [r2], if the second vowel is followed by a non-syllabic plus consonant, then the second vowel is stressed if it is a, o, or y, and the first vowel is stressed if the second vowel is a or $y$. Five pairs of mostly novel items were used to test the hypothesis: capister/capuster, colorler/colorary, orditor/orditor, rambulous/rambulous, and tasimbar/tasimbar. By educated speakers from a Chapel Hill, NC apartment complex read these items (no speaker read both items in a pair) the responses were transcribed from tape recordings by a student who was ignorant of the hypothesis. Once the responses have been transcribed. If trends continue, all but the second pair will confirm the hypothesis at the 0.05 level (the results for the second pair would be insignificant).

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SAUSSURE'S THE NOMINATIVE ALSO GENERATE THE

This paper studies the overt and subtle control of linguistic power in conversation. Although features of powerless speech (especially women's speech) have been studied, the issue of powerful speech has been less explored; certain obvious powerful features have been recognized: interruptions, continuing at speaker overlaps, withholding encouraging responses, as well as lack of head nodding and false starts. We recognize these, but we propose that a preponderance of more structurally subtle features are even more controlling: limiting questions, including tag questions ("You did, didn't you?"); negative questions ("Don't you agree?"); interrogatives ("Is that the story? (Are you sure?)"); standard intonation on questions; confrontation hedges ("That's your idea, I take it"); and syntactically clipped speech. Further, we argue that power is maintained through subject changing, summarizing, evaluative synthetic statements, challenges, and selecting certain previous material for prominence at the expense of other contributions.

Three minutes of 18 TV interviews were analyzed to determine how power is maintained differentially by Dick Cavetti, Jane Pauley, Tom Snyder, Tom Brokaw, Phil Donahue, and Mike Wallace. We hypothesized and found that the degree of presence of certain structural features and controlling content correlated with an intuitive rating of the relative powerfulness of the interviewers by naive subjects.

TORY PAFF, Harvard University

The accentuation of the Lithuanian declension has aroused discussion from de Saussure's early proposals to recent generative analyses. We propose a new, sample analysis of the recent speculations. Three rules are central to the analysis: (1) the accent shift rule (SA) gives desinential accent; Y V -> V V and Y; (2) the Basic Accentuation Principle (BAP) deletes all but the rightmost accent; (3) Vowel Deletion (VD) is if [V, wback] + [V, a back] -> V T. The class III nouns, /ąang-+/, illustrate the application of these rules. The genitive singular is derived as follows: /ąang+ = [V, a back], so /ąang+ -> /ąang+ (the nominative plural is /ąang+ = [V, a back] + [V, a back] -> /ąang+). This solution along with the recently proposed CV-tier accounts for the purpose of the Lithuanian, and the descriptive plural of the accentual phrases also generate the accents for all other accent classes. In addition, the distinction between strong and weak desinences can be almost all other analyses, is no longer required.

ELLY PARDO, Stanford University, University of California, Berkeley

Semantic prototypes in first language acquisition

Kay's (1977) argues that all events can be semantically schematized into one of two prototypical topic-comment structures: The accusative perspective analyzes an event in terms of someone (topic) doing something (comment), while the ergative perspective represents an event as a patient (topic) and a befalling-circumstance (comment). A key issue in the development of early syntax, then, is what formal devices the child uses to convey certain prototypical linguistic notions, such as the rules of his language. This was investigated by examining approximately 28 hours of transcribed, audio-recorded tapes of spontaneous and elicited speech from a monolingual, Spanish-speaking Mexican-American child from 2;5 to 3;9. It was hypothesized that if children have general cognitive prerequisites for discovering perceptual and conceptual primitives that provide a pool of universal notions for grammaticalization by a language, then in their early speech they would express some meanings through formal devices not accounted for by the linguistic system they are learning. Although in Spanish the predicates are essentially agent-oriented, it was observed that constructions that conformed semantically to an ergative model appeared in the speech samples: *La mano quiere lavar-me aquí mi, *The hand I want to wash here*. What protocols like this show is that data on first language acquisition can reveal predispositions for inventing linguistic devices to convey universal notions often better expressed by the devices of other language systems.

HEIDI OWENLY, Michigan State University

CAROL SCOTT, Michigan State University

What's my line: Conversational expression of power by TV interviewers

Spanish language maintenance among Hispanic Mormons in New York City

Most ethnic American churches are products of immigrant groups who established these institutions partly to maintain their various cultures (and languages). Spanish-speaking units of the Mormon Church in New York City are fairly new (5 to 15 years old), and about what characteristics of these Spanish units have been recognized: intermixing with the local culture; encouragement by members of the church and the community to maintain their Spanish; and the degree to which they wish to maintain their Spanish. We propose that these features reflect the degree to which these Spanish-speaking units are being assimilated into the American culture. In particular, we look at the degree to which these units are being assimilated into the American culture. In particular, we look at the degree to which these units are being assimilated into the American culture.

CAROL SCOTTON, University of Michigan

HEIDI ELLY, Stanford University

The purpose of this paper is to show the distribution of so-called "factive" adverbs in English in two environments, namely in appositive relative and restrictive relative clauses. We will analyze the class of "factive", containing such members as frankly, surely, certainly, probably, apparently, and evidently, as a class of two sub-classes, characterized as [± certain]. Using the transformation of Adverbial Dislocation (1), which we assume not to be a root transformation, we will see that the distribution of the two sub-classes of "factive" adverbs is constrained by semantically notions of "assertion" and "presupposition." (1) [X ➔ ADV] ➔ X ➔ 2

By arguing that appositive relative clauses are asserted and certain restrictive relative clauses are presupposed, we will show that the [± certain] sub-class occurs only in assertions and the [- certain] sub-class can occur in either assertions or presuppositions.

TOKY HARRISS, New York University

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Linguistic constraints and language acquisition

Linguistic theory has always assumed that a grammar should be psychologically real in some sense. One of the areas in which this is most apparent is language acquisition. If one assumes a theory of language acquisition which takes linguistic theory as its base, then constraints on the acquisition of the grammar can be used as the basis for developing hypotheses about the stages of language development.

In this paper, two approaches to the problem of restricting subjectless sentences in English will be considered for their predictive value in language acquisition.

1. Who did Bill think that ___ saved the day?
2. Who did Mary hope (for) ___ to win?

One is a traditional type of constraint, Brennan's (1977) Complementizer Constraint on Quantifiers. The other is the type of case-related constraint proposed by Chomsky (1981), the Empty Category Principle (Kayne 1981). Data is presented from two studies of the acquisition of English which support the predictions made by a theory which uses constraints relying on case relations and binding rather than one which proposes a unitary constraint to account for both tensed and infinitive complements.

LIVIA POLANTI, University of Amsterdam

Towards a formal semantics of natural discourse

With the exception of Kamp (1979) and Dowty (1980), both of whom dealt with isolated written narratives, relatively little attention has been paid within a formal semantics framework to the important problems of temporal reference in discourse.

In the present paper, we focus on the conventions which govern the assignments of temporal interpretations to sentences in conversational stories and make explicit some of the principles involved in embedding stories in such conversational contexts, especially insofar as they embedding complicates the semantic representation of individual sentences. Our aims are (1) to explicate the linguistic factors which enable the participant in a conversation to determine the state of affairs obtaining in the storyline at any given moment in the telling (2) to explore the ramifications for logical semantics of dealing responsibly with the complexities of naturally occurring conversational materials.
The purpose of this paper is to outline a theory of case differing from that of Chomsky between case assigners and receivers. James analyzes Turkish causative constructions as bisentential, it fails to account for certain causative constructions will follow from the central notions of the theory, without appeal to virtual categories. While virtual categories analyze Turkish causative constructions as bisentential, it fails to account for certain facts. The proposed analyses treat case assignment without the need for government, thereby allowing a single clause structure and accounting for these data.

ELLEN RAPPERT, University of Wisconsin (WED MORR: 4)

Syntactic change in Malay and Indonesian oral narratives

Word order and information structure found in oral Malay narratives collected in Sumatra, Indonesia are compared with word and information structure found in oral Indonesian spoken by a Javanese. The resulting analysis shows a predominant Verb-Subject word order in intransitive Malay sentences (Mendang dia kiasat. Look he upward.) and a Verb-Agent-Patient order in the 'passive' transitive Malay sentence (Terking galing tande dari Aceh. Receive-he-emphasis sign from Aceh.). The information structure of the neutral Malay sentence is now then old and generally comment-topic structure which yields verb final sentences predominately in the oral. The oral Indonesian by a Javanese speaker shows a Subject-Verb word order in intransitive sentences (Belanda bahas. The Dutch lost.) and Patient-Verb-Agent in 'passive' transitive sentences (Saya dihakiki. I was born.). Here the information structure is old and new topic by comment.

A scheme outlining word order and information structure changes is presented after examining some 19th century written Malay. This transition involves the use of the emphatic article -pun (even) in subject initial sentences and a subsequent shift to pre-verbal subject position in most backgrounded sentences. This change is followed by the information structure shift from new-old to old-new. A few concluding remarks are made on the role of written and oral language structures in language change in a-literate societies.

JANET H. RANDALL, University of British Columbia (WED AFT: 5)

Children's use of morphological structure in language acquisition

The two sentences below have quite different meanings:

1) John is riding a bicycle without hands (2) John is a rider of a bicycle without hands

While (1), with its instrumental PP, claims that John is not using his hands in riding (2) implies that John has no hands. This same PP may not be interpreted instrumentally here; it must be read, instead, as an 'accompaniment' modifier.

Little work has been done on the question of how children learn to use morphologically complex forms (since Berko-Gleason, 1958). Recent theoretical work in morphology (Carlson & Gershenfeld, 1981; Halle & Headrick, 1979; Halle, 1979) has predicted that learners will start out incorrectly treating the PP in (2) like its c-contrast in (1)

According to the MH, the morphological relationship between rider and its underlying base verb, ride, is crucial to learners. They allow the noun form, rider, to inherit the instrumental PP from the c-contrast of its related verb.

As predicted, 4-7 year olds contrasted with adults in their interpretations of sentences like (2). While no adults allowed the instrumental reading, 62% of the children did. A contrasting view, the Semantic Inheritance Hypothesis, attributes the result to the meaning of the noun form. The 2 hypotheses were tested using morphologically similar agent nouns.

The evidence favors the claim that children are sensitive to derivational relationships when learning new forms, and supports a formal approach to acquisition research.

VICTOR VASKIN, Purdue University

Script-based semantics: Can it handle fake guns?

Script-based semantics, a semantic theory which incorporates scripts (frames, schemata) as the basis of all lexical characterization and combinatorial rules which manipulate with scripts to calculate the semantic interpretation of the sentence, seems to offer an interesting compromise between autonomous semantics and non-autonomous semantics. While the former attempts to structure meaning from pragmatics and the latter, returning pragmatics into meaning, often implies the fluidity of formal, or explicit, semantic, the scripting approach offers both a "stable" way of dealing with "common sense", beliefs, assumptions, etc., into linguistic semantics.

Besides a brief statement of the basic ideas of script-based semantics, the paper deals with two specific issues. First, the paper examines script semantics, i.e. procedures of script-discovery and script-formation. A procedure based on the property of sentence-appropriateness is established to determine the semantic material and the format of a script.

The second issue deals with some "tricky" semantic characterizations involved in the interpretation of such quasi-contradictory phrases as fake gun, illegal criminal. It is demonstrated that no special device is needed to account for the semantics of these phrases in script-based semantics.

ELIZABETH RIDGE (WED AFT: 1)

Ambiguous word order in inflected languages

Many languages (e.g. Jakobsen, Chomsky, Vennemann) have suggested/assumed that fairly free-word-order inflected languages do not allow OVS order when the 0 and S would fail to be distinguished morphologically. For example, Jakobsen (Aspects) states that the German sentence 'Die Mutter sieht die Tochter' cannot mean 'the daughter sees the mother' without disambiguating concrative stress. I will present counterexamples to such claims, consisting of a few sentences from Polish and a few sentences from word order in inflected languages. In these sentences different versions of the Polish sentence (with different Polish phonetic patterns) will show that only extralinguistic knowledge allows disambiguation. One example is:

'Stało świadomość ... zapewne można złożyć za regulatory asemptony of changed cases'.

Constant pressure...was ensured by a manostat composed of a surface, and the verb could agree with either. Moreover, selectional restrictions do not disambiguate here. OVS order arises in Polish when the subject describes new information. However, this textual information does not signal the grammatical S or the agent-patient relations necessary for interpretation. One must know the subject matter for this.

Examples from other lgs. such as German and Finnish will also be noted.

DONALD RINGE, JR., Yale University

Proto Indo-European final *ae in Tocharian B

This paper will examine in detail the development of Proto-Indo-European (PIE) *ae in Tocharian B (TB). In monomorphemes *ae appears as a stem-final element; in compounds and roots, *ae is the full form, *ae or *a.

The language change which concerns us here, and which is the major topic of this paper, is the development of *ae to *a, or more specifically, of *ae to *a in word formation with *ae as a stem-final element. This is a well known development in Indo-European (cf. Latin, Greek, Germanic, etc.)

The Tocharian B language *ae to *a change has been studied by several scholars (e.g., 2.11) in detail, and the change has been described in a number of ways. The most common view is that the change is a simple stem-final *ae to *a development. However, a more detailed analysis of the change reveals that the development is more complex than simply a stem-final *ae to *a change.

The development of *ae to *a is a complex process involving several different factors. The most important factor is the phonological environment in which the change occurs. The change occurs in environments where the stem-final *ae is in contact with a word boundary. The change is also influenced by the presence of other morphemes, such as prefixes, suffixes, and infixes.

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This study provides a detailed analysis of the Tocharian B language *ae to *a change, including a discussion of the phonological environment in which the change occurs, the influence of other morphemes on the change, and the implications of the change for the study of Indo-European language change.

60
The problem of "style" in sociolinguistics

Style figures as a major external variable in Labovian sociolinguistics. The focus here is on problems with his view of style. For Labov style is largely a property of setting, i.e., styles are varieties ordered according to amount of attention paid to speaking for particular settings (1972:99). However, one major problem is that it is not always clear whether style relates strictly to settings in which a code is used, or to the properties of the code itself. A second problem is that constancy of truth-value has functional implications for interpreting stylistic and gendered behavior.

LEXFIN, designed to model a lexical representation consisting of a primary emphatic consonant, is lexicalized for a surface sentence-final marker that indicates the performative force of their S's, and these languages support the claim of the PA that performative occurs in S-highest position and thus clausal conjoining. C(coords) C(conjoining) is ungrammatical in J unless it results in a LP in non-final position:

(1) tu khawla thi makhruum ga dennoo wa takute wa ikneal (prohibitive command).

"Go home but don't turn on the light.'

In Korean, where S-final LPs reflect PF and also level of politeness, and where every S in an LP is in its most possible except when the non-final conjunct ends in the declarative-formal marker -mita.

(2) Sarul saiko sipsummita (formal-decl)/napi'oo (polite-decl) man tom opsummita.

"I want to buy rice but I don't have the money.

The syntax of Free Relatives in English (Ross 1970) was found to be untenable for English largely because performative force can be indicated in English without lexicalized performative (LP) clauses. But there are languages such as Japanese and Korean which have obligatory sentence-final markers that indicate the performative force of their S's, and these languages support the claim of the PA that performative occurs in S-highest position and thus clausal conjoining. C(coords) C(conjoining) is ungrammatical in J unless it results in a LP in non-final position:

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In this short paper, I will present a very simple argument in favor of the following principle: A variable cannot be both transduced and generating structure (Chomsky, 1981, p. 65). This principle, with minimal assumptions about trace theory (Pienkowski, 1974) and Case theory (Nase and Verma, 1980) will be shown to explain the apparent systematic generalization stated in (b) and illustrated with examples from English. (1) a. John is happy! "(about) that Mary is here.
   b. That Mary is here, which John is happy! "about", unset Joe.

In the past, the case for the principle has been made in the literature. The generalization that cases of the principle are rare or nonexistent can be illustrated by checking a number of sentences with the principle:

1) John is happy! "(about) that Mary is here.
2) That Mary is here, which John is happy! "about", unset Joe.

These results are extended to other cases (passive object, raising, and other cases not set off by a preposition). The principle holds for a fair number of sentences with identical transmission. Furthermore, no cases of the principle exist in the literature.

**Vida Samian, William and Mary**

**Synopsis**

The data are analyzed etymologically and with respect to semantic and syntactic change. Besides demonstrating the speed with which a contact language can develop, it illustrates what is needed to explain this kind of event: areal linguistic, ethnohistorical, and possibly non-existent. Style-shift express the subjective evaluation of a variant by the speaker, which has generally been thought to coincide with the evaluation by the hearer (i.e., the person who evaluates a speaker's usage as stigmatized). The fact that speaker and hearer apparently evaluate socially diagnostic variants differently in evidence for the claim that the classification of features is stereo, markers, or indicators on the basis of style-shift is inadequate. The method for distinguishing types of socially diagnostic variables in sociolinguistic research may need revision to be able to account for such data in the speech of the hearer.

**Vida Samian, University of California, Los Angeles**

**Synopsis**

The grammars of Tigrinya, Berber and Moroccan Arabic must distinguish two representations of genitive: (a) a b. (1) a), (b) a). In Tigrinya, the two classes behave differently with respect to a rule that spirantizes post-vocalic velar stops: (2) kokab, sugta, matabi, farkahbi, gazaka. Spratization does not occur with agents and genitive phrases in (1a), which include morpheme-internal genitives, whereas the non-branching suffixes in (1b), which include identical consonants make adjacent by affixation. We obtain in (3) a minima pair illustrating the distinction in (1), where (3a) shows a geniting suffix and no spiratization and (3b), an ordinary suffix with a spirantized consonant:

(3a) a. bahar, gasha, bahar, gasha, bahar, gasha
(3b) a. bahar, gasha, bahar, gasha, bahar, gasha

The need for (1a) against Leben's Obligatory Contour Principle, which assigns to all genitives the structure (1a). The analysis of spratization and genitive supports the Halv-Vergnaut (1980) treatment of assimilation: a rule that reassociates final CVCV structure and (1b) of assimilation, i.e., mb- in (4) and not (5). (4) mb-am (5) feqen, panteric (6) bem.

Genitives from assimilation will have a branching structure (4) = (1a) and are predicted not to spratize: (6) sarhra-sarrah (glottal stop). The above analysis also explains similar phenomena noted by Guerass (1978): (7) a. Hassam, Berber and Moroccan Arabic, where some rules exclude genitives subject to an assimilation.

**RICHARD SCHERR, University of Chicago**

**Synopsis**

Ferguson in his 1959 article "Diglossia" discusses a sociolinguistic situation in which there is a distinction between a High variety(H) and a Low variety(L) of the same language. He makes a number of generalizations based upon data from four diglossic languages.

Tamil is clearly another example of a diglossic language. Yet one of Ferguson's more interesting generalizations, that "the grammatical structure in any given L variety is simpler than that of its corresponding H" does not seem to hold in general for Tamil. Furthermore when simplicity is viewed in terms of the number of phonological rules(later underling and surface forms), the generalization is clearly false since the L has more rules.

Yet when the differences between H and L Tamil are viewed functionally, simplicity may be seen in a more interesting light. In particular, grammatical rules present in the L and not in the H all "conspire" to create CV syllabic structure in word final positions and to create boundary signals. (Trubetzko) not found in the H.

**S.F. SCHATS, Royal Netherlands Academy, Georgetown University**

**Synopsis**

Now distinct is style-shift for classifying socially diagnostic variables?

17 taped free speech samples from 28 randomly selected Amsterdam natives in 2 speech styles (informal, interview; formal, free conversation with peers) have been investigated. Informants were classified according to age (20-25, 25-39, 39-59), occupational/professional criteria (crossword, salesperson), sex, and tone of voice. Typical of all groups, no phonological differences were previously identified as stereotypical (1), indicator (2), or stereotype (3), were expected to show the stylistic variation typically found in sociolinguistic research of this type. A quantitative analysis of all data was performed to confirm their socially diagnostic and to evaluate the correlation between the occurrence of nonstandard variants and low social status, but the results fail to show any kind of style-shift. In both age-groups, for both sexes, for all variables, style differences in the occurrence of nonstandard variants are practically non-existent. Style-shift express the subjective evaluation of a variant by the speaker, which has generally been thought to coincide with the evaluation by the hearer (i.e., the person who evaluates a speaker's usage as stigmatized). The fact that speaker and hearer apparently evaluate socially diagnostic variants differently in evidence for the claim that the classification of features is stereo, markers, or indicators on the basis of style-shift is inadequate. The method for distinguishing types of socially diagnostic variables in sociolinguistic research may need revision to be able to account for such data in the speech of the hearer.
Cohesion in everyday discourse: The role of paraphrase

A central goal of discourse analysis is to explain why some sequences or propositions form a cohesive text while others form a collection of randomly ordered, unconnected sentences. In Cohesion in Discourse (1976), Halliday and Hasan suggest that particular linguistic items (e.g., pronouns, repetition) contribute to discourse cohesion by creating an integrative link between two parts of the discourse. Despite the intuitive appeal of this suggestion, there are few analyses which account for the distribution of all cohesive relations of a particular cohesion-creating device within a given body of data. Yet, following a grammar which provides a foundation for discourse analysis, which then leads to the resolution of more general and abstract questions.

In this paper, I examine the relationship between cohesion and non-adjacent paraphrases (reiterated propositions) in oral monologues, e.g. And the only place I do travel is to Vermont, that's the only place I travel. My data consist of all such paraphrases (about 250) found within a set of sociolinguistic interviews. An examination of the discourse and conversational context of each paraphrase reveals four ways that they contribute to cohesion: intensification, structural subordination, conversational indexing, transition marking. Although these functions are analytically independent, a single paraphrase may be used in more than one way. The results of the analysis force us to re-examine explanations of discourse cohesion which focus on any one level of analysis.

ANALUCIA DIAS SCHULMANN, Federal University of Pernambuco

Relational terms and logical operations

The acquisition of terms which involve relational relations must be discussed bearing in mind the nature of the specific operations required for the solution of the experimental tasks. The understanding of longer/shorter, for example, may not involve reversibility by reciprocity, i.e., the understanding that, in a series A>B>C, B is at the same time shorter than A and longer than C. According to Piaget, this form of reversibility is basic to the development of seriation and transitive inference abilities.

The results show task (i), which involves reversibility, to be the most difficult while the others were equivalent. This suggests that semantic development cannot be studied without the analysis of underlying psychological processes.

MAUREEN A. SCHMID, Arizona State University

The partitive: Remarks on cross-linguistic definition

While the partitive case may appear a uniform category in cross-linguistic research, the pattern of occurrence of the case in Basque (B) and Finnish (F) illustrates that a case form may signal quite different information in two languages, even in a similar context. While in both languages the partitive occurs as the direct object in negative sentences, it conveys the non-referentiality of the NP in B and the imperfective aspect of the entire VP in F. Evidence is drawn from the patterning of the form elsewhere in the two languages. In B, definite NPs and the highly referential personal pronouns do not take the partitive ending, while the facts are opposite in F. Also, some non-negative environments where the partitive occurs in B are those where negative polarity indefinite pronouns occur in this is not so for F. Even in affirmative contexts in B, the partitive case can contrast with genitive in the direct object to signal imperfective aspect. Evidence from Mandarin, Maaari and, to some extent, Russian, points to a tendency for perfective aspect to be restricted under negation, so the occurrence of an imperfective form could be expected. Thus, while the partitive shares an archtypal use in B and F—for indefinite quantity—there are dangers in defining the forms as "the same case."
There are several verbal elements in Antiguan Creole (an English-based creole spoken in the West Indies) which function differently from other verbs. These include: *(a)*, *do*, *go*, *over*, *for*, *from*, *to*, *in*, *out*, *up*, *down*, among others - verbs, adverbs, adjectives, and preverbal elements indicate that the preverbal elements can be set apart as a distinct syntactic category. They do not operate in a manner similar to other verbs when topicalization occurs. In general, they are not fronted or topicalized alone. When they are, they are moved forward with the verb. Topicalized verbs must be repeated later in the sentence, but fronted preverbal elements do not have to be repeated. In addition, topicalization of one preverbal element, the modal *moo*, sometimes follows the verb or preverbal element. This parallels a semantic trend for *moo* to be used more adverbially than any of the other modals.

Patterns of topicalization thus provide insights into the Antiguan Creole syntactic system and relationships among verbal elements, and also suggest possible directions language change in Antiguan Creole is following.

**Topicalization and the syntactic status of preverbal elements in Antiguan Creole**

**Reference analysis in litigation involving commission agreements**

In an actual court case, it is alleged by a real estate agent that the wording of his commission agreement gives him the right, in perpetuity, to a commission on all properties leased by the owner to a specific tenant (a large corporation with leases all over the country). The owner denies this allegation. My work with the attorney for the owner consisted primarily of a reference analysis of the text of three commission agreements relating to this case. Of interest here both to lawyers and to linguists is the important role that anaphora plays in understanding the intent of the discourse in contrast with the apparent meaning of sentences seen in isolation from the discourse as a whole. By tracing defined and undefined topicalizations throughout these agreements, it is shown how the meaning of the discourse clearly supports the owner’s contention. Attention is paid to the importance of redefining the defined reference for reference changes, of article shift *(a vs. the)* in such referencing and the special use of capitalization in legal documents as an indication of anaphoric reference.

**Predication in Warumungu**

I present an unpublished material on the case system and the complementizer system of Warumungu, a Pama-Nyungan language of Central Australia. I show the ERGATIVE concord existing between an ERGATIVE NP and the complement it controls. I show that there are two LOCATIVE suffixes, one used for location in an intrasentential sentence *(the suffix is homophonous with the EXCL)*, and one for location in a transitive sentence *(the suffix is homophonous with the ALATIVE)*. The latter suffix is also used as a complementizer indicating control by an object. I then show how ERGATIVE concord, the transitive sentence LOCATIVE, and the object control complement can be described in terms of a more general system of predication.

**Prosodic factors in the auditory comprehension of brain-damaged adults**

Evidence from numerous sources points to the early acquisition of prosody in infants and its relative robustness in even severely impaired aphasic adults. The aphasic evidence, drawn mostly from observations of language output, suggests that suprasegmental features may occupy an independent position in language production and that their cortical representation may be more diffuse than that of segmental features. To investigate this question in terms of input, commands based on parts of the Token Test, a sensitive measure of auditory comprehension that minimizes extralinguistic cues, were recorded and presented with and without contractive stress *(CS)* to 42 right-handed adults with discrete lesions of either the left or right hemisphere *(27 aphasic and 15 nonaphasic subjects)*. No significant differences were found between younger males *(grades kindergarten through second)* and older males *(grades third through fifth)*, between younger females and younger males, or between older males and older females. A significant difference was found between younger females and older females, tentatively indicating a developmental trend that may explain the differences in color term production between adult males and females. The male children's use of color terms may stabilize early, while females' color vocabularies continue to grow. Further research is needed to determine if this growth continues in adulthood.
There are well-known diachronic developments in Japanese of the type ei, ai, 01, io, as in e, au, ao, o, u, 01, 0, o, u attributable to monophthongization or vowel glide diphthongs. The roles of the Japanese syllable canon and monophthongization or vowel glide diphthongs are also shown.

ARThUR SPEARS, University of California, Santa Cruz (TUES EVE: III)

Toward a new view of the Black speech community

Two recently discovered facts about the speech of college-educated Black professionals indicate that a revision of the linguist's view of the Black speech community is in order. These Blacks control one vernacular, apparently limited to certain informal all-black speech contexts, which includes two grammatical forms unique to Black dialects: 1) the semi-auxiliary form, used to express indignation (He come comin' in here raisin' all kinds of hell) and 2) remote stressed E (She's been married). These forms are typically camouflaged, appearing in sentences superficially similar to those of White dialects. It is the language-wide local pattern on which the existence of these unique forms depends. One is led, therefore, to conclude that these Blacks have at least two grammatically distinct vernaculars. One is what might be termed "Standard Black English," which would include minimally the uniquely Black grammatical forms come and been (and exclude certain other features associated with Black English Vernacular, e.g., the absence of possessive -s and 3rd. person -s, the other people two 'seas' (two males and one female) served as the listeners in all of the tests. The results of the experiments show that the stress contrast between compounds and non-compounds is perceptually crucial. The percent correct identification for the pooled data is 93.04.

PAsquale G. Tato, Harvard University (MON MOR: 6)

Interference between two diphthongization rules in Ibero-Romance

As is well known, every stressed E and U of Latin became diphthongized in Castilian Spanish (allowing for certain cases of later monophthongization, such as stella, castillo becoming silla, castillo), except when immediately followed by an old palatal sound; cf. aspen, ap, hola, pesco, noche. Conversely in Catalan diphthongization occurred only before those same palatal sounds; cf. Catalan espail, till, fully, pit, nit, viat, all representing instances of later monophthongization. Other Spanish dialects, viz. Andeanese and in part Nasaritic and Leonese, show diphthongization in all cases, thus also in such forms as the following: yunte, out, hunte, meu, rulle, etc. However, no other dialect has shown the kinds of stress-dependent diphthongization that have been found in the higher-hid phonemes in some of the above cases; e.g., fohn, etc. This complex dialectological problem may receive the following solution. Historically speaking, support is two different diphthongization rules which are different centers of diffusion in the pre-literary period of the Ibero-Romance linguistic history: one diphthongized all stressed E and U, and another diphthongized stressed E and U only immediately before palatal sounds. The latter could further develop into a rule raising lower-mid E and U to higher-mid E and U. The different dialectal results are thus explained in terms of different relative chronologies. In Castilian diphth in front of palatals must have already progressed to raising when diphth in all remaining E and U occurred. The latter is shown to have spread from central Spain toward the northwest.

SUSAN G. STUCKY, Stanford University (TUES MOR: 1)

Linear order and case marking

Recent proposals for the analysis of "free word order" languages (e.g., Lapointe (1981)) introduce formal devices distinct from those employed in the grammars of so-called "fixed order" languages. The adoption of distinct formal devices entails the division of natural languages into two classes, those with free order and those with fixed order. I will argue (based on evidence from languages in the Altai, Indo-European, Niger-Congo, and Pama-Nyungan families) that such a formal dichotomy is unmotivated. Rather, the evidence indicates that there are separate, and typically-camouflaged, universals which admit appropriate parametric variation. In this paper, I propose an account of the relationship in Japanese (a language exhibiting considerable order variation) between linear order and case marking. One of the central problems in this domain is the lack of a one-to-one correspondence between case marking, linear order, and grammatical relations. By adopting a PS grammar in which linear precedence and immediate dominance are separate, together with a formalization of the magnetic category features and semantic function-argument structure, I provide for independent statements which relate case marking and grammatical relations in such a way as to give not only an account of Japanese case marking facts but also the basis for a unified theory of linear order.

R.L. KAYKAYNE svastikula, University of Connecticut (TUES MOR: 3)

Thai stress

There seems to be no general agreement as to whether there is a stress contrast in Thai between compound words and non-compound words (Hiramanurak, 1972; Notong, 1974) or not (The Rachabudtissathan Dictionary, 1959). Therefore, I will discuss three experiments with natural speech on the perception of this putative stress contrast in Standard Thai under the following hypothesis: that Thai can use stress patterns to hear the difference between otherwise phonologically identical compound words and non-compound words.

In experiments I and II, 15 pairs of bisyllabic compounds and correspondent phrase (in such examples as compounds /luk sis/a, /pik 'dai 'boy scout', /pik 'wan/a, /pik 'wan/a, 'a kind of vegetable', and non-compounds /luk sis/a, /pik 'dai 'boy scout', /pik 'wan/a, /pik 'wan/a, /pik 'wan/a, /pik 'wan/a, /pik 'wan/a, /pik 'wan/a, 'sweet vegetable', etc.) were used. These items were put in a semantically neutral carrier sentence and arranged in random order. One female speaker served as the listeners in all of the tests. The results of the experiments show that the stress contrast between compounds and non-compounds is perceptually crucial. The percent correct identification for the pooled data is 93.04.

R. EDWARD STRAUSS, University of New Mexico (MON AFT: 3)

Synchronic evidence for diachronic processes in Japanese

Before b, d, g, dloose Kahn (1975) hypothesizes that sequential constraints on underlying representations are clauses in rules that assign syllable structure. I argue against this by showing that the constraint on the underlying structure of [ae] and [e] in a NYC dialect requires no reference to a reference structure whatsoever, contrary to R's syllable-based rule for [ae] and [e]. R shows that underlying [ae] is not permitted before tautosyllabic n and m. Instead, raised and tensed E shows up: man, man (hun), [mean], before non-tautosyllabic in and m. R's (1972) proposed condition, syllabic conditioning seems necessary. Additional data shows that [ae] and [e] are also in complementary distribution (or free variation) before voiced stops and affricates, and before voiced and voiceless fricatives. In each case, the choice between [ae] and [e] is non-syllabic based. Before b, d, g, [e], choose E if this is the last vowel of the morpheme; otherwise choose a (cf. rag ['rag]). *[raeg]; Aquoth [aewego], [aewego]; but, ang new [aewego], [aewego]. Note: before tautosyllabic g in Anew. Before fricatives, pick E, not E, if it is the final vowel of the morpheme; otherwise pick either or (cf. waa klas [kwE]), anepic [anepi]; (anepi) anepic [anepi] or [anepi]; but shouldn't [aewari] or [aewari]. Now, though we find E, not E, before tautosyllabic n and m in multisyllabic an vli, sam ple ([svn]l), [sam ple], the rule is that in a non-syllabic position. Refer Kahn, D. SYLLABIC-BASED GENERALIZATIONS IN ENGLISH PHONOLGY. Phd Diss. MIT. 1975.
Klamath a-insertion in empty syllabic nuclei

Klamath has been analyzed by many scholars. A central problem is the glide/V0 alternation. This proposal is a development of the 3-tiered autosegmental analysis of Clements and Keyser which handles the alternation rules segmental with the other tiers. However, the present analysis differs from that of C+K principally in that the role of the CV-tiers for syllabification is such that the phonological syllabification rule the structural alternatives of a klamath grammar are greatly simplified. A serious theoretical weakness at the heart of their proposal is thereby avoided, while a unified account of the synchronic morphology can be given. The main problem with C+K’s otherwise interesting proposal was that they were forced to link up glides to the V-tiers (see 1), thus reducing the significance of the CV-tier. In the present proposal glides are always linked to C. They are unambiguously resonants, never vowels (see 2). The insertional rule operates just in the syllable nucleus, as empty (see 3). Thus a-insertion as a manifestation of syllabification, differing in that respect from both C+K’s minor a-insertion and the various a-insertion rules of Keen et al. At the same time, all glide sequences, including those resulting from vowel reduction, are vocalized to full vowels. This again contrasts favorably with the CV account in which the output of Vowel Reduction was handled separately. Examples: (1) /æt/ (2) /ætɛr/ (3) /ætɛrɛvstr/.
Gapping in a categorial grammar

Gapped clauses have been analyzed in two ways: either with a deletion-transformation reducing sentence-like John bought a book and Mary bought a present to John bought a book and Peter a present, or with an interpretative rule for empty subjects John bought a book and Peter a present. Implicativity in such cases suggests that the gapped clause is a unit;

In this paper, a categorial grammar such an assumption is unnecessary and moreover can be fruitless abandoned. It is always possible to regard a category in more than one way: the categorial analyses can also be thought of as (a/b)(c/d), the choice depending on the sentences containing an N-phrase, to form a normal sentence. This categorial variant is assigned to formations, since (a/b)/(c/d)(a/b) gives (a/b)(a/b)/(a/b), a function that takes a sentence with b N-phrase, to double application of rules.

This result does not contradict (a/b)(a/b), the categorial analysis. The main reason for the choice lies in the semantic category of the main conjunction of the two. Thus John and a book are analyzed as focused constituents, and John and Peter a present are combined under a more pragmatic and overt conjunction.

The approach is to form a function which permits all four NPs to combine with bought to form a sentence. This approach automatically imposes restrictions on the meaning, like theme-anaphora and major-conjunction.

Robert van Valin, Australian National University
William Foley, Australian National University

English non-finite complement markers

Current analyses of English non-finite complements recognize a single marker, to. This paper argues that English has three semantically distinct markers of non-finite complements: $\delta$, to, from.

The to-complements under consideration do not allow, e.g., be late to be a distinct element but rather as idio­syncratically. (As to-insertion) with certain verbs. It contrasts semantically with to, marking simultaneous or events vs. non-simultaneous ones for e.g. John helped Max build his house (building and helping are simultaneous, thus John e.g. took part in the construction work) vs. John helped Max to build his house (non-simultaneous, thus John e.g. loaned Max money but wasn't actually involved in the work). $\delta$ contrasts with from (deflected or arrested action toward a goal), which Postal 1974 analyzes took part in the construction work.

The $\delta$-complements are those where there is a preposition-like movement; the $\delta$-complements are those marked by a preposition. See for an hour vs.

Of Groningen (MON AFF: 2)

Marilyn Vinson, Stanford University
Marcis Macken, Stanford University

From babbling to speech: A reassessment of the continuity issue

Controversy exists over whether there is any connection between babbling and the development of the adult sound system. The classic proponent of the discontinuity school is Jakobson (1965), who claims that the pairing of sound and meaning drastically alters the child's sound system: clear differences separate the sound system of babbling (BSB) from that of words (SSW): "phonetic abundance" (SSB) vs. "phonemic poverty" (SSW); no systematicity (SSS) vs. universal acquisition order (SSW); and chronological restriction by context. We evaluate the relative few differences are marked byJakobson with respect to the transition from babbling to speech in a single set of children (n=10) recorded weekly in two contexts (mother-child interaction settings and solitary play situations). The children were seen for seven months at age nine months.

Primary analysis compares BSB with SSW in the underlying word types, syllable types and phonotactics by child, time and context.

Preliminary analysis reveals striking parallelism between BSB and SSW within child and across time (i.e. where BSB prefigures SSW) and within time period; furthermore, the relatively fewer differences are not always in the predicted direction. Strong evidence for continuity is interpreted as due to the child's involvement in meaningful discourse throughout the babbling period and the child's use of all vocal resources to communicate; similar sounds, syllable types and phonotactics characterize the utterances along a continuum from sound play through protowords to adult words.

Evangelina Markinas, Harvard University, Texas Tech University

The 7 of OCS *sys 'sated' is anomalous, given the connection with *neb- 'satiate' (Wm. 1:56) et cetera. The numerous attempts to explain the aberrant vocalism depend on improbable connections with other roots, and no explanation is generally accepted...
This paper will attempt a systematic organization of the number of (singulativizers/pluralizers) suffixes found attached to Masai Nouns. The pluralizers number about 25 and the singularizers about 15. Most Masai nouns occur in the singular unsuffixed (e.g. \( \text{si-mvarat} \) "spear butt") and the plural suffix (\( \text{si-mvarat} \) "warriors"). In addition, nouns are marked for accusative and dative case by tone alone. The citation form is in the accusative.

Event

It is proposed (a) that the semantic (or cognitive) category EVENT is associated with certain directly referring NPs and the application of certain higher-level semantic and pragmatic conditions, and (b) that EVENT together with the categorial facts and projects permits the formal eliminability of all but one of the three categories, cf. Morgan Phil Rev '78, Wilson Phil St. '74). These claims are supported in (11) from English, Hindi, Marathi, Arabic, and Hebrew. In all these languages, a determiner predicate the existence of finite clauses (*That John left was noisy) they allow related event-referring nominalizations (John's departure was noisy).

CLITIC MOVEMENT FROM OLD TO MODERN SPANISH

The applicability of clitic movement (C-Mov) in Spanish -- affecting a pronoun belonging semantically to the locative -- does not change the meaning 'I must write her a letter' in (i) (la debo escribir-\( \text{le} \) una carta) vs. (ii) \( \text{la debo escribir una carta} \). The restricted class of governing verbs \( V_{11} \) allowing C-Mov comprises (a) special causatives, (b) modal, (c) some aspectuals, (d) very few others. C-Mov is always optional and typically colloquial. Different studies do not agree on the membership of \( V_{11} \). Some structural differences (la debo escribir) vs. \( \text{la debo escribir} \) for (i) vs. (ii) (i) is normally recognized. -- Historically, the verb \( V_{11} \) gap was comparable, and their differences might be comparable. Evolution thus leads from (i) to (ii), from frequent to less frequent C-Mov. The modern structural difference did not exist earlier since the two verbs could be separated in (i) as easily as in (ii). A more adequate solution requires C-Mov to be described componentially. This process is favored by the conjunction of higher values on some of the scales of (1) auxiliary meaning of \( V_{11} \), (2) frequency of \( V_{11} \) usage, (3) pragmatic clarity of \( V_{11} \) phrase string, (4) inexorability of style. Thus C-Mov will not be judged absolutely grammatical or ungrammatical with the majority of \( V_{11} \), rather it must be seen as variably frequent/likely/frequent/acceptable with an open class of \( V_{11} \).
Vowel information in fricatives of final (s) and (h)

The information in the noise of syllabic initial English alveolar and palatal voiceless fricatives is sufficient to identify them even when they are combined with various vocalic segments other than those they were originally produced with. When the fricatives of these final position are combined with different vocalic segments, the fricative is still identifiable; however, there is often a perception of a stopphone in the vowel. For the initial case, the vowel always sounds unaltered. In a series of experiments, it was found that subjects could reliably identify the vowel that must have preceded a fricative when they were presented with only the fricative itself. This effect has been found previously for initial fricatives; see Yeni-Komshian and Soli (in press). This finding is consistent with the perception of diphthongs in cross-spliced stimuli. The results define an interesting limit to narrow phonetic transcription and fill in our knowledge of coarticulation of vowels and fricatives.


NEG WITZGOLT, University of Texas (MON APR: 3)

Pre-associated segments in the syllable template

The "row and column" model of phonology (SPE 1968) has been largely supplanted by models which add a further dimension permitting groups such as the syllable, the foot, the tone domain, etc. This paper demonstrates that if grouping or association is considered at the level of the syllable template some recalcitrant problems in phonology seem to dissolve. In English, the arrow is taken as a bound [+h/+-y] which accounts for its impoverished phonotactic distribution as compared to other vowels other than those they were originally produced with. For the initial case, the vowel always sounds unaltered. In a series of experiments, it was found that subjects could reliably identify the vowel that must have preceded a fricative when they were presented with only the fricative itself. This effect has been found previously for initial fricatives; see Yeni-Komshian and Soli (in press). This finding is consistent with the perception of diphthongs in cross-spliced stimuli. The results define an interesting limit to narrow phonetic transcription and fill in our knowledge of coarticulation of vowels and fricatives.


RICHARD WOJCZYK, Barnard College, Columbia University (WED MOR: 1)

On so-called verb topicalization in Breton

Anderson (1971) has recently proposed that Breton has a rule which topicalizes any constituent of the clause, including main verbs, into initial position. That is, topicalization requires underlying AUX-V-NP-NP into surface V-AUX-NP-NP as well as NP-AUX-V-NP (this paper updates and revises arguments from Wojczyk, 1976), which show that topicalization cannot be the same rule that shifts verbs into initial position. For example, topicalization is an unbound rule that applies to both negative and positive clauses, whereas the verb shift rule never operates across clause boundaries and is blocked by negation. Moreover, the latter rule shifts only main verbs, but predicative APs and NPs, thereby establishing univocally the existence of a 'predicate' constituent in Breton clauses. Since it is still a popular view among syntacticians that the underlying 'main verb' of a copular sentence is the copula itself, Breton 'predicate shift' has important implications for the development of a general theory of syntactic categorization.


The interactions between tone and intonation in Cantonese

This paper presents the experimental results of an acoustic study of the effects of intonation on tone in Cantonese as spoken in Hong Kong. Eight test words—fu3, 'quand', pu1, 'give', pu3, 'try', pu1, 'magic spell'; pu2, 'woman', pu2, 'negative', pu2, 'happiness', pu2, 'clothes'—which differ only in tone, are inserted into short intonation phrases which consist of ordinary declarative sentences, interrogative sentences, and declarative sentences containing contrastive stress. In declarative sentences, the test words are placed in three positions: sentence-initial, sentence-medial, and sentence-final. Three types of questions are compared. A total of sixty-four sentences are read by native speakers of Cantonese and are recorded for spectrographic analysis. Various authors have suggested that tone sandhi in Chinese dialects is a neutralization process which operates under "weakened stress." Hashimoto (1980) and Yip (1980) suggest that both Amoy, a S. Min dialect, and Fuzhou, a N. Min dialect have rightmost stress with weakened syllables underlying tonal rules to derive the non-final sandhi forms. This paper argues that Fuzhou and Amoy are, instead, separate types of stress/tone systems. Fuzhou is argued to be a stress-timed language, with loss of initial tone marking markers under weakened duration, whereas Amoy is argued to be a syllable-timed language with the syllable being equivalent to the foot and with no loss of tone markers within the foot. Amoy does display phrase final strengthening, but this is argued to be a phrase-level rather than foot-level process. Spectrographs of simple S-V-O sentences, with identical morphemes were made for Amoy and Fuzhou, and compared with spectrograms of syllables previously elicited within a frame to determine basic length. Fuzhou sandhi syllables show greatly decreased duration, whereas those of Amoy show little length difference. Furthermore, Fuzhou shows a great degree of consonantal tonalisation within the sandhi span whereas Amoy shows lenition only involving clitics. The presence of lenition in Fuzhou is correlated with foot internal lenition observed in other non-tonal languages.

JANE S. WIGHT, University of Massachusetts (TUES MOR: 3)

Stress and sandhi in Amoy and Fuzhou

Various authors have suggested that tone sandhi in Chinese dialects is a neutralization process which operates under "weakened stress." Hashimoto (1980) and Yip (1980) suggest that both Amoy, a S. Min dialect, and Fuzhou, a N. Min dialect have rightmost stress with weakened syllables underlying tonal rules to derive the non-final sandhi forms. This paper argues that Fuzhou and Amoy are, instead, separate types of stress/tone systems. Fuzhou is argued to be a stress-timed language, with loss of initial tone marking markers under weakened duration, whereas Amoy is argued to be a syllable-timed language with the syllable being equivalent to the foot and with no loss of tone markers within the foot. Amoy does display phrase final strengthening, but this is argued to be a phrase-level rather than foot-level process. Spectrographs of simple S-V-O sentences, with identical morphemes were made for Amoy and Fuzhou, and compared with spectrograms of syllables previously elicited within a frame to determine basic length. Fuzhou sandhi syllables show greatly decreased duration, whereas those of Amoy show little length difference. Furthermore, Fuzhou shows a great degree of consonantal tonalisation within the sandhi span whereas Amoy shows lenition only involving clitics. The presence of lenition in Fuzhou is correlated with foot internal lenition observed in other non-tonal languages.
Many linguists and philosophers (e.g., Austin(1962), Hankamer(1971), Shopen(1972), Morgan(1973), Warnock(1973)) have recognized that speakers utter syntactically well-formed and semantically coherent linguistic expressions such as (1) [three no trump (during a bridge game)] as well as (2) [after a beautiful concert] and (3) [object during a courtroom trial]. But there is no consensus as to how a multi-level, multi-syntactic, and multi-semantic utterance should exist in general, and how phrase structure must be determined for these utterances in particular. Are they transformationally analyzed with relation and syntax allowing motivation of metrical structure, so that utterances that occur in discourse initial position are generated directly in the base and dominated only by an NP node and considered to be incomplete sentences, as Shopen as proposed? I reject both proposals. I argue that the utterance at the bottom of this section, namely the sentence 'she had a basket, and (5) basket, occur as NP's but only (4) occurs in a larger structure. The meaning of NP's deserves special attention. As shown by my son's basketball coach, was used to warn of an impending basket by the opponent, in opposition to (5) which was used as an offensive order to make a basket.  

MOIRA J. YIP, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

A metrical analysis of the development of Chinese verse

There are two outstanding characteristics of Chinese verse: the string of syllables per line, and the tonal patterns. The second of these is a later development than the first. It is shown that, given the theoretical framework laid out by Liberman and Prince (1977) and first applied to Chinese verse by Chen (1979, 1980), the apparent complexity of meters is reducible to a rather small number of metrical units which can be combined to produce a wide variety of lines. What is more, the historical development of verse to the next is shown to be the result of a simple step-by-step elaboration of these metrical units. The introduction of tone patterning is viewed as a natural and inevitable manifestation of the pre-existing and independently motivated metrical structure, so that when Chinese developed tones they were automatically incorporated into the meter just as other languages use other prosodic features (such as stress). The earliest verse had four syllable lines. Repudiation, alliteration, and syntop show that the line had two binary feet, and fifth syllables required a super-foot. This was codified into ancient verse, which also had a seven-syllabled mode made up of two super-feet. The addition of tones produced regulated verse, and these various feet and super-feet were later combined with greater freedom in the lyric verse.

KAREN ZAGOURA, Massachusetts Institute of Technology,

University of Washington

On the structure of Spanish aspectual gerundives

This paper provides a new analysis of the problematic Spanish "semiauxiliary" aspectual gerundive. Previous analyses (Strozer 1976, Fomond 1978) assume a single underlying structure for (1-2), and a rule of pronominal clitic "climbing":

John [continues/goes around/has been] singing.

Following Akamjan, Steele and Josow (1979) as to the structure of VP, I argue that these verbs are unspecified in the lexicon for insertion under V1 (=main V) or V2 (specifier of V), i.e., (1) and (2) do not derive from a single structure. Previously unexamined evidence shows (2) to pattern with another V2 structure: [uber (asp. have) + particle, while (1) behaves like V1 complement, with respect to 5 tests: (a) subject-V inversion (b) VP preposing and anaphora (c) intervening sentential adverbs (d) independent complement negation (e) passivization. My analysis predicts clitic sequences without a climbing rule, and accounts for the divergent behavior of (1-2) under (a-e). The resulting grammar captures the generalization that the processes in (a-e) are restricted to phrasal head (main V) constructions, increasing explanatory adequacy.

ADOLPH ZWICKY, Ohio State University

Criticisation versus inflection: English n't

Two types of bound morphemes, clitics and inflectional affixes, are found attached to (free) words in some languages. It is impossible to distinguish them on the basis of the meanings they express, but at least six lines of evidence do separate the clear cases on each side: the degree of selection between the dependent morpheme and the word it is attached to, arbitrary lexical gaps, phonological idiosyncrasies, semantic idiosyncrasies, syntactic rules applying to the combinations, and restrictions on the combinability of clitics with inflectional affixes. These criteria all indicate that English contracted auxiliaries (She's gone) are clitics—but they also all indicate that the English contracted negative (She hasn't gone) is an inflectional affix, a surprising conclusion that turns out to be an improvement on earlier analyses of n't, including those of Zwicky 1969, Selkirk 1972, and Pullum and Wilson 1977.
The purpose of this paper is to show first, that the chomeur relation of relational grammar is crucial to providing a satisfactory account of a wide range of syntactic phenomena, and second, that this relation cannot be reconstructed in other current syntactic frameworks. The domain of data supporting the chomeur relation thus supports the relational grammar framework.

The first part of the paper surveys cases where the chomeur relation provides a simple and natural account of data that would otherwise be mysterious.

The first four cases of this type are cases where a nominal bearing the chomeur relation fails to behave like a final term (subject (1), direct object (2), or indirect object (3)). The first is taken from Chung’s (1976) study of Indonesian, where it is shown that the chomage of 2s put en chomage by advancement of a 3 to 2 automatically accounts for those nominals’ failure to relativize or cause the appearance of the verbal prefix meng-. The same solution accounts for what would otherwise be an anomaly in the Swahili object agreement system noted by Comrie (1976). It is then shown that the chomeur relation accounts for asymmetries between è and par in French causatives, and for a generalization governing Equi in English.

Second, it is argued that a relational approach to clause structure makes possible cross-linguistically viable definitions of transitivity and ergativity. It is shown first, that these definitions yield correct results for language-particular phenomena sensitive to transitivity and ergativity, and second, that the chomeur relation yields the correct results in certain cases that would otherwise be mysterious. Where a 3 advances to 2, putting a 2 en chomage, the chomeur relation makes interesting predictions about transitivity and ergativity in clauses involving both 3-2 Advancement and Passive. The confirmation of these predictions is illustrated for case marking and verb agreement in Inupiat (Eskimo), verb agreement in Tzotzil (Mayan), and person and number agreement in Chamorro (Austronesian).

Third, it is shown that the chomeur relation makes correct predictions about phenomena sensitive to transitivity and ergativity with intransitive predicates governing Raising. This is illustrated with data from Seri (Hokan) and Jacaltec (Mayan).

In all the cases discussed above, the fact that a nominal bears the chomeur relation accounts for the fact that it does not behave like a final term. Such cases might be accounted for in certain other frameworks by having the nominals in question fail to bear any other grammatical relation. However, there is another type of evidence for the chomeur relation that could not be accounted for in this way. These are cases where chomers behave differently from other nominals in ways that must be accounted for by rules referring to the chomeur relation as such. This type of phenomenon is illustrated with Quantifier Shift in Indonesian, instrumental case marking in Inupiat, retired term marking in Georgian, oblique case marking in Spokane (Salish), and the Participant Chomeur Ban in Southern Tiwa (Tanoan). These cases will prove particularly difficult for frameworks that do not posit the chomeur relation.
Two general principles limiting the class of structures with the chomeur relation are briefly discussed. These are the Motivated Chomage Law, which eliminates the chomeur relation from the initial level (structure), and the No Advancement Law, which rules out cases where chomeurs advance to bear term relations.

In many cases where one framework accounts for data in terms of certain theoretical constructs, other frameworks can mimic that solution by appealing to distinct but equivalent constructs. The last part of the paper is devoted to showing that this is not possible with the chomeur relation. First we discuss frameworks that define grammatical relations in terms of phrase structure configurations (Chomsky, 1965), case (Hale, Jeanne, and Platero, 1977), and behavioral properties of nominals (Keenan, 1976). Dik (1977, 75-76) and Bresnan (1978, 14-18) assumes definitions of grammatical relations in terms of different notions in different languages. Reviewing the data presented in the first part of the paper, it is argued that the chomeur relation cannot be defined in terms of any of these notions and therefore cannot be reconstructed in frameworks that do not take grammatical relations as primitive concepts. The chomeur relation is an innovation of relational grammar. Theoretical primitives to include the chomeur relation in the class of primitive grammatical relations in terms of such frameworks posit a level of "semantic roles" or some other "deep" relations, and a level of grammatical relations (in most cases, subject and object). Crucially, the latter notions are represented at only one level. The import of this is that even if these frameworks were to include a chomeur relation in the class of primitive grammatical relations, it would not be equivalent to the chomeur relation of relational grammar, which is possible only at non-initial levels. The rest of the paper is devoted to showing the empirical differences between the chomeur relation of relational grammar and what would be possible in these frameworks. First we consider Fillmore's (1968, 1977) case grammar and Dik's (1978, 1980) functional grammar, which are representative of a class of proposals that posit a level of "semantic" relations and a level of grammatical relations (although Fillmore's original proposal did not take grammatical relations as primitives). Finally, we consider Kaplan and Bresnan's (1981) lexical functional grammar, which is closest to relational grammar in many respects. It is argued that the generalizations captured by means of the chomeur relation in relational grammar cannot be captured in these frameworks.

The main points of the paper can be briefly summarized. It is shown first, that the chomeur relation need not be used to capture generalizations in the grammars of a number of languages. Second, that a notion equivalent to the chomeur relation is not possible either in frameworks that attempt to define grammatical relations in terms of other notions or in other frameworks taking grammatical relations as theoretical primitives. It is concluded that the data supporting the chomeur relation therefore supports relational grammar — the only current theory positng primitive grammatical relations at distinct levels of syntactic representation.

References


Evidence that Coreference Rules Apply to Two Distinct Syntactic Levels

(1) Next to John, he saw the snake. (John ≠ he)
(2) a. Next to John was where he saw the snake. (John ≠ he)
b. It was next to John that he saw the snake. (John ≠ he)

In this paper I give evidence that the blocked forwards coreference in (1,2) requires a movement analysis essentially like that of Kuno (CJS Functionalism, 1975), and that the more elegant surface analysis of Reinhart (MIT thesis, 1976) cannot be made to work. In particular, I argue that examples like (1) require Clausemate Coreference (CCR) before Adverb Preposing (AP), but Non-Clausemate Coreference (NCCR) after AP.

Such an analysis is consistent with the Katz-Postal/Aspects model of 1965, and with its immediate descendents like Generative Semantics or the Interpretive Semantics of Jackendoff (Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar, 1972). The crucial point, however, is that coreference rules apply to two distinct levels of syntactic structure, one before AP and one after. This is prima facie incompatible with models like that of Chomsky ("On Binding," 1965), where surface structure (SS) enriched by traces in the sole input to semantics, and equally incompatible with models in which there is only one syntactic level, as in Braan's recent work, or where there is only one level where linear precedence is specified, as in recent work in relational grammar.

This paper concentrates on the evidence for the movement analysis of (1), and discusses only briefly how the various models could be extended to handle this data. Obvious possible moves include extensions of trace theory, reconstruction within the semantic component, and attempts to state CCR in terms of grammatical relations independent of linear order.

The Basic Contrast

(3) a. Next to John, he saw the snake. (Blocked forwards: John ≠ he)
b. Next to him, John saw the snake. (Good backwards: him = John)
(4) a. After John finished breakfast, he went to school. (Good forwards: John = he)
b. After he finished breakfast, John went to school. (Good backwards: he = John)

The Movement Analysis, with Precede/Command Coreference (Kuno 1975)

One approach to coreference sets up as a basic generalization the claim that a pro-form cannot both precede and command its antecedent, with variations in the exact definition of "command." Kuno applied to SS, predict exactly the wrong results for (3ab). The forwards (3a) should be good, since the pronoun does not precede; (3b) should be bad, since the pronoun both precedes and commands. It is natural to propose that the relevant coreference rules apply before AP, thus to (3a) and (4a)'s.

(3a') He saw the snake next to John. (He = John)
(4a') He went to school after John finished breakfast. (He = John)

This works fine for (3), but predicts incorrectly that (4a) will show the same lack of coref as (4a') and (3a). Kuno (1975) handles this by setting up a Clausemate Coreference rule (CCR), a sort of wrapped-up Reflexive, and ordering CCR before AP over ordinary Non-Clausemate Coreference (NCCR).

The Surface Analysis, with Order-Irrelevant C-Command Coreference (Reinhart 1976)

Reinhart (1976) proposes an elegant solution for (3ab): Replace "command" with "C-command," suitably defined so that him does not C-Command John in (3b). Replace the precede/command rule with the simpler rule that a pronoun must not C-Command its antecedent, explicitly claiming that linear order is irrelevant. This algorithm, applied to the SS of (3ab), gives the right results: In (3a), he C-commands John, so coref is blocked; the linear order is irrelevant. In (3b), him does not C-Command John, so coref is possible.

(4a) remains an embarrassment, since at first glance he ought to C-Command John just as in (3a), incorrectly blocking coref. Reinhart proposes that proposed S-Adverbials like the after-Clause in (4) hang one node higher in the tree than proposed VP-Adverbials like the locative PP in (3). Given a suitable definition of C-Command, these tree structures will give the correct outputs, with the coreference rules applying only to SS.

Testing the Surface Analysis

If we limit ourselves to the data of (3,4), Reinhart's surface C-Command analysis seems markedly superior to the movement analysis, and in fact it has been widely accepted. On the other hand, there is no obvious way to extend it to handle the apparently similar blocked-forwards cases with clefts (3ab): Since the he in the clefts is buried in a subordinate clause in SS, there is no way it could C-Command the potential antecedent John. In the following sections I give evidence against the surface C-Command analysis, followed by evidence that a clausemate condition is crucial, and that movement is involved.

Evidence against the Surface Analysis

Evidence that Linear Order Is Relevant

One great virtue of the Reinhart analysis is that the same mechanisms works to block coreference in the bad-forwards cases (3a) and in the bad-backwards cases like (5):
(5) She claims that Mary is a genius. (She ≠ Mary)

If correct, this is a major generalization that is missed by the movement analysis. However: Conjunction Cases

It is not in fact possible to dispense with linear order completely, since coordinate-conjunction examples like Langacker's (6) show an order effect. This is only a weak argument, since precede/command models also require special machinery for coordinates.

(6) a. Penelope cursed Peter and slandered him.
b. Penelope cursed him and slandered Peter.

One-Pronominalization: No Blocked Forwards

A wide range of anaphoric devices appear to be subject to essentially the same structural condition as backwards coreference: Thus (7) has no backwards-one-Pro reading where one = teacher, even though backwards one-Pro is possible in (6). However, in the cases where a test can be made (One-Pro, VP-Deletion given a more complex argument), forwards anaphora is not blocked in the cases parallel to (3a), e.g. (9). It follows that the order-Irrelevant analysis of coreference cannot be extended to One-Pro and VP-Del.

(7) a. Next to the woman John was courting, a little robin was hunting for worms. (one = robin)

Evidence against C-Command: A Crucial Data Disagreement

(10) a. I knew Harvey when he was a little boy. (Harvey ≠ him)
b. I knew him when Harvey was a little boy. (disputed)

Langacker and Reinhart both recognized that examples like (10b) were a crucial test for the statement of the command condition. Langacker reported no coref in (10b), and therefore adopted S-Command; Reinhart reported coref in parallel examples, and cites as evidence supporting C-Command. Both experimental and text data, reported more fully in my 1980 LSA paper, show that Langacker was right.

Adverb Preposing before Wh-

(11) Next to John, what did he see?

(John ≠ he)

Given the assumptions about SS that are standard within Reinhart's model, the PP in (11) should hang in the same position as the Adv Clause in (4a), thus predicting that he should not C-Command John, and that coref should be possible. Wrong again, then.

Evidence for the Movement Analysis I: A Clausemate Condition is Relevant

The basic examples (3a,4a) differ on two dimensions: FF vs. clause, and VP-Adv vs. S-Adv. The Surface Analysis focusses on the 2nd dimension, the movement analysis focusses on the first. We get a test by putting clauses inside proposed VP-Adv (12), or by constructing proposed S-Adv that are PPs (13):
(12) a. Next to the woman John was courting, she put a basket of roses. (John ≠ he)
b. Next to the woman John was courting, he put a basket of roses. (woman ≠ she)

(13a) Despite John, he became interested in the problem.

(John ≠ he)

Despite himself, John became interested in the problem.
In the minimal pair (12ab), forwards coref from the preposed locative is possible just in case the potential antecedent is inside a subordinate clause. This is the result predicted by CCR in the movement analysis, but it cannot be handled within the surface analysis without making an exception to the claimed generalization that a pronoun may not C-Command its antecedent. Reinhart (1976:160ff) discusses examples like (12a), but her suggested escapes cannot handle the minimal pair (12ab).

The data is less clear for many PPs that function as S-Adv; but cases like (13) where the S-Adv is unambiguously within the scope of CCR, pattern with the locative PPs (3ab), not with the clausal S-Adv (4ab). I conclude that the correct generalization involves a clausemate condition, instead of or in addition to a S-Adv vs VP-Adv distinction. This provides independent motivation for the use of CCR in the movement analysis.

Evidence for the Movement Analysis II: Coref Applies to a Structure More Abstract than SS

**Adverb Preposing from Subordinate Clauses**

-(14) Next to Fenwick, the investigators believe that he noticed a rattlesnake. (2 ≠ ha)

He is buried in the that-clause, and cannot C-Command Fenwick in SS; nonetheless the coref is blocked. Trace theory will not help (unless extended), since the moved constituent is the PP, and the object NP will not leave a trace of its own. It follows that, even if we adopt the Reinhart analysis for (3), in (14) the relevant coref rule will have to apply before the PP is moved out of the subordinate clause.

**Clefts:** (2ab) permit the same argument as (14): Since the he is buried in a subordinate clause, it cannot C-Command (or command) John in SS. If we construct non-cleft examples with SS like the clefts (compare 13 with 2a), forwards is blocked only in the clefts: (15) Next to John was the woman by had taken to the dance. (John = ha)

It follows that the right analysis will have the relevant coref rule apply to an abstract, unclesed structure for the clefts, rather than attempting to handle the blocked coref in (2a) directly in SS.

**Conclusions:**

I. Blocked Forwards Coreference: (2,6–15) cause major or minor problems for the surface analysis, and for plausible extensions of it. On the other hand, they are all compatible with the movement analysis, and there is some direct support for its crucial features:

(a) a rule referring to clausemates (12,13).
(b) the rule blocking forwards coref applies to an abstract (pre-movement) structure distinct from SS (14, 2, 15).
(c) Reconstruction in Logical Form: We will also get the right result if NCCR applies to SS, then Anti-AP and Anti-Cleft reconstruct essentially the pre-movement structures in logical form, and CCR applies to the output of the reconstruction rules. My data can thus be fitted into the model given either (b) or (c); both (b) and (c), of course, reduce the empirical content of the claim that coref is determined solely by SS.
LINGUISTIC DATA FROM AGING AND DEMENTIA
Organized by L.K. Obler
Sunday, 27 December
8:00 - 11:00 p.m.
Ballroom C

This symposium will permit linguists and psycholinguists working with language data from healthy and dementing ("senile") elderly individuals to speak to each other and to LSA members about aspects of language behavior in these populations, treating theoretical issues of semantics, discourse, and pragmatics.

Developmental linguistics has focused on childhood when in fact language at the later end of life may be equally revealing of linguistic processes. Subtle changes in discourse style with healthy aging have been documented in the general population, as well as in literary authors (Obler, 1980). Lexicon is particularly vulnerable to deficit in healthy elderly people (Goodglass, 1980), as well as in elderly patients with a number of dementing diseases (commonly but misleadingly termed senility). The systematic nature of the breakdown (Schwartz et al., 1979) suggests that linguistic categories have a certain psychological reality, and that these linguistic categories reflect, in a hierarchical way, certain non-linguistic cognitive structures. One can study, for example, the psychological reality of semantic features, or the distinctions between production grammars and receptive grammars and among linguistic levels such as phonology, morphology, lexicon, syntax, and discourse.

Since language dissolution in the dementias shares, in reverse, certain features of language development in the child, it is worth studying from the perspective of Jakobson's regression hypothesis (Jakobson, 1941). Differences between the child's language and that of dementing patients can be documented, however (Schwartz et al., 1979; de Ajuriaguerra and Tissot, 1975). Thus via research on patients with dementing diseases, one may explore the interaction of linguistic abilities with general cognitive abilities (Hayles, in press).

What the dementing diseases provide that the aphasias do not, is the possibility of documenting the process of language deterioration, as compared to the sudden onset of aphasic disabilities. Aphasia has been the more studied field to date, for demographic reasons which are changing. As the average age of our population increases and the incidence of stroke, a major producer of aphasia, decreases, aphasic patients are more difficult to find, while dementing patients become more numerous. For those linguists who are convinced that study of language development and breakdown provides a crucial testing ground for linguistic theory, the study of language in aging and dementia is the obvious one. The proposed symposium will provide the first opportunity for those of us currently working in the field to respond to each other's work, and to expose the linguistic community at large to the linguistic issues one may profitably address through study of language in aging and dementia.

The papers of the symposium will focus on aspects of lexicon, discourse, comprehension, and metalinguistic skills in healthy elderly individuals and in patients with several dementing diseases. In addition, videotapes will be presented to demonstrate the progression of linguistic deterioration in Alzheimer's Disease.
L.K. OBLER, Boston University School of Medicine, Boston VA Aphasia Research Center

Linguistic data from aging and dementia

In the late 19th century, as aphasia was recognized to pertain to a delimited language syndrome, the various dementing diseases were reclassified from purely psychiatric disorders to diseases reflecting organic brain lesions. Linguistic study over the past century has focussed on the similarities and differences between the language syndromes of dementia and those of the aphasias and of healthy aging. In each of these conditions discourse, naming, comprehension, repetition, and pragmatics are impaired to various degrees. Syntax and phonology are relatively spared, although recent work demonstrates that meaning-bearing syntax is more prone to dissolution than is formal syntax. To open the symposium, this paper will describe the progressive changes in language use associated with healthy aging (discourse and lexicon in particular) and contrast them with related difficulties of the aphasias and the dementia. Videotapes will be presented of patients with Alzheimer’s Disease, most interesting of the dementing diseases from the linguist’s perspective. The characteristic progression of the disease from anoma to fluent empty speech, to jargon-filled and then automatic speech will be briefly illustrated, as will errors of comprehension and lexical selection.

M.F. SCHWARTZ, University of Pennsylvania
E.M. SAPPFRA, Temple University
S. WILLIAMSON, Temple University

The breakdown of lexicon in Alzheimer’s dementia

In a subset of patients with Alzheimer’s dementia language involvement is early and profound, manifesting as an impairment in the lexicalization of concrete concepts. Our research strategy is to submit this group of patients to experimental procedures aimed at the further elucidation of this naming problem: (1) to assess lexical semantic knowledge in these patients who have so much difficulty generating verbal labels; (2) to determine the status of object concepts outside the verbal domain. Findings will be presented which point to an interaction between non-verbal cognitive breakdown in dementia, and the inability to label objects with appropriate names. Our results indicate that access to semantic features is systematically lost so that the extensial scope of concrete nouns is inappropriately broadened. The pattern of this loss will be charted for three patients who have been studied over several years. In a companion paper (“The dissolution of discourse in Alzheimer’s disease”) the changing structure of spoken communication will be analyzed for these same selected cases.

S. WILLIAMSON, University of Pennsylvania
M.F. SCHWARTZ, University of Pennsylvania

The dissolution of discourse in Alzheimer’s disease

In this paper we will characterize the dissolution of spontaneous speech in three Alzheimer’s patients with documented semantic loss. The patients are at varying stages of language breakdown. We will discuss the nature of their language attrition over time, with analyses of changes in discourse patterns, intelligibility, and syntactic structure. We will also consider the effect of varying contexts on their spoken output. The discussion will take into account the various claims in the literature concerning the relative preservation of syntactic and phonological operations in the face of severely impaired lexical knowledge in dementia. The characterization of language breakdown will be evaluated against the following models of language dissolution: 1. With increasing loss of semantic specification, the patient’s language begins to resemble neologistic dementia, including perseveration and semantic repetitions. The burden of spoken communication is taken over by a semi-autonomous syntactic/phonological processor; 2. There is a progression toward the parrot, automatic, stereotypic, and less informative elements of language, possibly ending in mutism; 3. There is an overall simplification of the language system, resembling a pidginization process.
theoretical category has been even further relaxed: this has led to such an example of this is generative grammar. The theory of the sentence itself, and the other theory leads to the establishment of the fundamental opposition of the basic Saussurean notion that the structure of language is that of an instrument of communication. Each morphological unit is the signal of a meaning, and the signal-meaning pairs combine into structures that together make up the instrument as a whole. There is no syntax, and the Symposium, this point is supported by analysis of individual analyses that provide coverage of a much wider range of data. In this paper deals with the distributions of the clitic direct object pronouns je (la, le, los) and indirect object pronouns lui (leur) in French. The actual use of these pronouns differs considerably from what the notions direct and indirect object lead one to expect. Examples of such discrepancies are use of the indirect object pronoun (lui) to indicate, particularly with body parts, and its use to indicate the direct object of verbs like abôître 'obey', plaire 'please', faire 'hurt'. We propose that lui and le are members of an opposition which gives information concerning a property or value; for example, le me donne 'I give him it', where the recipient (lui) is clearly participating more in the 'giving' than is the thing given (la). The hypothesis both will be supported by statistical analyses between inverted order and independent contextual factors suggesting low degree of control of an activity (e.g. the verb). Nomative indicates that its word is In Focus; the others, that theirs are Not in Focus. In the above order, they indicate degree of control of the activity. Ii hic facilis est persuasum, quasi...
KATHLEEN MOORE, Columbia University

A four member focus system in Finnish

In Finnish, four different endings are associated with the logical subject and the logical object alike. For example, The boy-1 read the book-2. The boy-2 must read the book-1. The boys-3 must read the books-3. Boys-4 stand in the corridor. The boy was reading a book-4. This criss-cross between grammatical categories and morphology has not led to an abandonment of the categories. Recent analyses have pointed out the inadequacies of the subject as a category, but Finnish linguists in general accept the notions of subject and object as given.

Here it is proposed that the four endings are best accounted for by a system of Focus indicating four degrees of concentration of attention. These would be applicable to the agent and patient equally, as appropriate, and to other items as well. The level of focus selected would be determined by such variables as definiteness of the referent and importance in the context, as well as by the amount of attention paid to a more or less active role in the verbal action.

It will be shown that the use of the "nominative" for the subject of an active verb, for the object of the imperative, and for the object of an impersonal verb are all instances of an appropriate degree of concentration of attention. The analysis concludes that what appear to be disparate uses of these endings are, in fact, exploitations of single meanings.

TAKASHI AOYAMA, Columbia University

Free-floating focus in Japanese

Within the traditional analysis of Japanese, two morphemes wa and ga mark a category of "subject". This dual-subject arrangement has sometimes been separated into a subject indicated by ga and a topic indicated by wa. Other instances of the two particles are, however, either ignored or regarded as homonyms: wa can be used where one would expect the accusative, the dative, the genitive, the locative, etc.; in addition, it can be used as an "adverbial particle", combined with various parts of speech in the sentence, and as an end-of-sentence particle. Ga can appear where the accusative is expected, and can be a "conjunctive particle" between clauses as well as a "conjunction" when used at the beginning of a sentence.

Here, we propose that 1) wa and ga are signals in a grammatical system of Focus with the meanings High and Low Focus; 2) wa and ga are not limited to "subject" position, but place Focus wherever they occur; 3) specific strategies of usage exploit the two meanings, from which are derived a variety of messages. Thus our hypothesis unifies the traditionally fragmented treatment of wa and ga, and eliminates the need to posit homonyms.

Also, it turns out that "subject" plays such a minor role in our analysis of wa and ga as to cast doubt on the characterization of Japanese in terms of the prominence of subject and/or topic.

abstracts of the American Association for Applied Linguistics
RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SPOKEN AND WRITTEN LANGUAGE

DEBORAH TANNEN, Georgetown University

Spoken and written discourse as overlapping phenomena

Recent research has focused on two hypotheses about spoken vs. written language. The first is that written language is decontextualized, while spoken language is highly context-bound. The second is that spoken discourse establishes cohesion through paralinguistic and nonverbal cues, while written relies more on lexicalization and complex syntactic structures. I suggest here that the first hypothesis has been an artifact of the data chosen: face to face conversation for spoken language, and written expository prose for written. The differences grow out of the genres and communicative goals: relative focus on content vs. interpersonal involvement. The second hypothesis, on the other hand, indeed grows out of the spoken vs. written modes per se. Written creative fiction furnishes examples of highly contextualized written language, and also recreates the effects of paralinguistic cues in writing.

The present paper draws on research by others as well as my own comparing spoken and written narratives to demonstrate that strategies associated with spoken language can be found in written modes, and that strategies that have been associated with written language can be found in spoken modes. In particular, it investigates the contradictory claims by Chafe (in press) that written language is more complex and by Halliday (nd) that spoken language is more complex.

SUSAN U. PHILIPS, University of Alaska

Strategies of clarification in judges’ use of language

The purpose of this paper is to describe the way in which judges transform criminal defendants’ written constitutional rights in their spoken review of those rights when the defendant pleads guilty to a crime. Attention focuses on two aspects of this process: its relevance for our understanding of the general and situation-specific relations between written and spoken language, and its relevance for our understanding of the general and specific nature of ‘simplified registers’ (Ferguson). The analysis is based on transcripts of tape recordings of courtroom interaction. The features that characterize the judges’ verbal transformations of the written include syntactic simplification and expansion, lexical substitutions, re-arrangement of the order and relationships within and between each constitutional right, elaboration of information, and a set of features associated with direct address. The relative syntactic simplicity of the judges’ speech is consistent with other studies’ (Ochs, Chafe, Tannen) finding that spoken speech is less syntactically complex than written speech. The other features may be characteristic of verbal explanations of written information in bureaucratic settings. Syntactic simplicity is also a characteristic of other simplified registers. In other respects, judges’ speech is unlike the simplified registers directed to language learners.

JANET R. GILBERT

From speaking sense to writing skill

This study explores relationships between speaking and writing in English to determine what differences exist between these modes and what phenomena these differences represent. Texts of the lenguaging of college freshmen were collected in essay, monologue, and dialogue mode-forms and analyzed by methods used in comparative language study. One set of findings shows that speaking and writing modes do exhibit significant differences in the kinds of information they convey. Each kind of information, although classified semantically, was conveyed by characteristic lexigrammatical and behavioral forms. Another set of findings shows that speaking and writing differ in the amount of naming in each and in the extensions of structures into sentences. Also, behavioral forms that express initiative-taking and solidarity-building differ between modes. The kinds of information and their representative forms that differ between speaking and writing express time relationships; the naming, structural extension, and behavioral forms that differ express space relationships. Thus, the lexigrammatical and behavioral form differences in speaking and writing encode the different relationships of speakers and writers to time and space.
Comprehension and production in spoken language are known to be very different processes. In written language, as seen for example, by the deficits in Broca's and Wernicke's aphasia. In the case of Broca's aphasia, there is good comprehension in spite of gross grammatical deficits, while Wernicke's aphasia shows poor comprehension in spite of the retention of grammatical skills. For reading and writing we have a similar neurolinguistic distinction which has, we argue, profound implications for the teaching of writing. Redundancy in language allows reading and listening comprehension to be fairly successful without full mastery of the code, whereas writing requires greater competence and integration of linguistic skills. We discuss the neurolinguistic foundations of the writing process using several types of evidence, both clinical and experimental (such as aphasia, dyslexia, and dysgraphia studies, EEG data, blood flow studies, etc.), and develop criteria for evaluating various methods of teaching writing.

ANDI DRAISS, Pennsylvania State University, Baptist Hospital of Miami

Literacy and aphasia in adults

The four major language modalities in humans are auditory comprehension, verbal expression, reading comprehension, and written expression. When an adult suffers a neurological trauma that results in a language disorder, there is a broad range of pathological behaviors that can occur, each affecting one or more of these modalities to different degrees. In addition, isolated impairments in each of the modalities have been documented (e.g., pure word deafness, Balint's syndrome, aphagmatic). This paper will focus on the discussion of issues focusing on auditory, cognitive skills, and recovery in aphasia. It is based on actual case studies of aphasic individuals. In a population of 32 aphasic participants in speech-language therapy for impairments suffered in cerebral vascular accidents, 7 were semi-literate and 2 were illiterate. Given the performance of these aphasics in therapy compared to the others, several observations were made relating to the following issues: 1) the facilitation of language recovery with visual language stimulation; 2) 'motivation' vs. capability in the aphasic individual for rehearsing visual language skills; 3) effects of literacy on language recovery in aphasia; and 4) the necessity of developing distinct strategies for language therapy procedures based on oral vs. literate tradition.

JEANNETTE K. GUNDER, University of Minnesota

Spoken vs. written language: Effects on second language acquisition

This paper reports on the initial stages of an investigation of the effect of differences in spoken vs. written language input on second language acquisition by speakers of the same first language background. Schachter and Rutherford (1980) observe that compositions written by Japanese learners of English are characterized by 'overproduction' of extraposed sentences like it is likely that the secretary resigned and by a unique error type that results from violation of grammatical restrictions on the syntactic environment in which these can occur. It is the very important thing that the computer can remember. They attribute these facts to an overgeneralization of the new information introduced function of such constructions. This explanation is plausible given the fact that written English is generally not used in any single discourse function. Written English produced by two groups of learners will be analyzed. Based on the different discourse functions of extraposition in spoken and written English and on the assumption that second language input constrains the hypotheses that learners construct in acquiring a second language, we expect overgeneralization of extraposition to be more prevalent in the group whose input has been primarily from the written language.

RANVEY AINSWORTH, Michigan State University

Structure and purpose in Spanish narratives

Michaelis and Cook-Gumperz (1979) have suggested that oral narrative structure of black children may be 'topic-chaining,' as opposed to 'topic-centered' narrative structure of white children; that this difference causes misunderstandings between black children and white teachers; and that such differences might lead to difficulties in producing written narratives which would meet mainstream expectations. The present study attempts to compare the discourse structure of oral Spanish narratives with the discourse structures of native speakers of English. The paradigm developed by Labov (1972) from oral narratives of native speakers of English was used. Fifty-two narratives were gathered from ten Spanish speakers ranging in age from 19 to 63, all of whom were native speakers of Spanish. The narratives were transcribed and subsequently analyzed for the presence of discourse elements and processes, but to differ in the uses to which they are put, and the degree to which each is successfully used. Spanish and English narratives were found to have much in common in regard to discourse elements and processes, but to differ in the uses to which they are put, and the degree to which each is successfully used. Spanish and English narratives were found to have much in common in regard to discourse elements and processes, but to differ in the uses to which they are put, and the degree to which each is successfully used. Spanish and English narratives were found to have much in common in regard to discourse elements and processes, but to differ in the uses to which they are put, and the degree to which each is successfully used. Spanish and English narratives were found to have much in common in regard to discourse elements and processes, but to differ in the uses to which they are put, and the degree to which each is successfully used. Spanish and English narratives were found to have much in common in regard to discourse elements and processes, but to differ in the uses to which they are put, and the degree to which each is successfully used.