INTRODUCTORY NOTE

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

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance provided by the LSA Program Committee (Jacquelyn Schachter, Chair, Joan Bybee, George Cardona, Joseph Grimes, Ivan Sag, Sanford Schane and Tim Stowell) and the AAAL Program Committee (Thomas Scovel, Chair, Merrill Swain, G. Richard Tucker and Albert Valdman). We especially appreciate the help which has been given by the San Diego Local Arrangements Committee (Sanford A. Schane, Chair, Penelope Borax, Laurel Owensby, Mary Ellen Shankland, Yasu-Hiko Tohsaku and Charlotte Webb).

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

LSA Secretariat
December 1982

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GENERAL MEETING INFORMATION

- **Book Exhibit**
  There will be an exhibit of linguistic publications in the Palomar Ballroom. The Exhibit is scheduled to be open during the following hours:
  - Tues 28 December: 10:00 am - 2:00 pm
  - Wed 29 December: 10:00 am - 2:00 pm
  - Thurs 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 Copy Service**
  As a service to those attending this meeting, each author on the program is invited to provide the Paper Copying Service with a reproducible copy of his or her paper. Submission of such a copy should be accompanied by authorization to reproduce it upon request for anyone at the meeting. Orders may be placed for copies in the San Fernando Room during the following hours:
  - Tues 28 December: 8:00 am - 4:00 pm
  - Wed 29 December: 8:00 am - 4:00 pm
  In addition, the Service will be open on Thursday from 8:00 am until 12 noon to allow members to pick up orders placed on Tuesday or Wednesday.

- **Job Placement Center**
  A Job Placement Center will be set up in the San Diego Room during the Annual Meeting. On 28 and 29 December the Service will be open from 8:30 am to 6:00 pm. It will also be open honoring the following distinguished women from 9:00 am until noon on 30 December. Linguistics: Margarette Durand, Eil of openings will be available and the staff members will arrange interviews between the applicants and the employers. Interveners are asked to have a schedule that has been made available and check in with the Service on 28 December from 8:00-11:30 PM in the Laguna Ballroom.

- **Dinners**
  The San Diego Local Arrangements Committee has invited members interested in the Southern California area to act as escorts for small groups of members wishing to dine together at 7:00 pm on the evening of 29 December. Those wishing to participate should review the form posted in the registration area where the name of the restaurant, the type of food and the approximate cost of a meal will be indicated. Sign-up sheets will be provided for each restaurant.

- **National Science Foundation**
  Paul Chapin, Program Director for Linguistics at the Foundation, will meet with interested members in the Gamay Room at the following hours:
  - Tues 28 December: 10:00 am - 11:00 am
  - Wed 29 December: 4:00 pm - 5:00 pm
  - Thurs 30 December: 10:00 am - 11:00 am

- **Cash Bars**
  A cash bar will be held in the Harbor Terrace Room on 28 December from 5:00-6:30 pm.

HIGHLIGHTS

- **27 December**
  - **Distinguished Women in 20th Century Linguistics**
  - **Thursday, 27 December**
  - **American Association for Applied Linguistics**
    - **Wednesday, 29 December**
    - **French Association for Applied Linguistics**
      - **Wednesday, 29 December**
    - **Monday, 26 December**
      - **American Association for Applied Linguistics**

- **Department and Program Chairs Meeting**
  A meeting of chairs of departments and programs has been scheduled 8:00-9:00 AM in the Gamay 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 Wednesday, 29 December in the Laguna Ballroom at 1:30 PM immediately preceding the LSA Business Meeting. Dr. Manjari Chaha will chair this meeting. All members are invited to attend and encouraged to partake in the discussions.

- **LSA Business Meeting**
  This year the Business Meeting has been scheduled in the Laguna Ballroom from 2:00 - 4:45 PM. This meeting will be chaired by Dell Hymes, LSA President. The members of the Resolutions Committee are Leonard Newmark, Chair; Paul Friedrich and Elizabeth Glass Traftett. The rules for motions and resolutions appear on page XI.

- **1982 Presidential Address**
  Dell Hymes, the 1982 LSA President will deliver his Presidential Address at 4:45 PM in the Laguna Ballroom. The address is entitled "The Language of Myth".

- **Fund for the Future of Linguistics**
  The formal inauguration of the LSA Fund for the Future of Linguistics will take place immediately following the Presidential Address in the Harbor Terrace Room. All members are urged to attend and support this activity of the Society.

- **Poetry Reading**
  A public poetry reading by linguists-poets, of their own work, will be held at 8:00 PM in the G杓maya Room of the Sheraton Harbor Island Hotel.
Program:

Monday evening, 27 December

Distinguished Women in Twentieth Century Linguistics

Sponsor: Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics
Chair: Jacquelyn Schachter

Laguna Room

7:00 Introductory Remarks, Jane H. Hill, Wayne S.U.

7:05 John Ohala, U CA-Berkeley: Marjorie Durand

7:25 Arthur S. Abramson, U CT and Haskins Laboratories: Eli Fischer-Jorgensen

7:45 Mona Lindeau, UCLA: Kerstin Hadding

8:05 Jean Berko Gleason, Boston U: Ruth Hirsch Weir

8:25 Robin Tolmach Lakoff, U CA-Berkeley: Adelaide Hahn

8:45 Sally McInerney, Hunter C, CUNY: Mary R. Haas

9:05 Discussion


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28 December, 1982

Laguna Room

Bilingualism and Language Planning

9:00 JOSH ARD (University of Michigan): A differential perspective for second language acquisition studies

9:20 JOSE CONCAVALVES (Georgetown University): A comparative look at topical development in the acquisition of Portuguese as a second language in classroom interactions and in naturalistic conversations

9:40 CINDY GREENBERG (Cuny Graduate Center): Word stress in second language acquisition

10:00 BRUCE CRONELL (SWRL): Syntactic and semantic deviations in the English writing of third and sixth-grade Mexican-American students

10:20 SYLVIA GALAMROS (Yale): Effects of bilingualism on the conceptualization of grammaticality

10:40 JOANNE DEVINE (Skidmore College): Conversational Principles: Evidence from Spanish speakers

11:00 FRANK BRANDON (UNICAMP): Cultural factors and the microcomputer in the production of a bilingual dictionary

11:20 GEORGANNE WELLER (University of Delaware): Bilingualism and language planning: The present state of affairs in Mexico

11:40 DAVID JEUDA (Florida International University): Language policy and language planning in the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam

Invited Speaker

2:00 G. RICHARD TUCKER (Center for Applied Linguistics): Directions for research within the context of bilingual programs

Topics of General Interest

3:00 SUZANNE JACOBS (University of Hawaii): The acquisition of modes of cohesion by child writers

3:20 GROVER HUDSON (Michigan State University): How abstract is interlanguage phonology?

3:40 ROANN ALTMAN (USC): Interlanguage modality

4:00 MADELINE MAXWELL (University of Texas): Acquisition of English bound morphemes in sign form

4:20 BRONSTEIN & STEWART (CUNY): Applied linguistics and the responsibilities of the urban university

5:00 AAAL Annual Business Meeting
10:20 Shavna (SUNY-Albany) & Nancy M. Yankofsky (Geo Mason 0): On a Meaning of Productive "Re-

1:20 Grover Hudson (OK St): Arabic Noncategorial Morpho-

2:40 David Sager: Re-investigation and Its Relation to

3:00 Harriet Magen (Yale U/Hebrew Lab) & Sharon Samuel (Yale U/Hebrew Lab): Auditory Recognition of Morpho-

3:30 Break

3:50 Per-Erik Halvorsen (Norwegian Council Comp Conr Mans) & Meg Wiltschke (Stanford U): Morphological and Pro-

4:40 Robert K. Herbert (Yale/Singharam): Southern Bantu Palatalization: Evidence from Apha-

4:40 Gary (OH St) & New Wallace (OH St): Lexical Retsedence, Head of a Word, and the Misanalysis

10:40 Jeff Kaplan (SO S U /): Observation

11:40 A. Zeman (Harvard U) & J. H. Mbii (France U): Passive and Oblique Case

11:00 Donald J. Mithofer (U MD) : Interpretaion of Linguistic Ve
tical French Inalienable Possession

9:00 Brian (Harvard U): Kophologica-

10:00 Alldrew (Harvard U): Mand Tense in Linguistic

10:30 J. A. Zaenen (Harvard U) & J. H. Mbi (France U): Passive and Oblique Case

10:40 Margaretta A. Nahler (Harvard U): Spatial De
definitions of the Two French Appositive Case

11:00 William J. Ashby (UCSB): The Elision of /j/ in French

4:20 Luana: Inspread and Oblique Case

5:30 Brian (Harvard U) & New Wallace (OH St): Lexical Retesedence, Head of a Word, and the Misanalysis

2:00 Nancy S. Lewis (SUNY-Albany) & Nancy M. Yankofsky (Geo Mason 0): On a Meaning of Productive "Re-

2:20 Grover Hudson (OK St): Arabic Noncategorial Morpho-

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tical French Inalienable Possession

9:00 Brian (Harvard U): Kophologica-
**Wednesday, 29 December 1982**

**Morning**

**SEMINAR**

Chair: Jocelyn White
Room: C (Chablah Room)

9:00 Barbara Abbott (UH SU): An Approach to Natural Language Semantics
9:45 Ruth M. Kangas (U PA): Negativity, ambiguity and the Semantics-Pragmatics Distinction
10:00 Frank Katz (Georgetown U): How are Quantifiers Semantically Interrelated?
10:15 Richard Sanzio (UH SU): The Semantics of Group Level Relative Clauses with Multiple Manda
11:00 Nancy B. Levin (SUNY-Albany) & Ellen F. Prince (U PA): Capping and Causal Implicatures
11:30 Laurence R. North (Yale U): Metalinguistic Negation and Pragmatic Ambiguity

**SYNTH-MORPHOLOGY INTERCHANGE**

Chair: Robert Underhill
Room: D (Goya Room)

9:00 Geoffrey K. Pullum (UCSC) & Arnold M. Zorczy (OH SU): The Syntact-Phonological Boundary and Current Syntactic Theories
9:45Edit Dorn (U TX-Austin): Subject Citations in Semantics
10:05 Melissa Amidor (Alaska Native Language Center U): Incorporation in Nukluk Athabaskan
10:25 David Tuggy (U of Oregon):avoiding emotive/exclamatory expressions in Grammar
10:45 Ellen M. Enesli (U VT-South): Citations and Extrinsic Sandhi
11:05 Victoria Bergwall & John Wilson (Harvard U): Noun Class Concord as a Pragmatics Relation
11:25 Johan Seymanes (U CT) & Lori Davis (U CT): Dutch Passive Formation

**BILINGUALISM/SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION**

Chair: Jilg Wongsilaw
Room: C (Chablah Room)

9:00 John Russell Ritchford (Stanford U): The Have and Have Not: Problems in the Study of (North-) Linguistic Comparisons
9:45 Genevieve J. Enloe (U MN): Create as Prestige Variety in Belize
10:05 Susan Rent-Salguero (Purdue U): Consonant on Spanish-Chewer Intrasentential Code-switching
10:25 William J. Samovit (U Toronto): The Curious Case of the Monga Gopul
10:45 Richard Lasz (U U-Venezuela): L2 Learners’ Lex Pragmatism in Assigning Asphorapha
11:00 P. Connell (New England U) & F. Schoen (U W-Buffalo): A Study of Comprehension/Production of the (sh/)/h/ Contrast by Arabic Learners of English
11:50 Roan Almy (U SC) & William Rutherford (U SC): Control Word Order & L2 Acquisition

**PHONETICS II**

Chair: Jilg Wongsilaw
Room: F (Laguna Room)

9:00 George P. McCasland: Place of Articulation as a Distinctive Feature of Primitives
9:40 Patricia Kastig (UCCLA) & Wendy Linder (UCCLA): Patterns in Allomorph Distribution for Voiced and Voiceless Stops
10:00 Marianna Foskura (U U): A Phonetic Study of Voiceless Intervals in Modern Greek
10:20 Karen L. Landahl (U Chicago) & Edith M. Resnik (UH): The Stop/ Glide Contrast and Considerations of Phonetic Test
10:40 Patricia Sproll Bednor (U MN): Phonetic Effects of Nasalization on Vowel Height
11:00 Gerald D. Lane (U TX-Austin): Exploring the Stress-Adv from Voice
11:20 Deborah Schaffer (OH SU): The Role of Inversion as a Cue to Turn Taking in Conversation
11:40 Rachel Schaffer (OH SU): Vocal Cue for German in English

**Afternoon**

**COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN LINGUISTICS**

Chair: Jill Hyman

Resolution Committee: Leonard Newmark, Paul Friedrich, Elisabeth C. Traugott

The following rules for motions and resolutions were prepared by William J. Gedney and Ilene K. Klements 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 LSA 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 membership.

2. **PROCEDURE REGARDING MOTIONS.**

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

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

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

2d. If a member wishes to introduce a motion, the following steps will be the procedure in advance of the meeting at which the motion is to be introduced with a request that the Executive Committee consider the introduction of the motion at the business meeting as a motion initiated by the Executive Committee (see 2b above).

3. **PROCEDURE REGARDING RESOLUTIONS.**

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

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

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

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

4:45 Presidential Address: The Language of Myth

Dell Hyman

6:00 Fund for the Future of Linguistics
### SEMANTICS & PRAGMATICS

**Chair:** Jack Hawkins  
**Room:** B (Deborah Room)

- **9:00** Larry Corbett (UI/NTID): HumanCN LAI: Some Syntax and Pragmatics of Inheritance  
- **9:40** Female Naming (U Gb-Berkley): The Semantic Rule of the Numeral Classifier in Japanese  
- **10:00** Ronald F. Schaefer (U Minn): Some Characteristic Lexicalization Types in Twana  
- **10:20** Gary B. Palmer (U MO): Non-Universals in the Anatomical Nomenclature of Cears D'Alene  
- **10:40** Barbara Johnstone Esch (IN U - Purdue U at Fort Wayne): Arabic Lexical Couplets and the Evolution of Spoonerism  
- **11:00** Scott Dukanczyk (U OH): Agentivity and Causation: Data from Dari (Afkharpana)  
- **11:20** Laurence Horn (Yale U) & Samuel Bower (Yale U): Short-Circuited Implicatures: A Negative Contribution  
- **11:40** Ellen P. Prince (U PA): A Comparison of Topicalization and Left Dislocation in Discourse

### SYNTAX: EXTRACTIVE PHENOMENA

**Chair:** John E. Brown  
**Room:** B (Margery Room)

- **9:00** Peter A. Mocholiis (Ucknow U): Transformations of English Idioms  
- **9:20** Kanti Wall (Syracuse U): Argument from Multiple Headed Correlatives  
- **9:40** Laura Stone (U TX-Austin) & Helen Goodluck (U TX-Austin): Knowledge of Islands in Online Sentence Processing (Withdrawn)  
- **10:00** Daniel L. Pinker (U PA): The Representation of Across-the-Board Extractions  
- **10:20** John Hennessy (OC S U): "Phantoms" and German Presencing: Politegnet Constituents?  
- **10:40** Hans Vorwerk (U Int): Topicalization in Standard German  
- **11:00** James Pruszynsky (U PA): Turkish Relative Clauses and the Role of the Stoiding Theory  
- **11:20** Catherine Rusin (Wayne St C): Movement, Binding, and Island Conditions in Bulgarian Relative Clauses  
- **11:40** Craig Tucker (Wayne St C): Gapping, Double Compositions and LF  
- **12:00** Mark E. Beths (NY U): Extraposition Rules and Discontinuous Constituents  
- **12:20** Robert Channon (U Chicago): Some Evidence on the Question of RAISING from Bulgarian

### SIGN LANGUAGE

**Chair:** Ursula Bellugi  
**Room:** C (Deborah Room)

- **9:00** Geoffrey R. Coulter (Northeastern U): On the Monosyllabic Nature of American Sign Language  
- **9:20** Brenda Wilbur (Purdue U): A Multi-tiered Syllabic Structure for ASL  
- **9:40** Rachel Mayberry (Northeastern U) & Susan Tucker (Northeastern U): Remembering Sentences in American Sign Language After Twenty-Five Years  
- **10:00** Madeline Maxwell (U TX-Austin): Acquisition of English Bond Morphemes in Sign Form  
- **10:20** Susan Fischer (North Carolina) & Robert Johnson (Calandra C): Nominal Markers in American Sign Language

### SOCIOLOGY

**Chair:** Anthony Harr  
**Room:** D (Dynamite Room)

- **9:00** John Victor Ringler (UCLA) & Rikillars Himelmann (U Munich): Exonuative Proverbs in Relative Clauses in Non-Native Liberian English  
- **9:20** John Seung (U TX-Austin): Variable Aspects of Chinese English  
- **9:40** George T. Duriel (Ninthrop C): A Comparison of the Stressed Vowels of Black and White Speakers in the South  
- **10:00** Maryellen Garcia (Nat. Orch. Billing, Bah): The Case of Enclitics: Spanish Language Variation in a Border Community  
- **10:20** Gordon M. Wenzel (Cornell U): Lexical Rearticulation in a Greek Romany Dialect  
- **10:40** Walter F. Edwards (Wayne St C): Creole Vernaculars and the Social-Cultural Matrix  
- **11:00** John W. Ringler (UCLA): Where Did Liberian English Come From?  
- **11:20** Julianne Naber (NY U/Varick C): Sociolinguistic Factors in the Direction of Language Change

### FIRST LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

**Chair:** Ann M. Peters  
**Room:** E (League Room)

- **9:00** Marilyn A. Maches, Charles A. Ferguson, Beth Miller & Marilyn H. Vilain (Stanford U): Key Developments in the Child's Symbolic Capacity. (Withdrawn)  
- **9:20** Anne Bulaus (Max-Planck-Inst): An Implicational Hierarchy in the Emergence of Elloctionary Acts  
- **9:40** N. Chiara Kountze (U Padova) & Vanda L. Zimmer (U Padova): Semantic Disciplinaries Introduced in Children's Discourse  
- **10:00** Banda Malford (Instit Child Dev) & Magaret Pelismir (U Iceland): An Extensive Use of Presentive Pronouns in Icelandic Child Language  
- **10:20** B. Lott, B. Clark, H. Beldz, C. Clark (Cornell U/Amex U-Calico): Fast Language Acquisition of Anaphors in Arabic: The Roles of Configuration and Linearity  
- **10:40** Cathy A. Rubanks (IN U): Voice Onset Time Characteristics of Mothers' Speech

### ABSTRACTS of regular papers

- **9:00** Frank Bong & Delphine Wheeler (Cornington U): Moras and Syllabic Structure in Loganda  
- **9:20** Todd Borowsky (U PA): Gribbling the Syllable  
- **9:40** Michael Sandford (UCLA & MIT): On the Directionality of the Style Switch  
- **10:00** Gregory C. Elscher (U CA-San Diego): The Phonological Strategy of Lexical Borrowing in Modern Icelandic  
- **10:20** Kathleen Nollman (U MN): Is Intercultural Policing A Natural Rule?  
- **10:40** Daniel A. Dittrich (IN U/Kell Lake): Abstract Phonetic Implementation Rules and Word-Final Devoicing in Canadian  
- **11:00** Jon Amato (U TX-El Paso): Spanish Steps and Fricatives  
- **11:20** James W. Harris (MIT): Spanish Syllabification as an Antisegmental Assimilation Rule
STATEMENT FROM THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE

The abstracts which appear in this Meeting Handbook are photocopies of the originals submitted to the LSA Program Committee. Infelicities of style, grammar, punctuation and spelling are the responsibility of the authors.

BARBARA ABBOTT, Michigan State University

An Approach to Natural Language Semantics

A sketch of a formal style natural language semantics is presented whose content, for any natural language, is based on what is in the heads of its speakers. Belief systems, or collections of incomplete world models, play an essential role. Propositions are defined as sets of possible belief systems. Solutions are presented to 2 problems concerning belief sentences. (1) First person beliefs: my belief that I am shabby can be distinguished from my belief that the person in the mirror is shabby, where I am the person in the mirror, assuming belief systems contain a concept of the self, as such. (2) Pierre puzzles: Pierre's belief system contains 2 concepts of London. He associates different propositions with "London is pretty" and 'Londres est joli". A step is taken toward solving the problem of beliefs about necessary truths—they express different propositions wherever belief systems allow this differentiation. The approach is compared with situation semantics, and residual problems are discussed.

1Cf. Lewis, "Attitudes de dicto and de se", Phil. Rev. (1979); Perry, "The problem of the essential indexical", Nous (1979), and works cited there.

JAMES D. ALEXANDER, University of Wisconsin

Easter Island Polynesian: An Incomplete Active Language

It can be shown that Easter Island Polynesian is an accusative language, one which marks subjects of transitive verbs and of intransitive verbs with null and objects of transitive verbs with S. In this respect it conforms to Polanyi's classification of Eastern Polynesian languages. Since EAS verbs are morphologically invariant, the language has no overt passive, but evidence of a passive with an a-marked agent does exist. The free word order of the language allows passive constructions to be interpreted as active ones. This ambiguity sets the conditions for re-analysis of passive constructions as active constructions, a re-analysis which Chung (1978) identifies as incipient ergativity for Polynesian languages. Other syntactic phenomena in EAS (which caused Chapin and others to remark on its chaotic case-marking) include optionally using a-agentive for subjects of active intransitive verbs and optionally not using the i- accusative marker for objects of active transitive verbs. These and other phenomena suggest that EAS lies, in its case-marking system, between accusative and active (as described for Georgian by Harris, 1982). The active system is, according to Dixon, a variant of the ergative one, or an incomplete ergative. The evidence suggests that EAS is therefore in transition to, or from, ergativity.

ANDREW S. ALLEN, University of Tennessee

VP and NP Compound Nouns in French

As Goosse (1975) shows, French verb-complement compounds lack the determiner required in sentential syntax, so that in cache-cole ("cover-neck") 'scarf' the noun cole lacks the article found in gilemante la cole 'she covers her neck'. Moreover, the plural may be invariable as in les cache-coles 'the scarves' or marked as in les cache-poles. Such compounds occur without the je marker as in cache-cole or va-parieles ('goes barefoot') 'tramp'. But the pronoun is kept in the rarer forms like un je-cache-cole 'an I-don't-know-what' 'an indescribable something'. NP compounds show a parallel development where determiners and prepositions are deleted as in timbre-poste ('stamp-postoffice') 'postage stamp' instead of "timbre-la-le-poste ('stamp-of-the-postoffice'). The loss of case marking bars corresponds to the loss of person and number marking in the deverbal compounds. However, syntactic order is preserved, so that we do not find pol-cache or poste-timbre. Significantly, full forms of the noun and conjugated forms of the verb are used in compounds. Evidence from contemporary writing and current dictionaries shows an increasing number of such compounds and supports, for this part of the lexicon, the claim of word-based derivation (Aronoff 1980).
Research has shown that LI discourse features exert a more powerful and fundamental influence upon learners' written interlanguage (IL) than does LI syntax (Zobl 1982, Rutherford 1981). For example, there is abundant evidence that learners will readily transfer LI (diachronic) topic-comment structure but no evidence that they will transfer LI (syntactic) canonical word order. However, disallowed-permutations of L2 canonical word order do occur quite frequently, but apparently as the result not of grammatical but of pragmatic word order (PWO) characteristics (Thompson 1978) of the LI. We claim, therefore, that wherever LI manifests disallowed permutation of L2 canonical sentence form (e.g. VSO, SV0, SVO), the learner's LI will have a matching constituent order that derives from PWO. This claim has been investigated at the American Language Institute, USC, utilizing its very large written LI data base. The investigation focused on the written English production of learners whose native languages are typologically diverse and led to the formulation of the following hypothesis: For every instance of disallowed permutation of written English SVO produced by L2 English learners, there will be a grammatically allowed matching construction in the learner's LI that is a pragmatically determined rearrangement of that LI canonical word order. The hypothesis is supported by the data.

JON AMASTAE, University of Texas-El Paso

Spanish Stops and Fricatives

For this study 41 phonetic environments were identified, considering all possible combinations of preceding and following segments, including boundaries. A randomized list containing at least 5 exemplars of each environment was compiled. Renditions of the data from a socially diverse corpus of interviews I recorded in France. I shall provide no evidence that the record indicates a historical stop fricative result not of /1/ in third person clitic pronouns and definite articles (e.g. VSO, SV0, SVO, SVO), the learner's LI will have a matching constituent order that derives from PWO. This claim has been investigated at the American Language Institute, USC, utilizing its very large written LI data base. The investigation focused on the written English production of learners whose native languages are typologically diverse and led to the formulation of the following hypothesis: For every instance of disallowed permutation of written English SVO produced by L2 English learners, there will be a grammatically allowed matching construction in the learner's LI that is a pragmatically determined rearrangement of that LI canonical word order. The hypothesis is supported by the data.

WILLIAM J. ASHBY, University of California, Santa Barbara

The Elision of /1/ in French Clitic Pronouns and Articles

The elision of /1/ in third person clitic pronouns and definite articles (e.g. (1) vient 'he is coming'; (2) [la: campaign 'in the country'] in the French of Quebec has recently been the subject of several studies. While it is generally recognized that some /1/ elision also occurs in Continental French, the phenomenon has not been studied in detail, except as it pertains to Quebec French. The extent to which the elision is a phenomenon peculiar to that dialect has remained unclear. In an attempt to clarify this issue, in my paper I shall evaluate data from a socially diverse corpus of interviews I recorded in France. I shall demonstrate that /1/ elision is widespread in the clitic pronouns, but is more sporadic in the articles. I shall also show that the elision is constrained by a very complex set of relationships among various linguistic and social variables, and that the pattern of social stratification of the variation suggests that the loss of /1/ in the clitics is a linguistic change in progress.

ROXI ALTMAN, American Language Institute, University of Southern California

WILLIAM RUTHERFORD, American Language Institute, University of Southern California

Canonical Word Order and L2 Acquisition

Noun incorporation is a widespread process among American Indian languages. Discussion in recent years has centered on the restrictions governing a given stem's potential for incorporation and the implications for the logical or syntactic relationship between incorporate and verb. Incorporation in Koyukon Athabaskan in somewhat freer than in languages previously discussed. Data is presented to illustrate the range of incorporation possibilities. Some results contradict the assumption that animate nouns must be non-human in order to incorporate, body part incorporation (e.g., animate nouns function as subject) are examined. The relationship between the application of transitivity altering transformations and the marking of animate, animate, and reflexive possessors of incorporated nouns is discussed.

J. MARK R. BALTIM, New York University

Extraposition Rules and Discourse Constituents

McConkey (1982) proposes to allow phrase markers to represent discontinuous constituents by permitting brackets to cross. In line with this proposal, extraposition rules are analyzed as changing the order of elements but not the dominance relations, so that (1) an element extraposed out of a NP is still dominated by NP in derived structure. One prediction, explicitly noted by McConkey, is that extraposed and non-extraposed material will be susceptible to the same island constraints, insofar as these island constraints are formulated in terms of movement of NP. In this paper I will examine in which cases McConkey's prediction is falsified, since one can extract from non-extraposed NPs in certain cases, but one cannot extract from the extraposed versions. Hence, (1) who did you a picture of do? Is acceptable, while (2) who did you a picture to Sam do? is unacceptable. The contrast can be explained by invoking Chomsky's Empty Category Principle (Chomsky 1981), together with a notion of proper government such as the one in Baltin (1982), which requires that a properly governed element be co-commanded by the element that selects it at the underlying syntactic level, and that extraction is possible only from properly governed positions. In (1), the proposition of is governed by the noun of which it is a complement, and so extraction of the object is possible, while in (2), the extraposed PF is no longer co-commanded by the N, and so extraction is impossible.
Chicano English, along with other varieties of Hispanic English, have been analyzed with respect to several linguistic and demographical features (Carcia, 1981; Wald, 1982). The majority of this research has focused on the nature of bilingual code-switching. However, the region of the first formant centroid (computed by determining the center frequency of the first formant peak frequency, i.e. the first formant frequency), and there is evidence to suggest significant degrees of linguistic borrowing (see Wolfman, 1974). However, due to the bilingual foundations of Chicano English, the phonological and syntactical variation that is found is much greater than the relative degree of variation that exists for other nonstandard American English dialects.

The data for this study are drawn from previous analyses of Chicano Spanish and English, as well as interviews with Chicano in Los Angeles, San Antonio, and Austin.

PATRICK SPEETZ BEDIOD, University of Minnesota

Phonetic Effects of Nasalization on Vowel Height

This study investigates the role of auditory factors in the explanation of phonological tendencies involving nasalization and vowel height. The phonological patterns, which include both nasal vowel raising and lowering, are discussed by Schorrup (1973), Bhat (1975), Glotz (1975), Huelsen (1978), Wright (1980), and Beddor (1981). While acoustic-perceptual measures of nasalization patterns is suggested by previous experimental results (e.g. Hornstein, Stevens, 1956; Fant, 1960), few studies have analyzed normal, natural speech tokens of nasal vowels, in contrast to oral vowels, was broader, less intense, and occurred as extra low-frequency resonance, yielding consistent oral-nasal differences in first formant frequency. However, the region of the first spectral peak of nasal vowels, in contrast to oral vowels, was broader, less intense, and occurred as extra low-frequency resonance, yielding consistent oral-nasal differences in the frequency of the center of the first spectrally-prominent region. This frequency, i.e. the first formant centroid (computed by determining the center frequency of the area under a spectral curve), is generally higher for [a] than for [a], lower for [a] and to a lesser extent for [e] than for [e]. Moreover, these oral-nasal centroid differences correlate well with the phonological data; future research is necessary to determine the perceptual relevance of these differences.

VICTORIA BERNHARD, Harvard University

Noun Class Concord as a Pronominal Relation: Kikuyu Clitics

Bantu languages are traditionally cited as examples of strong agreement systems, exhibiting both subject(s) and object(s) concord. We argue that in at least one Bantu language, Kikuyu, these concord markers must be analyzed as clitic pronouns. Our evidence comes from asymmetries in the distribution of *s* and *o* "concord" prefixes on the verb. Phonological nouns are expressed as pronominal suffixes (ordered: S-Agreement-O-Agreement-Verb Stem...Tone), except in cases of strong emphasis (e.g. contrastive stress) or other marked grammatical functions (e.g. expression of a second object in a double object construction). When (full) NP appears in S position, the *s*-affix does not occur; in the O-affix does, however, a full *o*-NP cannot co-occur with the object affix (except in highly marked constructions, such as contrastive stress, or as reflexive pronouns in complex NP islands). With subject concord included (as in low-ranking with full NPs) and object concord as the exception, it is clear that to use the traditional label of "concord marker" for the full range of these affixes is inadequate for Kikuyu. Glidewell (1976) suggested that the agreement found here was anaphoric in nature. We claim that Kikuyu object inflexion and subjective personal pronouns are in fact clitic pronouns, subject to discourse control under various conditions which include animacy, definiteness, and specificity. We present evidence which shows that Kikuyu thus differs in crucial and revealing respects from other Bantu languages.

JOHN WHITMAN, Harvard University

The vast majority of studies of intrasentential code-switching have focused on Spanish-English bilingualism. An outgrowth of these studies has been the recognition of universal constraints operating on the syntax of code-switching: the free morpheme constraint and the equivalence constraint. Unfortunately, Spanish-English code-switching is not the most ideal test ground for determining whether these purportedly universal constraints in fact operate in all bilingual code-switching situations, since the grammar of Spanish and English are comparatively similar. For this reason, an empirical study was carried out, gathering code-switching data from Spanish-speakes whose second language was Spanish-English. This study demonstrates that syntactic patterns of code-switching are correlated with degree of bilingualism, and that contrary to previous research findings, the ability to code-switch is not necessarily an indication of grammatical competence in two languages.

JULI B giochi, Louisiana State University

Some Problems with the Concept of Basic Word Order

The concept of basic word order is challenged through in-depth examination of ordering in a language - Tojolabal (Maya) - which exhibits all six logically possible orders of V, O in discourse. Examination of all the orders with reference to the criteria of frequency, animacy restrictions on arguments, morphosyntactic marking, discourse marking (highlighting) restrictions (Keehan's 1978 "pragmatic marking"), and ease of interpretation, no one order can be judged to be basic. Though sentences in discourse with full NP are not considered, NP is the order which is most frequent in discourse, and it is also the standard citation form, but it is discourse-marked for contrastive focus on the subject and restricted to sentences where the S is of higher animacy than the O. The order which is least marked (morphosyntactically and with regard to animacy restrictions and discourse marking) - VOS - is extremely rare in discourse, and in isolation is difficult for native speakers to process. It is argued that this distribution can best be accounted for by a discourse-based perspective on order of elements, which is discussed in terms of highlighting and information structure, discourse being viewed as a process of highlighting.
Chafe's Peer Stories protocol was adapted to investigate the nature of psychotic deviation in speech production. 24 patients and controls were treated. Deviations in reference, coherence, or syntax could be related to the story shown. Examination of idea units resulted in focus on consciousness, and centers of interest revealed scanning dysfunctions consistent with previous studies of schizophrenic eyetracking and speech dysfunctions. Results suggest that psychotic speech is not deliberate nor poetic, but actually impaired.

STEVE CHANDLER, University of Idaho

The Role of "Strategies" in Relative Clause Acquisition and Use

This paper examines the collective evidence for comprehension strategies or learning strategies in relative clause acquisition studies, and it evaluates the status of such strategies in psycholinguistic models of language comprehension.

The predominant paradigm for investigating relative clause development has followed from Sheldon's 1974 comprehension study in which she asked children to demonstrate their interpretations of four relative clause types. Although the results of such studies are largely consistent with one another, they are significantly confounded by an uncontrollable variable within the studies. Moreover, the results are inconsistent with other information we have on relative clause acquisition and on relative clause processing by adults.

Taken together, the children's overall poor performance on relative clause comprehension tests and their systematic misinterpretations suggest that the "strategies" evidenced by these studies actually represent a fall-back position called into play when normal sentence processing capabilities are overloaded. Close examination of the data suggests that these fall-back strategies are based on the relative frequencies of different surface syntactic patterns and that they change as children are exposed to a greater variety of such patterns.

ROBERT CHANNON, University of Chicago

Some Evidence on the Question of RAISING from Bulgarian

Bulgarian has a range of constructions which provide some evidence on the question of RAISING. Like English, Bulgarian does not mark its nouns for case, but preserves some case distinctions among pronouns; in particular, 1 forms can be distinguished: NOM, ACC, and DAT. Unlike English, though, Bulgarian has no infinitive, and thus must always express an underlying complement S as a finite clause. The surface structure frame which is of interest here is PREP- da PREP, where da is a conjunction, PREP1, and PREP2, are finite forms, and the blank may be filled by one of the following: a NOM, NOM, NPACC, or NPPAT.

Structures with da with and with ACC or DAT nominals conform well both semantically and syntactically to the supposition that they are derived through the application of EQUIP DEF. STRUCTURES with NOM nominals, however, cannot be the result of EQUIP, and cannot reasonably be base-generated in that frame, since, if the nominal were generated in the object position of the matrix predicate, it would be in the accusative form rather than the nominative. In addition, these clauses would then contain two nominatives, which is not otherwise an allowable structure for an unerived clause in Bulgarian (except for regular clauses). The case marking thus suggests that the nominal originates outside the matrix clause, and its surface occurrence outside the embedded clause suggests that it must have been raised up into the matrix clause from the embedded clause.

EXAMPLE: Iskam toj/*go da dojde.
1-want he/*him that come (= I want him to come.)

Donald G. Churka

Cross-linguistic Evidence for Universal Principles of Rule Interaction: Downstep

In this paper, I argue that the behavior in a large number of languages of a pair of tonal processes provides strong support for the hypothesis that the nature of rule interactions is, at least partially, predictable on the basis of a universal set of principles (Kuno 1979 and Noll 1975, Donagian and Stump 1979). The processes in question, very widespread in African languages, are one of downstep, whereby high tones (H) are lowered in pitch (HL) when following a low tone (L), and one of contour tone simplification, in which, in the intermediate stage of the derivation containing the tonal sequence L H H H contour simplification cannot blend downstep, since this would yield intermediate L H H H, and after downstep, L H H H; the opposite order of application, or simultaneous application, gives the desired result. Although alternative treatments of downstep have been previously proposed (Clements and Ford 1979, Hyman 1979), it is argued that they are questionable on independent grounds. The cross-linguistic downstep fact thus suggest strongly that some form of the universalist position is in fact correct.

Linda Coleman, University of Maryland

The Prosodic Treatment of Hedges in Advertising

Prosodic features direct the hearer's processing of utterances, guiding the hearer in dividing the utterance syntactically, and signalling what is and is not in focus. A failure to do so lustly results in syntactic or semantic ambiguity. The treatment of hedges in television advertising is a case in point. Because of legal requirements, advertisiers must frequently weaken the hearer's overall poor performance on relative clause comprehension tests and plans systematic misinterpretations. It is therefore to the advertiser's benefit if the hedge is "officially" present on the transcript, but if the audience is unlikely to pay attention to it. An examination of television commercials shows a general pattern of hedges actually representing a fall-back position called into play when normal sentence processing capabilities are overloaded. Close examination of the data suggests that these fall-back strategies are based on the relative frequencies of different surface syntactic patterns and that they change as children are exposed to a greater variety of such patterns.

Felice Cornell, Northwestern University

A Study of the Comprehension/Production of the /p/-/b/ Contrast by Arabic Learners of English

This paper reports on a study carried out to determine whether Arabic learners of English as a second language can discriminate and/or produce the /p/-/b/ contrast in English. This contrast does not exist in Arabic; since Arabic has /b/ but not /p/.

Five subjects were chosen from the elementary levels of the ESL intensive program at UAM. Each of these subjects was asked to produce a number of English words exemplifying the /p/-/b/ contrast in different word-positions. These productions were recorded on tape and were then listened to by two native speakers and by the subject himself. Both the subject and the native speakers were to identify the words on the tape. The subjects were also asked to identify the same words in a different order from a recording by a native speaker. The following results were obtained:

1. Only one of the subjects could produce and discriminate the /p/-/b/ contrast in initial position; 2) All of the speakers produced a distinction between /p/ and /b/ in terms of closure duration in word-final position; and 3) None of the speakers was able to distinguish /p/ and /b/ word-finally, despite the fact that they produced a significant (p<.05) distinction in closure duration.
For some time now it has been clear that various aspects of the phonological structure of American Sign Language are expresed sequentially as well as simultaneously. Starting from the observations that sequences of contrastive movements are found only in sequentially polymorphic lexical items (compound words), and that each contrastive movement has associated with it at most one initial and one final array of simultaneously organized contrastive values for handshape, location, etc., it will be argued that the notion of syllable is relevant to ASL structure, and that ASL is essentially a monosyllabic language. Any analysis of ASL prosody will need to refer to the minimal unit of stress and timing in ASL, and it would appear that a good candidate is the syllable as described here.

DEBORAH A. DARL, University of Minnesota

Discourse Structure and "One"-Anaphora in English

Although the relationship between definite pronouns and discourse has been extensively discussed, identity of sense anaphora, in particular, "one"-anaphora, has not been well studied from this point of view. Gundel (1978) has shown that two distinct types of given-new information-activated, or what the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the addressee (the "given" of Chafe 1976), and topic, or what the discourse is about, a form of the verb that affects the acceptability of sentences with definite pronouns. In this paper, I extend Gundel's analysis to "one"-anaphora. In particular, I show that both topic and activation are important for characterizing the acceptability and interpretation of "one"-anaphora. For example, in (1), topic determines that one should be interpreted as "tennis player", rather than "dentist", which would be its interpretation in isolation.

(1) Do you know any good tennis players? B. My dentist is a good one. Further, I argue that the fact that discourse structure affects the interpretation and acceptability of "one"-anaphora is inconsistent with the claim of Webber (1979) that the interpretation of "one"-anaphora is not affected by story structure, and that of Halliday and Hasan (1976, p.93) that the meaning of "one"-anaphora is simply "the noun to fill this slot will be found in the preceding text."

RICHARD DASHER, Stanford University

The Semantic Development of Honorific Expressions in Japanese

Honorific forms in Japanese have been studied historically by Taucimura (1968, 1974), Levin (1967, 1969), and others, while honorificization itself has been studied diachronically in Japanese by Silverstein (1978, 1979). The present paper investigates the concept of honorific expressions in the concepts of "to go", consists of a form of the verb idea, originally "to go out" (cf. NJ deru in a synchonism) is the only example of verbal nominalization. For example, obi de ni maru, respectful for the first cause; ingmatic objects require exterior first cause; marginal types eligible for -ke have no discernable first cause. Guewite kë ënàwe 'the heat killed Joe'; Joe = John/take/kowe alak ñà 'John the gun/the heat killed Joe'; Joe = John/take/kowe alak ñà 'John killed a mouse', John itse u kwy = John a "few times"; kë ëti = human/animate/inanimate/imperceptible rank (op. Navajo). I argue on the basis of verb classification, which distinguishes agentive/non-agentive verbs, and the difference of between the first cause, marginal types eligible for -ke have no discernable first cause. Guewite kë ënàwe 'the heat killed Joe' with heat causing death without initiating it, just as in itse nà eìjìe ënàwe 'he ran after the mouse' the mouse is the direct cause but not initiating the first cause of the subject's running.

DEMONC. DABERIJE, Summer Institute of Linguistics

Ergativity and Transitivity in Paumar

Pammar, an Arawakan language of Brazil, has two coexisting case-marking systems which are grammatically-conditioned: the ergative system occurs in clauses having the basic word order pattern, or in clauses where a significant part of the basic pattern is preserved; and the accusative system occurs in clauses where other word orders are used. The same range of semantic phenomena occurs in both the ergative and accusative systems, so that Dixon's proposal (Language 55,79-80) that all split case systems can be explained in semantic terms cannot account for the Paumar facts. There is, however, a functional explanation for the selection of a particular word order pattern, at least in part, in Paumar. This, I propose, arises from the interaction of two discourse-pragmatic factors, sentence topic and NP prominence in the sentence. These phenomena in Paumar highlight certain weaknesses of the traditional hypothesis proposed by Hopper and Thompson (Language 56,251-28) and their attempt to explain all transitivity phenomena in terms of a foreground-background distinction; their lack of precision in the way degree of transitivity is measured in a clause; and their claim that the primary function of case-marking systems is simply to identify clauses as carriers of high transitivity and not, as others have claimed, to distinguish subject and object nominal in the clause.
This paper presents the results of an experimental phonetic study which examined the putative neutralizing effect of the phonological rule of word-final obstruent devoicing in Catalan. It was found that, although obstruents are phonologically word-final, the underlying voiced/voiceless distinction is preserved superficially in the relative degree of contextual shortening of both vowels and consonants, i.e., devoicing is non-neutralizing. The phonetic implementation rules needed to account for this contextual shortening must, therefore, be sensitive to the abstract underlying voicing distinction. Consequently, the phonetic implementation rules needed here must apply before the phonological devoicing rule.

EDIT DORON, University of Texas-Austin

Subject Clitics in Semitic

It has often been noticed about Semitic languages that the copula does not have a present tense form. Instead, a pronoun may show up in predicate-nominal sentences, as illustrated in Modern-Hebrew:

1. (a) Dani hu more
   'Danny is the teacher.'

2. (b) Dani oveh gam hu bananot
   'Danny loves too he bananas.'

A Comparison of the Stressed Vowels of Black and White Speakers in the South

Guy Lowman, in his investigations for the Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States, interviewed a number of black speakers. Although Hans Kurath made some comments concerning black speech in his word Geography of the Eastern United States, a detailed investigation of the materials on black speech contained in the Linguistic Atlas archives has never been published. A study of sixteen pairs of black and white Atlas informants in the states of Maryland (two pairs), Virginia (seven pairs), and North Carolina (seven pairs), has been undertaken. This paper will report on differences found in the pronunciation of certain stressed vowels between black and white speakers. (The pronunciation of the stressed vowels was one of the primary criteria used by Kurath and McDavid in the Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States [1961] in determining dialectal variation in American English.) The principal findings of this study were that there were systematic differences between blacks and whites in the pronunciation of stressed vowels, particularly the mid vowels /e/ and /o/, although none of these differences were categorical: blacks had a much greater tendency to pronounce stressed vowels monophthongally.

DANIEL A. DINSEEN, Bell Laboratories/Indiana University (THURS MORR: F)

Abstract Phonetic Implementation Rules and Word-Final Devoicing in Catalan

This paper presents the results of an experimental phonetic study which examined the putative neutralizing effect of the phonological rule of word-final obstruent devoicing in Catalan. It was found that, although obstruents are phonologically word-final, the underlying voiced/voiceless distinction is preserved superficially in the relative degree of contextual shortening of both vowels and consonants, i.e., devoicing is non-neutralizing. The phonetic implementation rules needed to account for this contextual shortening must, therefore, be sensitive to the abstract underlying voicing distinction. Consequently, the phonetic implementation rules needed here must apply before the phonological devoicing rule.

PAMELA DOMING, University of California-Berkeley (THURS MORR: A)

The Semantic Role of the Numeral Classifier in Japanese

Recent cross-linguistic work on numeral classifier systems has led some researchers to suggest that there are parameters of universal perceptual salience, e.g., animacy, 1-, 2-, and 3-dimensionality, which are always encoded in classifier systems (Allan 1977) and that 2- and the nouns, classifiers encode only a few important classes of entities defined by the way humans interact with their members (physically, functionally, and socially) (Denby 1976). The research on the Japanese numeral classifier system to be reported on in this paper suggests that although these claims may apply to some members of the class- system, they are by no means universally valid. Like the noun system the classifier system is composed of very different functional and semantic types, while some are more grammatical placeholders, others encode categories of varying degrees of "importance" already encoded in the noun system (e.g., person, for chairs), and yet others denote categories based on traits or states independent of the permanent category affiliation of their members (e.g., ren, for strong-together objects as disparate as necklaces and trains). Part of the system thus replicates in terms of a reduced number of categories the distinctions made in the noun system, much like the mother-in-law language of Dyirbal (Diem 1972). The remainder of the system provides for explicit representation of types of information not systematically encoded in the basic levels (Kosch et al 1976) of the noun system, in this resembling noun class markers, nouns marked for status, etc.

 ALTAVY . DRY, University of Texas -San Antonio (WED MORR: S)

Event Line and Deixis

Bronzwaer (1975) has observed that present deictic adverbs tend to appear at turning points or "points of articulation" in narrative. He fails, however, to give a precise characterization of these points, nor does he make their relevance clear. An investigation of the distribution of present deictic adverbs in three narrative texts, however, suggests that these adverbs regularly appear in three distinct places:

1) at a return to the timeline, or event line (Longacre, 1979), after the interpolation of background material.

2) at a point where the density of time representation in the narrative changes, shifting from summary to detailed portrayal of events.

3) at an ellipsis in the timeline, i.e., when a sentence presents a timeline situation suggesting that the timeline event, leaving the reader to infer that some current time has been left "unnarrated".

The discourse distribution of present deictic adverbs suggests that one of their functions is to signal the beginning of a new series of mainline situations. They thus show a resemblance to forms in non-Indo-European languages, where mainline events in the discourse are marked overtly by particles and narrative tenses.

STANLEY DZIBINSKY, Cornell University (TUES APF: A)

Locative to Direct Object Advancement with Japanese Motion Verbs

In the framework of a larger work in progress, I hypothesize that Japanese potential and desideratives are not parallel in structure, contrary to what Kuno (1973), and others, have proposed. While accepting the standard structural account of desiderative '-tai' forms, I contend that potentials are non- verbal, discharging the structure previously proposed by McDavid (1972), Honjo (1975), Hanks (1976), and Kuroda (1979). Some evidence for this conclusion comes from the phenomenon of "of/ga alternation", and the behavior of locus NPs of motion verbs with respect to it. This paper investigates the structure of clauses where a verb of motion takes a locus NP marked by accusative 'o'. The fact that these NPs' occur with the accusative case marker has led some linguists to regard the marked NP as a direct object (cf. Kuno (1973) and Kuno et al. 1975). While these NPs do indeed pass certain tests for objecthood, they fail some others. They are able to float a quantifier, and are subject to the "of/ga alternation" associated with potential verb forms. On the other hand, they do not undergo object horification. Nor do they participate in the of/ga alternation associated with the other objects of declarative verb forms. This paper attempts to propose a description of their status. Using a Relational Grammar framework, I argue that the NPs in question are initial Oblique which advance to Direct Object.

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Chronological Testing and the Scansion of Ezra in Old English Poetry

Ezra, 'lord' or 'king' (Prm. Gmc. Fr., G. Freu), is the only word in Old English which shows the earlier illocutionary pronouncements of words that lost intervocalic /j/ and later became monosyllabic. Its appearance in disyllabic form has long been considered sufficient evidence for assigning a pre-ninth century date for the text in which it is found (Trautmann 1898, Richter 1910, Amos 1980), and it has further been assumed that the earlier poets could optionally assign it either one or two syllables for metrical reasons (Wrenn, 1958, Amos 1980).

An examination of all the Old English examples containing Ezra shows that the word was disyllabic when it was the second element of a compound (e.g. illfrezi, folofrezi) or immediately preceded by a possessive element (e.g. saezrea). The Ezra from Vlahe is monosyllabic elsewhere. These findings indicate that we can consider the presence of disyllabic Ezra neither a reliable chronological test nor an example of poetic license. Rather, the syllabic form of Ezra is determined by its immediate syntactic environment throughout the Old English period.

Anne Dunlea, Max-Planck-Institut (Thurs. Mon. E)

An Implicational Hierarchy in the Emergence of Illocutionary Acts

An analysis system has been developed to classify children's interactive utterances according to a set of 13 illocutionary acts defined in terms of essential conditions: the fit between word and world (Searle 1975): and explicitly defined contextual parameters. The system was applied to 13,000 spontaneous utterances drawn from a longitudinal study of six children (Male 0.10-3.0). A developmental progression is revealed which has not been previously recognized, but which is compatible with developmental changes of a purely semantic nature. The order of acquisition is defined by implicational statements (e.g. Requests → Identifications). These combine to yield a hierarchy for the emergence of basic illocutionary acts (≥ - acquired simultaneously or prior to):

- Identifications ≥ Requests ≥ Assertions ≥ Responses ≥ Questions

An explanation for this sequence in terms of cognitive complexity is offered.

This analysis is part of a more comprehensive study comparing the emergence of meaning in blind and sighted children. All subjects followed this illocutionary act hierarchy. Some significant differences between the two populations are discussed elsewhere. The only difference in the present context involves the relative frequency of use, and the order of acquisition for illocutionary acts.

Walter F. Edwards, Wayne State University (Thurs. Mon. D)

Creole Vernaculars and the Socio-Cultural Matrix

This paper addresses the interesting paradox that creole varieties in Guyana and other Caribbean societies enjoy considerable vitality in spite of the fact that these speech varieties appear to have very low social status. Evidence of this low status include survey elicited responses to language attitude questionnaires. It is argued that creole vernaculars, like English (or the relevant official variety) are organized in the system of behaviors which comprise the socio-cultural matrix. Guyanese speakers use all the available codes, including creole English, as a means of socialization. They are active participants in the system of behaviors which comprise the socio-cultural matrix. Guyanese speakers have inherited a rich linguistic culture and have been socialized into using the entire linguistic spectrum for such interactional functions as establishing and changing footing (Goffman 1981) and social accommodation. In effect creole varieties occupy a stable and indispensable position in Guyanese culture.

Edith Duncan, University of Texas-Austin (Tues. Mon. F)

Local Antecedents and Genitive Extraction in French

In French, it may be observed that the extraction of 'dont' from direct object position is subject to the same constraints as the en avant Rule proposed by several investigators to predict the extraction of 'en' from subject position. The pattern of contrasts is abstractly represented in (1) and (2).

(1) a. ... dont ... [QP SPEC N e] ... en V ...
   b. ... dont ... [QP SPEC N e] ...

In addition, it may be observed that the extraction of 'en' from direct object position is subject to the same constraints as the en avant Rule proposed by several investigators to predict the extraction of 'en' from subject position. The pattern of contrasts is abstractly represented in (1) and (2).

Although the results of this study indicate that the presence of disyllable ening (e.g. Requests: >) indicates that we can consider the presence of disyllable ening neither a reliable chronological test nor an example of poetic license. Rather, the syllabic form of Ezra is determined by its immediate syntactic environment throughout the Old English period.

George and Kornfeld (1981) argue that rules obeying the opacity conditions do not apply in Turkish to gerunds which show agreement, e.g. that these gerunds behave more like English tensed clauses. They take opacity to be a property of finite clauses and claim that it is instantiated by different factors in different languages, the relevant factor for Turkish aggreement. I will argue that this property is employed, providing evidence from the binding of lexical anaphora and of 3rd person pronouns that these gerunds behave more like English participles than like tensed clauses. For example, reciprocal pronouns occur as the subjects of gerunds with agreement.

Yazarlar [biri-biri-ner napt apol-olun-] a manayorudur authors each other-3rdPossesive-Oative stupid be-3rdPossesive-Dative believed 'The author is a stupid author.'

This paper presents the results of a comparative investigation of related speech variants in three age groups (ages 7-10, 11-13, and 14-16) and in two varieties (the language) in the United States. The results indicate that while the language is affected by the age of the speaker, the social variety is not affected by the age of the speaker.

N. Weil Elliott, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Tues. Mon. B)

Creole as Prestige Variety in Belize

This paper focuses on the age variable as predictor of linguistic change in a creole community of Belize, Central America. As is the case in other creole societies, the language, the group and outgroup communication covers a wide spectrum ranging between the native variety- Belisian Creole- and the official language- English-which is learned as a second language. Fieldwork was conducted over a period of eight months with the help of a native Creole fieldworker, and this paper presents the results of a comparative investigation involving the relevant age groups in three communities. It is shown that the language is affected by the age of the speaker, the social variety is not affected by the age of the speaker.
Two kinds of passive constructions, one transformationally and the other lexically derived, have been posited by Wasow (1976). Problems were found in trying to apply Wasow's criteria for distinguishing these two kinds of passives while examining over 1000 tokens of naturally occurring passives as part of ongoing research on the grammatical and/or discourse factors involved in a speaker's choice of one syntactic construction over its variants. The distinction obtained by applying some of Wasow's criteria reflects an independent distinction present in the language: staticive/non-staticive predicates. Other criteria are applicable only to a subset of passivizable predicates, i.e., scalar predicates. When all the criteria are applicable to the same predicate, they do, in some cases, make contradictory predictions. Hence, Wasow's set of criteria is inconsistent and the distinction he posits. Three possibilities exist to make the distinction he posits. Three possibilities exist to make the distinction feasible: a) Wasow's distinction is vacuous and there is only one kind of passive; b) there are two kinds of passives, but the distinction is based upon an independent distinction (staticive/non-staticive), and the other criteria are superfluous; c) Wasow's distinction is valid, there are at least two kinds of passives, however a different set of criteria is necessary. I argue for the third approach, and a new set of criteria for the transformational/lexical passive distinction is proposed.

DONNA F. PARKAS, Pennsylvania State University

Neutral Vowels in Hungarian

The first part of the paper discusses some inadequacies of previous treatments of H. vowel harmony. The first point is that the neutral vowels (NVs) i,e, cannot alternate in suffixes with the abstract vowels, e+,a\+, contrary to Williams (1980), because the phonemes 'the Acels' are vasilating. This has serious consequences for any abstract a-name also good for narrowing for separating root and suffix harmony. Second, it is argued that NV skipping cannot be handled by a single rule and that NVs form the harmonic scale i,e,+
\(\sim\) (cf. Anderson (1980). This is partially based on the behavior of roots whose vowel configuration is Back V,NV-NV, which have been neglected. In the second part of the paper an autosegmental treatment is sketched. The main point is that vowels are assigned a three-valued harmonic feature (+,-,0 Back). The harmonic feature is the phonetic representation for harmonic vowels. NVs are either - or OBack, depending on the environment. The VH rule ensures that non-NVs in suffixes agree in backness with the last root vowel whose harmonic feature is not zero.

DANIEL L. FINKER, University of Massachusetts

The Representation of Across-the-Board Extractions

Any characterization of the facts of Across-the-Board (ATB) extraction must account for the "parallelism" exhibited in 1) and the apparent subject-object asymmetry in 2).

1. the man who Mary likes ... and Suzy hates ...
2. the man who Mary likes and Suzy hates ...

In this paper I propose an analysis of ATB extractions (within the Government-Binding theory) which I defined on representations, contrary to Williams (1978), who proposes a condition on rule application. The proposal relies on two notions: 1) a mapping of the separate conjuncts into one common structure, and 2) the functional definition of empty categories (Chomsky 1981). Once the conjuncts of 2) are represented as one structure, the empty category in subject position c-commands and is cotaxed with the empty category of the Bifurcation Principle (Koopman and Sportiche 1981)).

DANIELLE ESTIVAL, University of Pennsylvania

Analyzing the Passive: How Many Types Are There?

DOMINIQUE ESTIVAL, University of Pennsylvania

(TUES MORNING: A)

SUSAN FISCHER, National Technical Institute for the Deaf

(TUES MORNING: C)

NEIL ROBERT JOHNSON, Gallaudet College

RAPID MARKERS IN AMERICAN SIGN LANGUAGE

Researchers formerly believed that lexical categories in ASL were differentiated neither morphologically nor syntactically. Sapsek & Newport 1978 first demonstrated that related nouns and verbs in ASL are distinguished by a morphological process which links underlyings to surface forms. We have found a sign, usually (and in our opinion, abnormally) glossed as SELF, which marks nouns in ASL. Originally a demonstrative, this sign has taken on many roles which demonstratives in other languages also assume. We have found it to function regularly as a subject relative pronoun, as a subject or as an object of a transitive verb, as an abstract noun, and as a subject of a transitive verb. This sign also subsumes a function of SELF as a cooperator. One example of SELF as a cooperator: the concept of beauty would be expressed as BEAUTIFUL SELF. There is no predication in any sign and without an object, the indirect or relative signs apparently vary somewhat in their usage of these signs. We suspect this may be signalling a transition from the expression of semantic function to the expression of syntactic relations.
SYLVIA JOSEPH GALAMBOS, Yale University (TUES AFT: D)

When and Why: The Change from illum mihi to mini illum in French

In this paper I demonstrate that the change from the Proto-Romance illum order to the Romance mini illum order occurred in French during the Middle French period. I claim that the first examples of this inversion are attested in the first half of the 13th century in La Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne (e.g., 29.715 je te le dirai ja 9.210 Joy tu le diral ja) and that by the end of the 16th century, the mini illum order was the norm in most environments. Three questions concerning this development (and the order mini illum in postposition to the verb, and why the order illum mini remained when 3rd person pronouns were juxtaposed) were addressed here: (1) Why such a change occurred, and why it occurred when it did, (2) why the order remained illum mini in postposition to the verb, and (3) why the order illum mini remained when 3rd person pronouns (reflexive) were juxtaposed. I argue that pragmatic considerations acted as a driver for change, and that changes in the semantic and syntactic properties of the se paradigm functioned as a vehicle for change. Furthermore, I propose that new accentual and rhythmic patterns in the language at that time allowed the change to occur. Finally, I claim that the absence of the 3rd person direct object pronoun in the presence of the 3rd person indirect object pronoun during the period of change to mini illum was responsible for the lack of reversal in the case of these two pronouns.

MARYellen Garcia, National Center for Bilingual Research (THURS MORR: D)
The Case of casí: Spanish Language Variation in a Border Community

In standard Spanish, casí 'almost' modifies the word immediately following it, adjectives, for example, as in casi muerta 'almost dead', or polar items, as in casi nunca 'almost never'. In one community on the U.S.-Mexican border, interview data shows that casi deviates from standard rules in two ways. As an example 1), it may be separated from the word it modifies, and, as in example 2), casi alone may serve as a qualifier for the complete sentence.

1. ... casi aquí no le venden una medicina sin receta. 'Here they usually do not sell you medicine without a prescription' (literally: almost here they do not...)
2. casi es donde voy ma. 'I almost go there the most'. (Litt: almost it is where I go more.)

In this paper interviews with 59 Spanish speakers will be considered in questioning the linguistic motivation for the apparent deviation. The following factors will be considered: 1) the syntactic freedom in Spanish which allows casi to move in the 3y 2) the semantic association of the word with the polar items no nunca/siempre 'no/never/sometime' and, 3) the language contact situation in this community as it influences local Spanish. This investigation addresses a basic issue in language change: how does synchronic variation lead to syntactic and semantic reanalysis within a linguistic system?

MICHAEL L. GEIS, Ohio State University (TUES AFT: D)
The Syntax of English Conditionals

There exists a stetupendous literature—primarily philosophical—on the meaning of conditional sentences (e.g., sentences like I will leave if you leave). Unfortunately, none of the extant semantic analyses (e.g., David Lewis' Counterfactuals treatment) sheds any light on the syntax of such sentences. In this paper, I propose and defend a syntactic analysis of conditional sentences which accounts for their surface syntactic properties without assuming extravagant descriptive devices and which leads quite naturally to an independently motivated semantic analysis. I entertain three syntactic analyses: (A) if is a conjunction like and or or (as is suggested by analogies to logical treatments); (B) it is a subordinating conjunct which introduces sentences to form adversial clauses (the most natural treatment in Montague Grammar (MG)); (C) across, are species of relative clause. According to analysis (C), adversial if-clauses are structurally quite similar to adversial relative clauses. Introduced by the relative pronouns whom, where and while (compare I will leave if I leave and I will leave when you leave.) I note in passing that if is a relative pronoun in many of the languages of the world.

S. GAERTS, SUNY-Buffalo (TUES AFT: A)

On Three Types of Objects in Halkomele

Employing the notion of syntactic level, as provided by Relational Grammar, I give evidence for three types of final objects in Halkomele (Salish): first, there are final objects which are also initial objects; second, there are final objects in constructions involving advancement or possessor ascension; third, there are final objects in constructions involving raising and causative clause union.

What I call "imitations" are exemplified in English by constructions of the form no where $\theta$ is a gestural, vocal, or otherwise communicative imitation of an informative act (e.g. Then she went $\theta$, with $\theta$ = /speaker grimaces, hissing loudly/. The $\theta$ may contain linguistic material, but if so must be recognizable imitative (e.g. by intonation or posture) and accepts subjects and objects. This type of imitation may be universal, but there are significant cross-linguistic differences in the syntactic order and in its relation to other types of quotation. Language in the narrow sense gains economy and openness through discreteness and its combinatorial semantics: it sacrifices the identity of its finite inventory of allomorphs and adverbial modifiers. Imitations may be universal, but there are significant cross-linguistic differences in the syntax of $\theta$ and in its relation to other types of quotation.

Among Japanese infinitives, the analysis of the $\theta$ in Japanese is not, in fact, justified on universal and other adverbial modifiers. With them, bounded syntactic units may have internal structural and semantic/pragmatic content not permitted units with linguistic form. Language may then enhance the imitation with its own combinatorial devices, getting the best of both systems. Imitations also do sociolinguistic work: since much social and personal information is conveyed "noulinguistically" in languages like Halkomele a speaker may introduce such content into the discourse (without taking full responsibility for it).

Kita & Rios (1982) compare several uses of no in Mandarin Chinese and no in Japanese and suggest that an analysis of Japanese that assigns all the various uses of no a uniform underlying representation is optimal in that it is justified on both universal and language internal grounds and is also much simpler in terms of the syntactic apparatus called for. This paper argues that a uniform analysis of no in Japanese is not, in fact, justified on language internal grounds and that, although their analysis of the minimal (like) uses of no as an NP, no PRO may be justified for one construction, a division into at least five types of no (interpersonal modification particle, copula, adnominal form, nominalizer, complementizer, and pronoun meaning 'one(s)') must be recognized on morphological, syntactic, and semantic grounds. Among other problems, their analysis fails to account for the appearance of and behavior of the allomorphs of the adnominal form of the copula, for differing selectional restrictions on the adnominal no and the nominalizer use, or for differences in the interpretation of the complementizer no and the nominalizer.
Ergative Case Marking in Nakra-Laxamula

ALICE C. HARRIS, Vanderbilt University

Recent work in phonology has developed the role of the lexicon in characterizing the relationship between morphological and phonological rules. This paper explores the lexical rules employed in a detailed analysis of tone assignment in Scandinavian languages. Previous postulates treat one general phonological rule assigning "tone 2" to polysyllabic words, and list those with "tone 1" as exceptions. We show that the overriding factor in tone assignment is not the number of syllables in the word, but the close interaction between the morphological and phonological rules.

That is, "tone 1" and "tone 2" are systematically derived in the affixation process. It is shown, for example, that lexical items suffixed with (Norwegian) -dom 'hood (•absolutive) exhibit "tone 2", while items prefixed with -het reflect the tone of the base form. The combination of morphological and phonological rules is seen when two "tone 2" indicators are stacked, producing in 11)J (one tier) (•absolutive) 12)J ( •accusative) (tone 2 'old age like'), a difficulty for any treatment employing exception mechanisms and a "polyrhythmic rule".

MICHAEL RAMMlOW, University of California-Los Angeles and Massachusetts Institute of Technology

On the Directionality of the Rhythm Rule

Much recent work in metrical phonology has concentrated on the rhythm rule and its reflexes in diverse languages. This work has shown the need for a parameter of directionality in the rule's formulation. For example, in English, rhythm shifts the prosodic stresses from the left to the right, away from stronger ones; in Finnish, rhythm applies to the right; and in German, rhythm can apply in either direction.

Based on data from these languages, we argue that the directionality of rhythm is predictable from the tier labelling rules of the language. This correlation of labelling and the directionality of rhythm can be explained if we assume that the rhythm rule doesn't exist at all, and that rhythmic effects are due to the suppression of rules of tree construction that define minor constituents in contexts where stress clashes would be created. The explanation goes through if we assume that rhythmic adjustment refers to prosodic levels like the foot and the word. For example, thirteen men is an instance of foot level rhythm, and well understood issue is an instance of word level rhythm. Labeling of both levels in English is inherently rhythmic, and rhythm is predictably leftward. By contrast, rightward rhythm, in examples like sports contest, is impossible.

ALICE C. HARRIS, Vanderbilt University

Ergative Case Marking in Nakra-Laxamula

In one dialect of the Swan language (South Caucasian), case marking with one group of tenses differs from that found in other dialects and in its sister language, in this Nakra-Laxamula dialect, subjects of intransitives are marked with one case ("nominative"), while subjects of active intransitives and direct objects are marked with another ("nominative"); subjects of active intransitives, such as 'sing', 'work', may be marked with either the narrative or nominative case, with no apparent difference in meaning. In canonical ergative systems, only the nominative ("absolutive") case would be used in the latter function; while in the other dialects of Swan and in Georgian, only the narrative case may occur there. This particular type of alternative case marking has not been described in detail elsewhere.

JAMES W. HARRIS, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Spanish Spirantisation as an Autosegmental Assimilation Rule

"Spanish Spirantisation" (SS) refers to the alternation of voiced stops and continuants, e.g. b-g, d-g, g-y, under certain conditions. Extending and refining Haskó 1982, I argue that SS is correctly described by an autosegmental assimilation rule whose effect is essentially to spread the feature [contional] rightward. Rule proposal, which appeals to the Shared Feature Convention and a particular interpretation of the Adjacency Identity Constraint (Churessel 1976), is able to give a principled account of data beyond the reach of previous accounts, e.g. the failure of SS to apply in cases like xen buogo (Lesbanyo) in Cuban dialects (Duart 1976, 1977).

Previous generative studies of SS have been grounded in an inadequate (nonautosegmental) analysis, and have formalised incorrect generalizations. E.g. Haskó 1969 proposes a rule that attempts to capture the generalization "b, d, g appear as continuants except initially and after homorganic noncontinuant sonorants." The generalization is faulty; e.g. [sh] but [my] although g is not homorganic with sh. Also, according to dosono 1979, aspects of Harris's formalism are problematic.

Other studies of SS—including Larsson's and Goldsmith 1981, which treats SS autosegmentally—similarly face empirical and/or formal problems.

FRANK HENRY, Groningen University

Boots are Quantifiers

Bairne and Cooper (1961) and related research have shown doubt how natural it is to interpret noun phrases as generalised quantifiers (sets of sets). However, in all this work, nouns continue to be interpreted as predicates, just like verbs, following older logics of nouns as words that build quantifiers (i.e., noun phrases) from predicates, do not take verbs as arguments is treated as a syntactic accident. Yet nouns can be interpreted directly as quantifiers: bare plurals, e.g., horses are then sets of sets typically the power set of what set which under the old predicate analysis of the noun would serve as its denotation. Determiners will not build quantifiers from predicates but will be quantifier-type operators.

This simple change has numerous consequences. It accounts directly for much of the interesting behavior of bare plurals, which build quantifiers (i.e., noun phrases) from predicates, do not take verbs as arguments is treated as a syntactic accident. Yet nouns can be interpreted directly as quantifiers: bare plurals, e.g., horses are then sets of sets typically the power set of what set which under the old predicate analysis of the noun would serve as its denotation. Determiners will not build quantifiers from predicates but will be quantifier-type operators.

For example, it predicts a vague interpretation of sentences like Elephants come to die in forests like these, avoiding the need to posit ambiguity between generic and existential readings. This change also throws light on puzzling aspects of the semantics of conjunctions like several men and cats. Moreover, while iteration of determiners may seem an unwelcome prediction of the change, evidence suggests it may not be a problem. More troublesome may be the relationship between nouns and adjectival modifiers.

FRANK HENRY, Groningen University

Deirdre EWECKE. Groningen University

Noun and Syllable Structure in Luganda

Cliften 1981 has argued that analysis of the Luganda syllable in terms of a CV tier yields precisely the right input to the tone rules of the language while accounting for the distribution of long vowels: prenasalised consonants, post-consonantal glides and geminates are treated, as in the Nagari-Laxamula dialect, subject of transitive verbs are marked with one case ("nominative"), while subjects of active intransitives and direct objects are marked with another ("nominative"); subjects of active intransitives, such as 'sing', 'work', may be marked with either the narrative or nominative case, with no apparent difference in meaning. In canonical ergative systems, only the nominative ("absolutive") case would be used in the latter function; while in the other dialects of Swan and in Georgian, only the narrative case may occur there. This particular type of alternative case marking has not been described in detail elsewhere.
Patterns of labial palatalization in Southern Bantu languages (e.g., Tswana p + i, pʰ + tʰ, b + dʒ, f + tʃ, m + n/ŋ) in certain environments, including the formation of passives, diminutives, locatives have received attention recently (Stahlke 1976, Herbert 1977, Gaha 1978). Stahlke used data such as Zulu hope/kotwa 'pick out/pass.(p.)' (hope/kotwa) quick/snap (vace) to argue for his notion of "segmental fusion" in which features are exchanged between a labial consonant and following (sometimes reconstructed) palatal segment, e.g., pʰ + tʰ, m + n/ŋ, incorporating articulatory features of the two "fusing" segments. Herbert compared this analysis with his own (1979 1-2) in which conditioning because of 1) the unnaturalness of the phonetic alterntion, 2) occurrence is specified morphological classes, 3) contextual criteria proposed by Dressler, Linell, and others, these data are taken to support the view that, in linguistic theory, the ERHARD HINRICHS, KYOKO HIJIRIDA, Robert N. Horn, Laurence R. Horn, Samuel Bater of Southern Bantu Palatalization: Evidence from Apha.

Prescendence Hierarchy in Cross-Cultural Values of Honarc Expressions

Following a summary of the lexical and structural characteristics of Japanese and Korean in relation to American English, it is proposed on the basis of sociolinguistic evidence that, while the presedence hierarchy of solidarity-status-age seems to hold in linguistic expressions among Americans, that of groupness-status-solidarity-age is characteristic of the Japanese and that of age-status-groupness-solidarity-age represents the sociolinguistic behavior of Koreans. It is hypothesized that such disparate precedence hierarchies are due to the different degrees of ethnocentric values the three linguistic groups occupy in the dimensions of egotism-centric-hedonistic, animism-achievement, collectivism-individuation, achievement-acceptance, convention-indirectness, pragmatic-formalism, and rationalism-emotionalism. The differing honorific systems, sociolinguistic rules and pragmatic constraints provide evidence for our hypothesis.

The Semantics of Group Level Relative Clauses with Multiple Heads

Gazdar (1981) cites relative clauses with "group level" predicates and with head nouns in two different conjuncts, e.g. A man just came in and a woman went out who were similar in all kinds of ways, as crucial evidence for his claim that extrapoated relative clauses should be generated "in situ" by means of a derived phrase structure rule of "Righthand Displacement". While the syntactic part of Gazdar's rule is uncontroversial, the suggested semantic translation into intensional logic fails to address the crucial cases of extrapoated group level relative clauses with multiple head nouns.

The paper submitted presents a semantic solution to the problem of group level relative clauses which is based on Thomason(1976)1 theory of soral incompressibilities. It argues for a novel semantic translation of relative pronouns for which a two-place semantic operator 2 is introduced into the language of intensional logic proposed by Montague(1973). This operator is defined to indicate either set membership or identity. The new interpretation of relative pronouns will not only provide a solution to the problem posed by the type of group level relative clauses that Gazdar mentions, but also to group level relative clauses of the more familiar sort, e.g. The students who gathered in the auditorium each received a concert program.

GARY B. HOLLAND, University of California-Berkely

Near-European Absolute Constructions: From Nominative to Locative

C. Neumann (1960) and C. Watkins (1965) have called attention to the existence of for-cusend nominal sentences functioning as adverbs in Hittite, Latin, and Greek. For example, Hittite nom. mekhe 'Naht (int) Zeit' (both elements nominative) appears both as an independent (unmarked) and as an adverb incorporated into another sentence. Ultimately, the adverb expression was assigned (dialect-specific) morphological, nekhe, neuter, in its adverbial function. Noting that nominative 'absolute' participial constructions occur in the oldest IE traditions, including Hittite, e.g. 2 ROM.F Gat 1 MU.KI.80 phrin angry (analysis and argument are left) (tfr tfr 19 15-7), the king enters the temple, I argue that the mechanism observed in Hittite by Neumann can be accounted for to argue for absolute constructions in the older IE languages, since it is preserved in the individual language in the form 'absolute' continuants of the IE locative. Sanskrit and Avestan locatives do not call for comments on the Germanic dative. Greek thematic genitives may have at least a partial source in the IE locative (ou = -(e) o; cf. Ram 1981), while the Latin ablative is a clear functional equivalent to the IE locative in terms of propositional section and verb forms. The Baltic and Slavic dative constructions do not properly belong here; rather, they have their origin in the use of the dative with infinitives.

LEONID R. NORM, Yale University

The Semantics of Group Level Relative Clauses with Multiple Heads

The paper submitted presents a semantic solution to the problem of group level relative clauses which is based on Thomason(1976)1 theory of soral incompressibilities. It argues for a novel semantic translation of relative pronouns for which a two-place semantic operator 2 is introduced into the language of intensional logic proposed by Montague(1973). This operator is defined to indicate either set membership or identity. The new interpretation of relative pronouns will not only provide a solution to the problem posed by the type of group level relative clauses that Gazdar mentions, but also to group level relative clauses of the more familiar sort, e.g. The students who gathered in the auditorium each received a concert program.
Intervocalic voicing, the voicing of an entire series of voiceless stops or obstruents in voiced environments, is one of the most frequently cited examples of a natural (i.e., phonetically-activated) phonological rule. However, it appears to be relatively uncommon in languages of the world. The purposes of this paper are (1) to establish that intervocalic voicing is a natural phonological rule, in that it has an aerodynamic explanation (Hualin, 1973; Keating and Hualin, 1980), and (2) to show that the rule of intervocalic voicing is uncommon in languages of the world, occurring, as tabulated from the Stanford Archive, in only 20% of the languages in which it would not be neutralizing, which is no more frequent than aspiration of initial voiceless stops and much less frequent than nasal stop assimilation to place of articulation, and 3) to consider possible phonological and phonetic explanations for the paucity of examples of intervocalic voicing, none of which is found to be entirely satisfactory.

ANN HOUSTON, University of Pennsylvania

Syntactic Transitions and Gerundive Constructions

This paper presents the findings of a quantitative study of English gerundive expressions, which include samples dating from c.1400 to the present. The data show the following constructions to be in variation: (1) DET NP-ing DET NP NCP-ing DET NCP; (2) Examples: the writing of five letters (Paston Letters, Verney Papera). The data show that construction (1) is increasingly favored over (2) towards the 14th-17th century. (3) DET NP-ing DET NCP-ing DET NP Examples: the removing the hesitancy of an error. (Caley Papera, Verney Papera) The data support the idea of a gradual transition from a partial, substantive status of the gerundives to an increasingly verbal one through (a) loss of determiners (b) loss of the genitive of (c) use of the direct object and (d) eventual appearance of a gerund in a clause as, for example, in the first example given. These facts in turn are accounted for by the emergence of verbal complement clauses such as: she watched her suffering vs. she watched his suffering. The former construction was found not in the data before the mid-17th century. Recent accounts of gerundives within the theory of government and binding (Chomsky 1980) are assessed in the light of these data: it is argued that the formal descriptive devices of FS and Case Theory do not provide an adequate account of the full syntactic range of these forms.

MARCIA S. NOWLEN, Ohio State University

Auxiliary Verbs and Semantic Classes: A Case Study from French

The formation of paraphrastic verb tenses in French is accomplished by means of the auxiliary avoir for most verbs, and être for a few others. The non-reflexive verbs ‘taking’ être can all be categorized as verbs in the semantic class of movement or change of state except for rester, classified as a stative verb. This in itself is only apparent, however, for detailed investigation of this verb, particularly as it is contrasted to its near-synonym demeurer, shows that rester is marked for a stative feature which is not shared by demeurer. As the opposition of temporal and special points inherent in the meaning of the other verbs conjugated in the same manner account of the meaning of rester denotes the necessary perception of a duality or opposition which may be interpreted, contextually, in a number of different ways. The contextual possibilities and the general meaning of rester are illustrated by the reactions of native informants to examples such as Cette maison lui est restée/demeurée de ses parents ‘This house remained to him from his parents.’, L’avantage resté/demeuré à nos troupes ‘The advantage remained with our troops’ and others. Thus the semantic feature for which rester is marked is shown to be similar, although not identical, to one of the features characterizing verbs of motion. Evidence points, then, to a semantic motivation for the syntactic behavior of rester.

KATHLEEN MOURIHAN, University of Minnesota

Is Intervocalic Voicing a Natural Rule?

PHILIP L. HUBBARD, Ohio University

albanian reflexives: violations of proposed universals

Albanian has a reflexive pronoun built on the stem vete 'self' and inflected only for case and definiteness, whose distribution and reflexive interpretation bear on two proposed universals.

ANNIKA F~E~S~. TUM, University of Pennsylvania

Arabic Noncatenative Morphology Without Tiers

McCarthy (1981) proposed a modification of 'autosegmental' theory to deal with the description of Arabic root and pattern morphology. He claims his admittedly 'enriched' multi-tiered autosegmental approach is necessary to avoid the excessive transformatonal power of complex metathesis rules to intercalate root consonants and affixes with the vowels of Arabic roots. McCarthy, given the strictly non-transformational reanalysis of invariant order (Sanders 1970), the Arabic verb forms may be derived by simply collecting within a word the root consonants, affixes, and vowel sets, and stating surface-true rules for the arrangement of roots and affixes in terms of linear precedence and immediate linear precedence. Intercalation of vowels deductively follows from this. Both the transformational and autosegmental apparatuses are unnecessary.

GRANDER HUDSON, Michigan State University

Pied Piping and Logical Form

This paper examines the status of wh-traces at S-structure and in Logical Form within the framework of the Government Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981a,b). At both levels, such empty categories are considered to be variables. In simple cases of wh-movement, the S-structure variable corresponds closely to the LF variable. However, in more complex cases of wh-movement, in which a wh-word plus other material have been fronted (e.g. whose brother did you see, the box in which John hid the money), such a close correspondence cannot be found. It is the purpose of this paper to examine an account of these pied piped (Ross 1967) constructions. It is claimed that the trace left behind by pied piping is not a variable at S-structure. As for the LF level, it is argued that previously suggested LF representations such as for which x, you saw z's brother and the box x q.dat. John hid the money in x, are not justifiable. An extraction analysis, based on Kay's (1977) rule of Q, is proposed as an alternative. It is also shown that the LF-derivation presented here obeys constraints on LF which are imposed by the Government Binding framework.
Neither the phonetics nor the phonology of Korean ㅎ is especially widely known, yet at least two claims in theoretical phonology depend on a clear understanding of this segment. First, in the notion of "atomic phonology" advanced by Dinnen and Eckman (1978), the failure to recover total voicing in Korean is taken as evidence in support of the contention that allophonically different voicing is a more basic process than the voicing of both stop, fricative, and nasal; the present paper, however, shows that Korean ㅎ does share stops with stops of nasal form, showing in intervocalic contexts, while the phonetic properties of slackened ㅎ are due, not to the systemic exclusion of fricatives from nasal processes, but to the pressure dynamics associated with its wider glottis. Second, in the notion of "atomic phonology" advanced by Zivcky (to appear), the automatic palatalization of voyelles in nasals preceding, this fricative's phonological behavior plays a crucial role in selecting among theoretical alternatives. But the fact that ㅎ does undergo palatalization even in post-nasal environments (Kim-Renaud 1974), which thus demonstrates the validity of Zivcky's theoretical point, albeit with opposite implications for natural phonology.

ROBERT J. JEFFERS, Rutgers University
W.J. PEPCICELLO, Hahnemann Medical University

Synchronic Morphological Analysis as a Factor in Etymological Error:
The Case of Indo-Iranian -əd

It is proposed that a new morpheme -əd was introduced into Indo-Iranian (I-I) through the analysis of the inherited form yadda from *ya-da- to ya-də, generalization of the new morpheme -əd ensues. The traditional association the -əd is inherited is erroneous.

Constructions in early IE dialects are formed by the addition of I or more clitics to inalienable possession, either by order (as in Gk. hopos *yad- *yad₄). As the occurrence of *ya- as the base of an IE conj. is not unprecedented, the analysis of a form like yadda in terms of the addition of the part -əd to the formative *ya- presents no unique problems. Significantly, both the I-I and the I-2 dialects are well-attested in intransitional -əd personal pronouns. The I-I personal pronouns do not occur with initial -əd, and potential cognates for I-I forms in -əd are very rare and insecure.

Syntactic argument: As accompaniment is a common denotation of -əd, its appearance in a construction with clauses in which the action of the verb accompanies -əd is accomplished by the time of that of the verb of the main clause is unusual.

Textual/morphological arguments: If the hypothesis is correct, the form yadda would predate all other forms ending in -əd. In fact, only yadda and kadd in the Rigveda yadda is first seen in the Atharvaveda, all other -əd are later. The kadd and vadd are collaterals of the pattern in yathā/kabhathā. After reanalysis, -əd is generalized to other pronominal-like forms.

GREGORY K. IVerson, University of Iowa (NEW MORN: B)

On the Theoretical Implications of Korean ㅎ

The Plains Cree preverb ka, a marker of tuturity, optionally also marks a second person (2P) subject; in this use it is a reduction of the string ki-kə, where ki- is the 2P prefix. This reduction results from an optional haplology rule (i.e. ki-kə → [kə] directly). There are reasons, though, to doubt this account: 1) there is no independent evidence for such a haplological shortening synchronically or even diachronically in Cree; 2) similar sequences occur which have not reduced e.g. Kā-kə-thām (i.e. "Kā-kə-thām is a reduction occurs in the preverb system (alternate future marker kita- → T) optionally which cannot be due to haplology. Thus we propose to replace Wolff's haplology rule with a two-step process of syncope plus cluster reduction. This is supported by two considerations: 1) a syncope of -i- is independently attested (e.g. mina-waawa waaw = also) 2) the 2P prefix itself can undergo syncope and the syncope to occur before the preverb ka; thus the putative intermediate stage kaa-kə → kə is actually attested. Further, the syncope account extends naturally to the 3P ka-kə to be the haplology account does not.

Finally, this provides a clear example in which an apparent case of haplology can be better explained as a series of individual natural processes (syncope, cluster reduction), the latter of which are claims of phonological practices and the historical stereotype that there is no such thing as haplology either diachronically or synchronically.

BRIAN JOSEPH, Ohio State University (TUES AB: B)

Lexical Relatedness, Head of a Word, and the Mismatch of Latin

On the Right-hand Head (RHH) rule which defines a "head" as the right-hand member in a morphological complex word. To demonstrate these principles, we apply them in an analysis of the Latin nominal and verbal systems. In this paper we take issue with Williams' specific framework and specific analyses of Latin on methodological and empirical grounds. For example, from a methodological standpoint: 1) his account is language specific, purporting to be universal, for his RHH rule cannot accommodate a language like Swahili where syntactically relevant information is prefixed and thus is left-hand "head" 2) Williams gives no principled reason for ranking syntactic features in his syntactic matrix, so his ultimate ranking is ad hoc 3) specific to Latin, he omits cases (LAT, VOC, LOC, DAT) and one occurrence (Sg) from his account of the nominal system. Furthermore, from an empirical standpoint Williams' rule is not a reduction. Thus, for the paradigm based on this rule we conclude that since Williams' account is flawed, his conclusion that "there is no difference between derivational morphology and inflectional morphology" (273) cannot stand.

ELLEN M. KAISSER, University of Washington-Seattle (NEW MORN: D)

Clitics and External Sandhi

Several investigators (Dolich, Klavans, Kaiisser) have suggested that the unmarked cliticization rule attaches the clitic to the left or right edge of some domain, or possibly, to the head of that domain. In addition, it seems to be true that the size and identity of the domain is predictable; cliticizations are normally phrase-bounded, attaching the clitic to the right of the constituent that contains them; examples: French liaison, Italian syntactic agreement.

In this paper, I will argue that unmarked rules of external sandhi are also sensitive to the notions edge, head, and phrase of origin, i.e. that phonological rules most often apply between two independent words only if those words lie on the left or right edge of the constituent that contains them (examples: French liaison, Italian syntactic agreement) or if one of the items is the head of the constituent that contains them (example: Kimtumbl vowel shortening).

I conclude that since Williams' account is flawed, his conclusion that "there is no difference between derivational morphology and inflectional morphology" (273) cannot stand.

BRIAN JOSEPH, Ohio State University (TUES AFT: B)

Catherina JOLLY, Ohio State University

Proverb Reduction in Plains Cree
The English bisentential operator too is obligatory after sentential conjunctions with a
semantic difference: Jo had fish and Mo did not/too; Jo had fish and she had soup *too.
Why? The answer may come from variation in the obligatoriness of too and from the
pragmatic function of (\(\{x\}) and (\(\{y\}) too - type utterances. Too's obligatoriness is greater with
stronger contexts of focus (the focus is always on the co-constituent of the conjunction),
which increases (e.g.) with ellipsis of the material identical between the conjuncts,
lessens with full-form repetition (compare the first example cited with Jo had fish and Mo
had fish *too/too). The pragmatic function of an utterance of the form (\(\{x\}) and (\(\{y\}) too
is one of the contraposition principles: If |y| is contrary to (\(\{x\}) in the contrasting contexts;
they are similar in the same that this same one is predicated about them, indeed, this is
roughly too's meaning. The difference between contrasting constituents can be empha-
sified in sentential also in contexts with 2 differences, where, because of its meaning, too
blocks (Jo had fish and Mo had soup *too/too). In sentential conjunctions with 1 dif-
ference, the stronger the focus, the stronger the contrast; and the stronger the contrast,
the greater the need for an element (e.g., too) to state the unity between the contrasting
elements.

JEFF KAPLAN, San Diego State University (TUES MORNING: C)
Obligatory too in English

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ference, the stronger the focus, the stronger the contrast; and the stronger the contrast,
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elements.
French inalienable possession (i.p.) is manifested syntactically in various ways, including as a noun phrase ("Leve le main."). In addition, by arguing that the processes involved claim that these processes furnish new evidence for the non-segmental tiers of the model.

In recent publications, Bright (1982) and Sherzer (1982) have demonstrated that linguists need to be more cautious when determining which strategies uniquely characterize oral language and written language. This paper examines some of the evidence presented in previous work on speaking and writing strategies (Ochs, Chafe, Tannen), which equates writing strictly with planning, integration, and detachment, as well as speaking with "lack of planning, segmentation, and involvement." It will show that these characteristics do not coincide with speaking and writing as such (Hirsch 1975 has implied evidence for this in the case of a child's development of writing). The contrast between the abstract and the display (Pratt) every discourse must be understood and evaluated in terms of its communicative point and the amount of integration and detachment it shows or lacks. Should be explained primarily in view of this point before it is treated as an idiographic generalization. Thus, data that heretofore had to be considered "aberrant" in form (Tannen 1982) can be seen as making predictable use of all the strategies their communicative intent requires them to make.

The purpose of this study was to examine voice onsets (VOTs) in the speech of two mothers to their children over a long period of time. The spontaneous interactions of these mothers and their children were tape recorded in their homes. The taping sessions covered the child's babbling, early word, and later acquisition stages. Using computer analysis, VOTs of word-initial stops in the mothers' speech to their children were measured. VOT measurements were also obtained from adult-adult samples for each mother. The results do not support Malms's (1980) interactionist model of phonological acquisition, and many of the results are indicated by the interactionist view. Mothers' and children's speech. There were few significant differences between mothers' VOT values during their child's pre-word and post-word stages, or between the adult-adult and adult-child stages. These significant results which were obtained generally were opposite those predicted by the interactionist model. Mothers' VOTs do not appear to be tuned to children's linguistic development. The child's phonological acquisition of a voicing contrast does not require specialized input, such as VOTs of 100 milliseconds for voiceless stops.

Using a three-tiered (syllable tier, segmental tier and an intervening CV-tier) representation of the syllable (c.f. Clements/Keyser '81), this paper demonstrates the necessity of two distinct representations for (phonetically identical) long vowels in Turkish: The phonological feature matrix of a long vowel is sometimes dominated by a CV-sequence on the CV-tier in the first case, and by a VV-sequence in the second case. While analyses of a stem-final segment. In this paper, a stem-final "abstract" (i.e., phonetically unrealized) post-vocalic consonant have been overlooked before (e.g., Lee '61) in one-dimensional phonological models, such analyses were often open to criticism. Based on the abstractness of the abstract solution as well as the scarcity (i.e. basically just one type) of independent evidence for the abstract stem position, in order to substantiate both "abstract" representations that I am advocating. In addition, by arguing that the processes involved (Long Vowel Insertion and Long Vowel Shortening) are governed by well-formedness conditions on the structure and demonstrating that these conditions have to hold on the CV-tier, I claim that these processes furnish new evidence for the non-segmental tiers of the model.

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The Stop/Glide Contrast and Considerations of Phonetic Context

The goal of this study is to determine those acoustic properties of /b/ and /w/ which are perceptually relevant to the manner contrast. One current approach to the description of linguistic sounds claims that identification of a set of acoustic properties as a phonetic segment will vary depending on the context in which it occurs, another allows the possibility of invariant sets of acoustic properties defining phonetic segments. Our report is related to recent arguments within the first framework by Miller and Liberman (1979) that perceptual contrast between /b/ and /w/ is independent upon "rate", which they claim is specified by the duration of following vowel, i.e., the longer the syllable, the longer the initial formant transitions must be in order to hear a glide. Their position is based on listeners' categorization of a synthetic ba-wa continuum. Our current results replicate the claim that the phonetic contrast is dependent upon "rate", however, their function is not based on notions such as the above. One also finds that actions like 'hit' and 'buy', which have a less significant effect on a patient, are generally expressed by transitive verbs. Actions like 'kill' and 'eat', which is inconsistent both with the normal assumptions of autosegmental perception of the syllable-initial contrast between ba

Intransitive verbs while actions like 'hit' and 'buy' may be expressed by intransitive (passive) verbs which is inconsistent both with the normal assumptions of autosegmental perception of the syllable-initial contrast between ba

LGW. LEBEN, Stanford University

Mayo Tone in Lexical Phonology

In "The Representation of tone", Leben 1978 offers several arguments for lexicalized tone contrasts in Tiv. However, Pulleyblank, in recent work on Tiv, has proposed an alternative solution within the framework of lexical phonology that takes care of many cases that would otherwise call for lexically linked tones. Also, other Mande languages like Aguacatec and Tiv insertion of an optional oblique agent is generally used when the patient undergoes a significant change of state. Thus, actions like 'kill' and 'eat' are most often expressed by intransitive verbs while actions like 'hit' and 'buy', which have a less significant effect on a patient, are generally expressed by transitive (causative) verbs. Actions like 'kill' and 'eat' may be expressed by transitive (causative) verbs if one wants to draw attention away from the effect on the patient or if the effect is in any way incomplete. Similarly, actions like 'hit' and 'buy' may be expressed by intransitive (passive) verbs if one wants to focus on the effect on the patient.

THOMAS W. LARSEN, University of California-Berkeley

The Function of the Passive Voice in Aguacatec

Many languages are said to have a syntactic construction which has been called passive whose is generally expressed by Tiv or English (e.g. "John killed Bill"). However, their function is not based on notions such as the above. One also finds that sentences most naturally expressed in Aguacatec by intransitive verbs with optional oblique agents ("Bill died by John") in spite of the existence of a transitive causative stem derived from the intransitive root. Examination of the use of these constructions in texts shows that intransitive verbs (simple intransitive stems or passivized transitive verbs) with patient subjects and optional oblique agents are generally used when the patient undergoes a significant change of state. Thus, actions like 'kill' and 'eat' are most often expressed by intransitive verbs while actions like 'hit' and 'buy', which have a less significant effect on a patient, are generally expressed by transitive (causative) verbs. Actions like 'kill' and 'eat' may be expressed by transitive (causative) verbs if one wants to draw attention away from the effect on the patient or if the effect is in any way incomplete. Similarly, actions like 'hit' and 'buy' may be expressed by intransitive (passive) verbs if one wants to focus on the effect on the patient.

Jules F. Levin, University of California-Riverside

Sweet's Mysterious Russian Informant: An Investigation

Over 100 years ago Henry Sweet published some transcriptions of Russian in Revised Welsh, without accompanying notes. A native speaker visiting London. Many fine renderings of the phonetic details of spoken Russian attest to Sweet's keen perception, but there are certain anomalies and discrepancies that require investigation. Their analysis is the topic of this paper. The most significant feature of the transcription is the presence of vowel reduction in What's text vocal reduction (o ≈ a, a ≈ e) occurs in pretonic syllables. Sweet carefully notes the Rom mg [\dakwa\ok] but Rom pi [\dakwak] The informant is identified as a Moscowite, but there may have been originally from an spelling dialect-speaking area. However the broad features of the speech recorded do not correspond to any immediately recognisable dialect. In view of the over-all accuracy of Sweet's recording, we assume that he was transcribing correctly, and the implications of vowel reduction transcriptions for Russian orthography and historical dialectology are considered. Only a scant residue of puzzling transcriptions are attributed to lapses or misperceptions by the eminent phonetician.

W. R. LEBEN, Stanford University

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Jules F. Levin, University of California-Riverside

Lexical Representations of Icelandic Motion Verbs

A class of intransitive motion verbs in Icelandic exhibits a periphrastic past tense formed with the auxiliary verb vera(he) and an agreeing participle, in addition to the past perfect formed with hafa(have) and a non-agreeing participle. Thus, Icelandic differs from languages like Italian where, for a given speaker, a given verb is acceptable with just one auxiliary or the other.

(1) Eg er komin.
(2) Eg er komi.
(3) I have come(neuter) (The subject is agentic or non-agentic).
(4) I have come(fem.non.sp.) (The subject here is non-agentic).
(5) I have come(neuter) (The subject is agentic or non-agentic).

The alternation of auxiliaries in Icelandic is handled in Lexical Functional Grammar by assigning two distinct underlying lexical forms to monadic motion predicates. In the subject of the predicate, the initial OBJ is an initial OBJ. A rule of Object Preposing operates on the latter, mapping the initial OBJ onto a surface SUBJ. The analysis has consequences for the treatment of unaccusative oblique verbs in Icelandic and supports the splitting of passivization into two separate rules, Passive: SUBJ → OBJ and Object Preposing: OBJ → SUBJ.

Elle F. Prince, University of Pennsylvania

Gapping and Causal Implication

The causal-temporal implication of some conjoined sentences, in which the proposition in 2 is interpreted as subsequent to, and caused by, the proposition in 1 (Schmerling 19-5) is lost if Gapping applies. Compare (1) and (2).

(1) Al cleaned up the dishes, and Jo cleaned up the mess.
(2) Al cleaned up the dishes, and Jo cleaned up the mess.

In isolation, (1) but not (2) can suggest a situation where Al did such a poor job of washing the dishes that Jo had to clean it up after him. From this point on, the most natural readings of the two sentences are (1) and (3) respectively. The difference stems from the fact that the initial OBJ is an initial OBJ. A rule of Object Preposing operates on the latter, mapping the initial OBJ onto a surface SUBJ. The analysis has consequences for the treatment of unaccusative oblique verbs in Icelandic and supports the splitting of passivization into two separate rules, Passive: SUBJ → OBJ and Object Preposing: OBJ → SUBJ.

Nancy S. Levin, SUNY-Albany

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It has been noted that the free-stem-taking English prefix re- attaches primarily to accomplishment verbs (read, rebook, recapture the den) in order to highlight the fact that repeating the action of the V has on the Direct object (e.g., Marchand 1969, Horn 1980). We also note that the fact that productive re- makes is in enabling the speaker to express the fact that the second execution of the V is different, often perceptibly so, from the first. Since accomplishment verbs denote change from a previous state, so do cede (as well as relocate, relocate). In fact, many verbs of change were chosen for this study because they change is taking place because of a certain dissatisfaction with the O.'s state, and to further implicate an attempt to rectify such a state (rephrase, rebuke, rehash). Earlier work equating re- with narrow scope/internal again (e.g., Dowty 1979) over- looks the fact that substituting again for re- eliminates the expression of difference. Hence, dialex, the wrong number, for example, causes us to redial a different one, but we dial again--the same numbered line if the one we just dialed is not busy or the party fails to answer. Moreover, re- and again may co-occur without redundancy. When they do, at least two sets of changes are implicated. Jo renumbered her examples again, adding or subtracting data obliged her to change the number (at least) twice. But this is just what our analysis predicts: re- is specialized in a way that again is not.

BARBARA LUST, University of Illinois (TUES MORN: C)  

LI: learners' use of pragmatics in assigning anaphora  

This paper describes an experiment designed to examine the extent to which second language learners deploy strategies already demonstrated for native speakers in the processing of anaphora. Syntactic and pragmatic processing strategies (parallel function, 'blatant' and 'subtle' pragmatic factors, and lexicopragmatic factors, e.g., Springston's (1976) 'experiential' constraint) were examined via computer presentation of stimuli sentences to 130 non-native speakers whose English proficiency ranged from beginner to near-bilingual, and a control group of 28 native speakers participating in a related study. 

An analysis of the data shows that, whereas parallel function displays an orthogonal trend in relation to proficiency, LI learners do not make use of pragmatics significantly until they have reached a very high level of proficiency (TOEFL score: 550). The LI's success in accounting for native speakers' behavior is best accounted for in terms of syntactic factors. LI learners are more successful than native speakers in processing syntactic factors and less successful in processing pragmatic factors.

PETER A. MAGNUSON, Bucknell University (TUES MORN: B)  

Transformations of English Idioms  

Virtually neglected by Chomsky, the treatment of idioms within a transformational grammar is briefly discussed by Katz and Postal (1963), Weinreich (1969), and Fraser (1970). The only systematic study of English idioms, however, has been Hakkai (1972), which mainly treats phenomena in idioms. Recently, a systematic classification of over 4,000 English idioms--including information on their transformations--has been accomplished at the L.A.D.L. (Université Paris 7). After a brief presentation of the nature of this data base, three transformations involving idioms (i.e., the passive, particle movement, and passive movement) will be discussed. It is seen that the acceptability or rejection of the passive transformation for an idiom is just as erratic as it is for a sentence (e.g., the ice was broken, but the bucket was kicked). The systematic classification of structures involving both the passive and particle movement (e.g., to play a trick on someone) proves that a linear hierarchy of formlessness (Fraser 1970) is not workable. Instead, a grid- like classification of the various combinations of transformations is proposed. Our data furthermore tend to justify the concept of a lexicon-grammar (Gross 1930, 1931) where the smallest unit of meaning is the simple sentence rather than the word.

NANCY S. LEVIN, SUNY, Albany  

ALBERTE YAMOFF, George Mason University (TUES AFT: D)  

On a Meaning of Productive RE-

In this paper we argue that grammatical configuration (dominance relations) as well as linear order is consulted by young children in early acquisition of Arabic anaphora. Results are compared to previous study of English acquisition. Universal (structure-dependence) and language-specific (anaphor type) properties of anaphora acquisition are identified and related to the description of anaphora in Arabic-English.

Data result from elicited imitation and comprehension tests of 96 Egyptian children from 30-66 months, on complex sentences which varied in Branching Direction (subordinate clause left of main clause), Anaphor (anaphor follows or precedes preceding and following), and Anaphor Type (pronoun or null site). They are compared to similar English data. 

Statistical analyses show Arabic children are sensitive to each of the factors. They show a language-specific variation in favored anaphor type, null in Arabic, pronoun in English. As in English acquisition, however, Arabic children reveal a forward anaphora direction constraint on both anaphor types. Critically, this constraint is confirmed in Arabic only when BD coincides with AD, i.e., only when forward anaphora coincides with right branching and backward anaphora with left branching, confirming the role of configuration in early anaphora direction in Arabic as in English, and reflecting structure-dependence in both.
JULIANNE MAHER, New York University/Marist College

Sociolinguistic Factors in the Direction of Language Change

This paper presents evidence for a causal relationship between particular sociolinguistic factors and the direction of language change in morphosyntax. I will identify a class of contact languages that share similar sociolinguistic environments, 'lower' languages used in multilingual diglossic speech communities which are isolated from standard, specifically, types of Louisiana and Canadian French, Iowa German, Scots Gaelic, Konkani, Nahuatl, etc. These languages, in contrast to standard and to the 'upper' language in the community, demonstrate common morpho-syntactic tendencies, among which are changed in relative clauses in a dialect of Konkani and in varieties of colonial French. Najakarni (1975) discusses a variety of Konkani in contact with Kannada in which relative pronoun movement and clausal-finally markers (hanno, -ki). Two separate studies of Maine and Missouri French report identical development; relative pronouns move and question words become interrogative pronouns and clause-final markers (hanno, -ki). These examples support an enlarged view of the influence of contact on the direction of language change; Traugott's concept of natural semantics is useful in understanding the phenomena.

MARGUERITE A. MAHLER, Harvard University

Spatial Delineation of the Two French Aspectual Tenses

In order to focus primarily on aspect, this paper uses the time line and the mathematical concept of intervals to describe properties common to both the line and aspectual structures—limited here, to the imperfect 'imperfect' and the passé composé 'compound past'. It is shown that the basic contrast between these two tenses corresponds strikingly to the basic opposition of the Open/Closed Intervals, defined respectively as [t1, t2] and (t1, t2] (The set of all times, t, between t1 and t2, inclusive/exclusive of the endpoints).

The metalanguage illustrates unambiguously concepts which have been nebulous. It shows the open interval and the endpoints—an open interval and the endpoints—only internal properties discernable are [t1+t2 t] (the open interval and the endpoints of the interval). The only internal phases discernable are those corresponding to the three components of the closed interval and lexical tense replacement by logical adverbs de A 'from', jusqu'à 'until' and pendant 'for the duration'. The other component is that a clause in the imperfect does not constitute a complete linguistic utterance by itself; completion occurs through interaction with another subset of the line—an operation which reveals patterns.

J. MALING, Brandeis University

Preposition Stranding and Oblique Case

Hornstein & Weinberg(1981) propose to account for preposition-stranding in wh-constructions illustrating the language rule in (3) and a language specific rule of syntactic reanalysis. (1) Who did you talk to? (2) Such things shouldn't be talked about.

Despite a few PROPOSALS to explain why preposition-stranding in passives is more constrained than P-stranding in wh-constructions, their account treats both cases as basically involving the same rule, yet when incorporation is by means of syntactic reanalysis. Hence, it predicts that in a given language, we will find either both types of P-stranding or neither type. In this paper, we will show that there is at least one language, namely Ice landic, in which P-stranding in wh-constructions is fully productive, whereas prepositional passives are completely unacceptable. We will also show that the most straightforward way to account for this under the Hornstein & Weinberg hypothesis, namely, a case filler against oblique case-marked subjects, fails. On the other hand, an account like that in Bresnan (1982) which links only prepositional passives to a lexical reanalysis extends in a straightforward way.

LOUIS MARGIONI, Cornell University

The Mixed Construction, Causatives and Transitivity

Many approaches to Mandarin's [M]-construction treat the as an object marker; [M] predicate sentences, from sentences with [V] order by a rule that moves the object into [M]'s complement position. Such analyses cannot systematically account for correspondences between [M]-sentences like (1) and sentences like (2):

(1) You don't want to matter more noisy more big
(2) You don't make the matter more serious by further messing with it

The more the matter is messed with the more serious it will be.

In contrast, the [M]-construction corresponds to the subject of (2). To account for this [M] is analyzed as marking a causative relation between a proposition of low transitivity and a source. Because of the presence of a source the causative is higher transitivity than the proposition in (2).

Besides accounting for (1), the proposed analysis will be shown to account for the similarities between some of [M]'s complements and objects.

STEPHEN A. MARLATT, Summer Institute of Linguistics

Possessor Ascension in Sierra Popoluca

This paper documents the construction in this language, which has split-ergative person agreement. Possessor-Ascension is shown to be obligatory when certain conditions exist. The conditions include the requirement that the host noun phrase be an initial 2 and an acting 2 (Perlmutter and Postal 1977, Perlmutter 1981). There is no Possessor Ascension out of an absolutive subject. This condition on Possessor Ascension provides an argument for a Passive construction in Sierra Popoluca and for a bistratal analysis of those constructions in which a Recipient, Adresssee, or Beneficiary is the apparent final direct object. Finally, it is argued that Possessor Ascension is to 3 in Sierra Popoluca, with a subsequent advancement to 2.

JUDITH N. MAKELL, University of Chicago

"This" and "That" in Chuj (Mayan) Conversation and Narrative

The Chuj (Maya) have three sets of deictics, based on the clitics-tik 'here', -cha 'there', and ch'it 'out Of sight'. In addition to referencing physical and temporal distance, the deictics are used conversationally to underline speaker orientation. First person emphatic pronouns, if accompanied by a deictic, must always take -tik, ha[n]tik. But second person may be accompanied either by -tik or -cha, ha[n]tchha 'you, my friend or co-actor', ha[n]tchha 'you, my addressee'. This distinction is not parallel to the Spanish tu vs. Ud., informal and formal. -cha and -tik endings for person markers are always optional; the amount of speaker involvement, hence, deictic ending, is highly context sensitive though not hearer dependent.

Within narrative-ch'it and-tik are pivotal. -Tik refers out of the narrative to the real world-real time frame. -Ch'it links the characters and events within the narrative itself. -Ch'it is used both for within narrative deixis and for real world reference, serving, when needed, to contrast with ch'it and-tik respectively in these functions.

In this paper I will compare the deixis in the text of a conversation recorded in a Chuj home with that in two narratives, contrasting the uses and frequencies of the deictics in the different genres.
Do deaf children exposed to English in a sign form follow the usual sequence and manner of acquisition? Researchers have argued that generally later acquisition of the aux and -ing in 3 previously studied deaf children were the result of little perceptual salience for the morphophonemes without root forms at all. 2) bound forms are free, only sometimes near a possible root, 3) bound forms attached to almost any root, including impossible forms, when appropriate meaning could be construed, 4) forms correct and consistent in spontaneous language at the same time as incorrect and inconsistent in song and story language. Perhaps these sign forms are too salient perceptually, that is, not small, slurred, or indistinct enough relative to the roots they should be affiliated to convey their relational function to children. Or perhaps adults overemphasize these elements in the belief that they represent good English.

RACHEL MAYBERRY, Northwestern University

Remembering Sentences in American Sign Language After Twenty-Five Years

The experiment reported here examines signers' recall of sentences in American Sign Language (ASL) as a function of two ages of first exposure to sign language, from birth and after puberty. Half the signers are native signers, deaf adults who first learned to sign from their deaf parents. Half the signers are late-childhood signers, deaf adults who first learned to sign after puberty from peers and teachers. All the signers have twenty-five years or more experience with ASL. The signers recalled 60 ASL sentences, one spoken word or sign per sentence, which were written in the noise and transition eues unambiguously provide transitions, ~ption, ~lish speakers, spectrum. The signer s recalled the ASL sentences in a fashion distinct from that of the native signers. Both quantitative and linguistic data will be presented. The data extend earlier work (Mayberry, 1979; Mayberry & Fischer, 1981) demonstrating a robust effect for linguistic experience on text and sentence processing in ASL. The data also extend recent work demonstrating a robust effect for age of acquisition on comprehension and production of English as a second language (Oyama, 1982).

GEORGE P. MccASLAND

Place of Articulation as a Distinctive Feature of Fricatives

Experimental studies of the fricatives /s, z, f/ have shown that the major acoustic cues are noise intensity and spectrum and vocalic formant transitions, which are determined given the place of articulation. Acoustic variation occurs due to the quality of adjacent vowels. In perception, English speakers emphasize noise intensity; Spanish and French speakers emphasize the perceptual transition between these cues. Noise and transition cues unambiguously provide the intended fricative percepts. Place of articulation is correlated with vocal tract shapes during production, and it is readily associated with fricative percepts. It is consistent with the concept of higher level motor commands in a modern functional theory of speech processes such as that of Cooper. Jakobson and Warren's (p. 108, 141) distinctive features for fricatives: grave, acute, compact/diffuse, strident/non-strident; reflect direct acoustic measurements and the inherent variability of this level. These features replace linguistic description or use of Cooper's model.


JAMES McCLOSKEY, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Hiberno-English and the Projection of 'V

This paper examines the process of Clefting in the dialects of English spoken in Ireland. On the basis of an examination of traditional scholarly sources, an attempt is made to establish what is the generalization governing the range of constituents that may appear in the focus-position. It is argued that this generalization is X for X any lexical category: X appeared with the concept of the old man; we saw it. It's [in front of you] leaving you are? The implications of such facts for X-Bar Theory are considered. It is suggested that they argue for a conception of the projection of V in which V rather than S or S is the maximal projection. Their implications for the analysis of 'Aux' and its relation to VP are also considered.

GORDON M. MESSING, Cornell University

Lexical Reorientation in a Greek Romany Dialect

Although only a few of its old people speak Turkish, the Gypsy community of Agia Varvara, a suburb of Athens, is of Turkish origin. This is proved both by external documentation and by such linguistic evidence as: frequent Turkish loan words not attested in other Romany dialects; use of Turkish dahs 'more' in comparison of adjectives; and even some inherited Romany verbs, by new Greek-derived Romany formations; less items from Greek are supplanting older ones from Turkish; Greek-based calques are very common. Although the process is gradual, in another generation the dialect will probably be more substantially more Hellenized in its lexicon even if some Turkish morphological elements survive.

RANDA C. NULFORD, University of Minnesota

An Extended Use of Passive Pronouns in Icelandic Child Language

In standard Icelandic, possessive pronouns normally function as noun modifiers, but may serve as nominals if the antecedent is sufficiently clear. For example:

B: Net, það er kaffi í [bollanum] mafnum. "Net, there's coffee in mine [lit. my]."

Possessives used in this way are restricted to reference to objects or persons previously identified and must agree in number, gender and case with the "missing" head noun.

In the language of Icelandic-learning children, there is a further widespread use of possessive nominal that differs notably from accepted adult usage: children use possessives mind 'my/mines' and him 'your/your's for 1st and 2nd pers. reference in place of /s/n~g, mafnum 'me' and /hin\}/b61 'you'. E.g., a child playing with another might say: Mafnum er að fara í fínun niður. Pinn að sé vera helga. 'It is [I am] going to work now. Your is [you are] supposed to stay home.' This extended reference is limited to role-playing situations and does not appear until a child has mastered standard 1st and 2nd pers. pronouns. While marking agreement for possessive modifiers, children typically do not decline these nominal possessives appropriately, but use masc. eg., now and pinm in virtually all contexts. We describe sociolinguistic and morphological features of this extended pronoun system with longitudinal data from two children and discuss the significance of role-playing markers in child language.
CAROL NEHOLS, Boston University
(THURS AFT: D)

There, a, and the Genitive of Negation in Russian

Unlike genitives alternating with accusatives in Russian, those alternating with nominatives have received little attention in the literature until recently (Baby 1986, Pesetsky 1982, e.g.). I propose an analysis within the framework of Lexical Functional Grammar, suggesting that Russian objects are normally marked accusatively, and subjects nominatively. Depending on the environment in which they occur, these verbs are in some cases such as noun-verb, it is assumed that sentences are thus artefacts caused by the application of inappropriate descriptive devices.

JOHN HERBONNE, Ohio State University
(THURS MOR: B)

"Phantoms" and German Fronting: Poltergeist Constituents?

German fronting (often deceptively called "tonicisation") is generally argued to account for the position of single, non-inflected, non-elicited and usually non-subject constituents before the finite matrix verb. However, as Allott (1921) has most recently noted without attempting to explain what may be analyzed effectively as "phantom constituents" in the sense of "phantom and (1921), i.e. as constituents which do not normally appear, but which play a role (via the OTPO notion of "netralisation") in the definition of nouns or attributive. Rather than viewing a verb and its complements alone as nouns or verbs, we allow that complements may be added one by one to the verb. Each step in this addition of complements results in a potentially non-finite constituent (which must, however, also be able to have secondary structure...). The core feature of being achieved transformationally by the transformational gesture that restructures the phrase constituents in the absence of a restrictive environment, or to restructures the 1st VP into one including "phantoms", in which case it reveals features including which do not occur in German fronting. Here's more information, and a few more general points: the passage analysis shows that the process of noun-centered and "or" does not result in their ability to transcend into the phenomenon world.

JOHANNA NICHOLS, University of California-Berkeley
(THURS MOR: B)

Head-Marking and Dependent-Marking Morphology

Syntactic relations can be morphologically marked either on the head of the constituent or on a neighboring element with head-marking morphology have highly inflected verbs, inflected adpositions, inflection of possessors; dependent-marking morphology entails minimal verb inflection, extensive case paradigms, inflected adpositions which themselves govern cases. A head-marked possessive construction is Hungarian as amber a hat a]

JOHN MYHILL, University of Pennsylvania
(THURS AFT: D)

Typology as Oversimplification: The Case of Tzotzil

Tzotzil is a Mayan language spoken in the state of Chiapas in Mexico. Many noun phrases can appear unusual when it is classified along classical modern typological lines. It is split ergative (Silverstein 1976), that is it has only case marking in some situations and accusative case marking in others. Its dominant word order could be classified as VOS: an unusual type in the languages of the world (Kenen 1978). Though it is verb-initial, adjectives precede nouns: this does not cause the strong tendency for adjectives to follow nouns in verb-initial languages (Greenberg 1966). Linguists such as Kenen and Lehmann (1971) have given arguments why such languages should not be rare or unattractive. But there have been few if any arguments advanced as to why they should exist at all. I argue that Tzotzil is not organized along lines of subject, verb and object at all, rather according to two basic types of relationships: possessed-possessor and these-regular which cross-cut traditional categories such as noun-verb, adjective, and preposition: the theoepial recurrences of Tzotzil are thus artefacts caused by the application of inappropriate descriptive devices.

JOHNNIE O'CONNOR, University of California-Berkeley
(THURS AFT: D)

The nature of the Tav Languages: A Quantitative Study of Old and Middle French

Change in language typology from SVO to SVO has been a much discussed topic in contemporary phonological and sociolinguistic research, although the transitional period, when treated at all, has been given secondary importance and has been considered a period of syntactic change or, at the least, a period of word order flexibility. This paper will present the results of a quantitative study of Old French sentences containing a verb of 1200-1500 words in the corpus (where the 2000 words are divided between Old French and other languages such as Old Norse and Old Persian). The overall type is extremely stable in language families, but different types of words are affected differently. Some of the most interesting changes have occurred in the head-morphology and dependant-marginal morphologies. The results of this study will be compared with the results of a similar study of Old English sentences containing a verb of the same period.
Point of view is a crucial contextual variable, consideration of which is necessary for correctly assigning presuppositions to individuals and, in particular, for understanding the process of reading literature. Note, in this regard, that not all main clauses and associated semantic phenomena are real world phenomena. The "normal" presupposition assumes, for instance, that the speaker knows the contents of the main clause, e.g. "He was present at the meeting." However, in the case of existential presuppositions, it is not the case that the presupposition is true, it is only that the corresponding fact is believed to be true by the speaker. This is illustrated by the sentence "He was present at the meeting." in a situation where the speaker does not actually know that the meeting took place. Thus, assigning presuppositions always depends on the beliefs and knowledge of the individual or third persons—is an important link to fiction, in which no particular main clause is the case, but the reader is only one essential variable, and exhibits other formal properties of this variable.

Non-Universals in the Anatomical Nomenclature

The purpose of this paper is to test some proposed universals of anatomical nomenclature with data from Coeur d'Alene, an Interior Salish language of northern Idaho and eastern Washington. The anatomical nomenclature of Coeur d'Alene manifests a dichotomy between surface parts and internal parts. Terms for internal parts are more often ascribing presuppositions, whereas terms for surface parts are preponderantly polysemic. This compound lexical descriptions of surface parts commonly take the generic form "It is a surface contiguous to a particular plane otherwise defined." The terms of the kind "head," "ear," "nose," "foot," "tail," "back," "belly," "front," "back," are polysemic in contradiction to proposed universals of anatomical nomenclature. Nomenclatures similar to Coeur d'Alene have been reported for Colonial, a neighboring Interior Salish language, and Bella Coola, a Chilkat language of the Northwest Coast. Cross-language comparisons of lexical structures on terms for particular parts seem unlikely to disclose valid topographical universals. These negative findings suggest that the comparative study of anatomical nomenclatures requires either an inductive approach at a basic phonological level or a fresh comparative hypothesis. Marking theory may provide an explanation which fits all the data.

Essential Variables in Metarules

Gazdar introduced metarules into Generalized Phrase Structure Grammars (GPSG) in order to describe many of the natural language phenomena which for transformations had been employed. He and colleagues claim that GPSGs are both powerful enough to capture all the generalizations that were expressed by transformations, and at the same time sufficiently constrained to generate only context-free (CFG) languages. This is the basis for their assertion that all natural languages are CFG. In descriptive grammars, GPSGs for some natural language fragments use essential as well as non-essential variables in their metarules and restricted use of essential variables allows GPSGs for non-CFG languages. However, Joshi conjectured that GPSGs which omit essential variables are insufficient for natural language. He presented a counterexample to this conjecture. Furthermore, we prove that some non-recursive languages are generated by GPSGs with only one such variable.

We prove that there is a class of the kind called "useless symbols" in formal language theory that GPSGs with only one essential variable generate all recursively enumerable (r.e.) languages. Such "useless" nonterminals have been utilized descriptively in GPSG where they are called "phantom categories." We show that these "phantom categories" only a proper subclass of r.e. languages is generated by GPSGs having only one essential variable, and exhibit other formal properties of this subclass.

Discourse Structures: Distinguishing Discourse Syntax from Discourse Semantics

It is impossible to predict how, if at all, any given utterance in naturally occurring talk will be related to the utterances which preceded it. Utterances are sometimes related to relatively remote utterances and completely unrelated to adjacent ones. The topical units of discourse must therefore be built up piecemeal from the propositional content of those utterances which receive their semantic interpretation in the same discourse world. While it is the task of discourse semantics to characterize the semantic units thus assigned, it is the task of discourse syntax to characterize the surface structure relations obtaining among the utterances permitting the assignment of consecutive utterances to the proper (syntactic) "discourse unit" for resolution of all syntactic referential issues (DTR) and DTR's.

We suggest in this paper that it is necessary to assign the proper syntactic structural description to discourses in order to understand the functioning of discourse PUS/POP markers, discourse conjunctions and initializations of discourse, topicalizing sentences, nominalization (especially of previously pronominally-referenced antecedents) and linking metacomments which signal the beginning, interrupting or resumption of discourse units. As we shall show, analyses which rely on semantic (topic) chunksing alone or which conflate discourse syntactic and semantic structure can not account satisfactorily for the functioning of these devices.

A Comparison of Topicalization and Left-Dislocation in Discourse

Evidence from naturally-occurring data is presented to show that Topicalization (TOP, e.g. (1)) and Left-Dislocation (LD, e.g. (2)) have partially distinct and highly specialized discourse functions, contra Chafe 1976, Greider 1979, Reinhart 1981, inter alia:

(1) Mary I like \. . .
(2) Mary I like her.

TOP is shown to have two simultaneous functions: the marking of the leftmost NP (e.g. Mary in (1)) as Evoked or Inerriable by a set-relation inference and the marking of the open proposition as Chafe-Given. LD is shown to be separable into LD1 and LD2 on functional and dialectal grounds. LD1 having the first function of TOP but not the second. LD2 serving to introduce a new referent into the discourse whose NP would not otherwise occur in a position favored for the introduction of new referents, e.g. would not, in canonical word-order, occur sentence-finally.

The Syntax-Phonology Boundary and Current Syntactic Theories

It is implicit in standard TG theory (ST) that (1) phonology refers to only surface syntax, and (2) syntax does not refer to phonology. But these principles could be weakened by minor revisions to ST, and many have argued that they must be. Monosstral theories, with only surface syntactic representations (e.g. GPSG), differ in that they necessarily entail (1) in its strongest form. The stronger position is tenable. Auxiliary contraction and sentence stress are classic problems for it. We review the former briefly and the latter in more detail. We argue that Brennan's cyclic theory of sentence stress (1976) has been abandoned independently of preserving (1), and that a surface-structure-based theory of sentential stress is to be preferred.

Monosstral theories might appear to entail (II) as well, but we show that they do not, because lexical redundancy rules (LRR's) and syntactic features together provide analyses that circumvent it, if desired. However, if LRR's are forbidden to predict syntactic properties on the basis of phonological ones, monosstral theories will entail (II). Again, we claim that this stronger position is correct. English adjective degree marking is often cited as a difficulty for this sort of a constraint on LRR's, but we shall show that it is not: the condition that admits shorter but forbids *Intelligenter is not phonological.
This paper will examine the two participial strategies that are used for forming relative clauses in Turkish. The well-known subject/object asymmetry reflected in the choice of participle suffixes, is shown in (1).

(1) a. (subject participle [SP]) oglan "the boy who goes to school" 
b. (subject object participle [OP]) mevlut "the school that the boy goes to"

Subject RCs are formed with the SP suffix, -En, while object RCs use the OP suffix -di3k. We will show that the behavior described above follows from the Binding Theory of Chomsky (1980) and Applegate (1983) in terms of assigning different anaphoric binding properties the subject/object asymmetries follow from general principles. This treatment provides, furthermore, for a principled explanation of the RCs formed from generator NP-extraction. Consider (2) below:

(2) a. iyilan- [e kabagindeyen] "the man whose squash the ace" b. [e iyilan-in] kabagi yi-dig]den "the man whose squash ace the squash"

Use of En in (2a) is ill-formed, whereas -di3k in (b) is also ungrammatical. This is accounted for by treating -di3k as an A-Binder, locally binding the anaphoric element, in, on kabag. Using dik in (b) results in an i-inside-i violation, since the operator dik and agreement on the verb bear the same index. Thus, Hankamer/Knechel's WIP is derivable from Binding Theory.

LIAO QIZHONG, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (TUES MORN: C)

Reference Point Deletion or Continuation in Chinese Discourse

This is part of a study of discourse cohesion in Chinese. In Chinese, an independently interpretable spatial expression often consists of a partially optional proposition, a definite NP, and a definite telic or directional, or a distance in that order. The definite NP is a known object or location which serves as the reference point for the localizer or directional, or the proposition with it as the reference point does not have to be temporally localized. In temporally interpretable temporal construction, the (3) VP = VP = VP = VP = VP.

In (4a) and (4b) below, the first refers to a known temporal reference point, and the second refers to a known telic or directional one. The VP expression does not have to repeat itself once it appeared in a preceding sentence. The above phenomena would be interpreted as deletion or ellipsis from a sentential perspective. But, from a global or discursive perspective, these phenomena should be regarded as an abbreviation of old information and continuation of identical reference point.

GREGORY C. RICHTER, University of California-San Diego (THURS MORN: F)

The Phonological Strategy of Lexical Borrowing in Modern Ividian

In Modern Ividian, Syllabic Structure Constraints (SSCs) appear to dictate the site of insertion for the segment /h/ in borrowings from American English. English voiceless stops are adopted sometimes as aspirated stops and sometimes as preaspirated stops, cf. /slrouch /'slrouch/ 'slope music'. Thus, an attempt to account for the discrepancy, Hooper (1976) has suggested that SSCS play a major role in the adoption of foreign forms, and that language specific "minimal vowels" are inserted where required, e.g. Spanish /eslabon/ 'Slav', Japanese /buriki/ 'break'. In Modern Ividian, however, a "minimal consonant" /h/ is evidence instead. /h/ is inserted following English vowels perceived as phonologically short since the sequences V/h/ and /h/ are treated as a whole. The data confirm Garnes' 1976 instrumental findings in which synthesized /V/ was perceived as /V/ -- the duration of the vowel was taken as "minimal vowel" (the length of the subsequent consonant was the important). However, in the formal analysis of the language, length must be positioned underlyingly for consonants rather than vowels -- an apparent paradox.
Catherine Rudin, Wayne State College

Movement, Binding, and Island Conditions in Bulgarian Relative Clauses

Both binding and movement rules are frequently used in current generative linguistic analyses, however, it is often unclear what the properties of the two rule types are, and the usefulness of each type is sometimes questioned. The interaction of the two kinds of relative clauses in Bulgarian with "island" conditions provides a very clear demonstration of the need for two distinct kinds of rules subject to different kinds of constraints. First type of relative clause, a typical head-movement construction, respects the islandhood of NP and PP.

\[ \text{Deteto, plopio si vidjel [NP - kubs] 'The child where you saw [NP - dogs].} \]

The second type, formed with a relative complementizer and an optional bound pronoun, does not obey such islands:

\[ \text{Deteto, plopio si vidjel [NP kubs to] 'The child that you saw [NP his dog].} \]

Deletion of the pronoun in the latter type of example is subject to the island condition; controlled deletion and movement but not binding respect islands. On the other hand, a crossing constraint which accounts for so-called WH Islands in Bulgarian can be shown to constrain only binding and not movement or controlled deletion.

William J. Samarin, University of Toronto

The Curious Case of the Kongo Copula

1. The innovation of the copula- auxiliary in Sango, deviating lexically and grammatically from the Adanama-Eastern (i.e. non-Bantu) vocabulary-base and presumed grammar-base language, had been explained (e.g. Samarin 1971), in part, as an introduction by speakers of pidginized Kongo, reinforced by phonetically and grammatically similar morphemes in very different languages (e.g. Bambara) in a period of intense language contact in 19th-century Africa, or as is possible that it produced similar results in Portuguese Swahili.

2. The study suggests caution in the application of the 'foreigner talk' hypothesis (Ferguson 1971, Ferguson & Debose 1977); it argues that phonologically and formally similar forms of the morphemes that are not native to the language are the predicted consequences of creolization (Sankoff & Laberge 1974) but are remnants of dialectal variants in the donor language; 4. suggests that Samarin (1980) may have placed too much emphasis on Bangala in Sancho's analysis on Bangala in Sancho's

Ronald P. Schaeffer, University of Benin

Some Characteristic Lexicalization Types in Tawana

In the cross-language studies of Tzolim (in press; 1972), we find a typology of characteristic patterns used to lexicalize motion events. This pattern evolved from analysis of verb roots with respect to their incorporation of one or more of the postulated components: FIGURA, 3-rd TONE, V, ATE, CR-ON, NAKIAK and GAULIA. Three lexicalization types, each characteristic in a different language, were identified: FIGURA - I, 3-rd TONE (Natufian), II, 3-rd TONE (Canaanite). This approach enhances understanding of distributive and other formal types of verbs and from the verb roots.

In our study we suggest how this system of constraints reflects not one, but two, of the typological patterns discussed by Tzolim: 1) FIGURA - I, 3-rd TONE (potology, to go around, run); and 2) FIGURA - II, 3-rd TONE (to go around, run). It also suggests that the verb roots...
Boundary Strength in Syntactic Processing

Cooper and Paccia-Cooper (1980) propose a metric of boundary strength to predict prosodic features in speech production. They argue that this metric must be based, in part, on a "branching depth" hypothesis rather than a "node height" hypothesis. The purpose of my paper is to suggest that entirely different aspects of production can also be partly accounted for on the basis of this boundary strength metric. Specifically, a report will be given of experimental results using the next-word probe task where contrasts between other-than-identical alternatives were manipulated. This and a confusion matrix support the listener-based account.

Phonological Explanation for Two Sound Changes in Logudorese (Sardinian)

The developments of 19 out of 34 cases of original Latin labial velar stops in Logudorese words to geminate bilabial stops (e.g. aqua > abba) and of 17 out of 21 original Latin palatal velar stops to palatal alveolar stops (e.g. xa > ca) paralleled other cases of "labialization" and "palatalization" which are explicable on straightforward grounds, given branching depth as the basis for determining boundary strength. Methodologically, this outcome is also interesting, because it demonstrates that this probe task, first employed by Suci, et al. (1967), is indeed a sensitive indicator of BS. Moreover, it suggests that, contra Carroll (1978), configurational factors have larger effects than functional ones.

Dutch Passive-Formation

In Dutch not only transitive but also intransitive verbs may be passivized. Although the passive participle of both verb types contain the same passive morphemes (gel-), it can be shown that Dutch passive-formation is not an entirely unitary process. In the cases of transitive, only verbs assigning the thematic role THEME to their objects may be passivized. In contrast, in the cases of intransitive—which lack object—only verbs assigning the thematic role THMt to their subject may be passivized. However, for intransitives there are no further semantic constraints on passivization, but for transitives the required AGENT must also be "LE.

That passive is sensitive to argument structure is not surprising; Williams (1981) has argued that all morphological rules affect argument structure. However, whereas the rules which Williams discusses produce singular changes, in Dutch passive-formation either of two changes in argument structure may occur: 1) an internal THEME is externalized, or 2) an external AGENT is internalized. We will show that these two argument structure rules are triggered by the same morphological process, that the two rules are ordered with respect to each other, and that this ordering follows from the form of the rules themselves (under an extension of Kiparsky's Elsewhere Condition).

Resumptive Pronouns in Relative Clauses in Non-Native Liberian English

More than 3200 relative clauses from Liberian English (LE) speech were analyzed quantitatively using the VAREBUL program, and the following questions were addressed:

1. Which do the relativization strategies of substratal languages—particularly with regard to resumptive pronouns—have on a pidginized speech variety? In Liberian Mende substratal languages like Glo, a resumptive pronoun must be inserted into every relative clause in Glo substratal languages like Krio. It may only be inserted in subject position—a clear counterexample to the relevant corollary of the Accessibility Hierarchy. The results of this study suggest that the extent of substratal influence on a pidgin is linked to degree of homogeneity of the substratal input. In one variety of LE, the substratal input is mixed, i.e. Kru and Mande, and no Kru influence shows up—even among Kru-first-language speakers. In a second variety of LE, however, the substratal input is predominantly Kru, and Kru influence is strong.

2) Krochr and Hindle (1981) correlate the complexity of processing strategies with variability in resumptive pronoun occurrence: can this be confirmed, or are other factors more salient? K&M's prediction that resumptive pronouns will occur more frequently clause-externally than clause-finally (because of the difficulty of processing clauses with gaps) is not borne out; instead, other, unrelated factors prove more significant.

MICHAEL B. SMITH, University of California-San Diego

On the Correlation of Subjecthood and Ephemeral Dummies in German

The dummy es occurs initially in many constructions in German: Es spitzt sich ein Kind in Serie. Å A child is playing in the street: Es wird hier put retenst There is good sadness here. In some constructions the dummy es disappears if another element occupies initial position: Es kauft ein Kind: Hier wird put retenst. In other constructions as well as between ellipses it can be put as a non-categorical dummy: Es machen gut das Deutsche: There are two years there; and in the sentence There is good sadness here. In some constructions the dummy es disappears in the same syntactic context in which there are no subjunctive constructions. Therefore, the present investigation deals with the dummy es phenomenon in the context of the Accessibility Hierarchy. The results of this study suggest that the extent of substratal influence on a pidgin is linked to degree of homogeneity of the substratal input. In one variety of LE, the substratal input is mixed, i.e. Kru and Mande, and no Kru influence shows up—even among Kru-first-language speakers. In a second variety of LE, however, the substratal input is predominantly Kru, and Kru influence is strong.

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Topicalization in Standard German

Topicalization in Modern Standard German differs from its English counterpart in a couple of ways, most of which have been at least mentioned in the literature on German syntax. German topicalization can front strings that could not be topicalized in English, it is clause bounded, and it has been blamed in some analyses for filling all first-position slots in "verb second" assertion clauses. There are two properties, however, that cause English topicalization to share, according to all analyses of the phenomenon in the two languages, I am aware of: 1. A sentence-initial constituent is the appropriate site for fronting, whereas that same constituent in the sentence (and that distinct from any other constituent) may be topicalized. 2. This "dissociated" constituent plays the pragmatic role of the topic in the sentence. It is clause that doesn't quite work for German. There are cases in German where the dislocated topic does not take first position. Moreover, there are cases in which the order of topicalization and non-topicalization sentences will yield not only different readings, but different pragmatic interpretations. Thus, in my view topicalization bears a complex relationship to the topic in the sentence.

The range, extent, and frequency of use of topicalization, including underlying linking, hyphenation, italics, boldface, and bracketing in the same article, and sometimes develop a topic in a disjunctively, using a "different domain" (Scheff gen in Rudow 1972) technique. The range, variety, and frequency of use of frequency from the lexical to the discourse level, creates a distinctive register. Most of the linguistic features function primarily to (1) illustrate by example that the everyday world is in fact quite strange, and (2) create a technical language about everyday happenings. Simultaneously, the features (3) mark who is and who is not an ethno while developing a core of dedicated followers. Some features, however, only function as (3), a marker of being ethno. These identifying features, usually adverbs e.g., in the first instance, massively, of sorts, ostensibly, and others, suggest that ethnomethodology is attempting to emphasize its new, unique sociolinguistic paradigm by emphasizing its new and unique register.

Further Reading

KASHI WALC, Syracuse University

Argument from Multiple Headed Correlatives

Multiple Headed Correlatives (MHC) as in 1 have been cited as prime evidence for alloting Modern Indo Aryan Single Headed Correlatives (SHC) an adjoined clause structure by Andrews & others. These analyses are however merely impressionistic. This paper for the first time gives a detailed syntactic account of both MHC & SHC. It shows that only MHC satisfy Hale's adjoined structure criteria. The two differ on many crucial points thus questioning the validity of the MHC argument. The paper argues that the SHC structure is problematic since it neither fits the adjoined nor complex NP type. (The data is based on Marathi)

1. Jyaa mulaane jyaa nulliaa je punkat dila tyanaa tilaa te daakhvila navta
   (The boy who gave the book to her had not shown it to her) (SRC)

2. Jyaa mulaane tilaa punkat dila tyanaa tilaa te daakhvila navta
   (Which boy gave which girl which book to whom if one of the two coexisting NP's is part of what I called the fixed part of an open proposition, while the other NP represents the new value of the variable in that open proposition. The second occurrence of me in 1, then, is part of the fixed part of the open proposition 'x messed me up', and happens to be coreferential with the new value of the variable (1). The fixed part of the open proposition acts as an opaque environment and must be 'given information' in the sense of Chafe (1976), while the variable in question represents 'new information' and receives primary stress, cf. Wilson & Sperber, 1979; Prince, 1981.)
In this paper, I will claim that Sp. is verb initial at D/S. In order to prove my case, I will first show that the following generalization holds: (1) Sp. req. Ss. requires the pattern in Chomsky (1965) unless there is a neg. phrase in preverbal position, in which case no must be absent. Next, I will show that (1) is a language specific condition on LF, since this is the only possible explanation for the apparent exceptional character of (2) A ningún de los amigos de [SJ]. Indeed, since the LF representation of (2) is that given under (3), it follows that (1) holds at LF: (3) for which X, a person, no vieron a ninguno de los amigos de [SJ].

Similarly, in the case of this approach, it also follows that the change of NP's (5) and neg (6) because the latter constitutes a violation of (1): (4) Ninguno de los amigos de quien no conoço? ‘None of the friends of whom didn’t exist?’; (5) for which X, a person, (ninguno de los amigos de X) no conoces. Since the reconstruccion rule, which places the neg. subject in postverbal position, must be the position in which it originated in D/S, according to the terms of trace theory, it follows that Sp. is a verb initial language at the D/S level, and the claim made in this paper is substantiated.

TONY C. WOODBURY, University of Texas-Austin

MARTHA S. WRIGHT, Tsinghua University

A Multi-Tiered Syllable Structure for ASL

In contrast to the flat syllable structures which have been proposed for American Sign Language (ASL) (Kegl and Wilbur, 1976; Chinoch, 1978; Newkirk, ms.; Liddell, 1982), this paper outlines the existence of the multi-tiered theory of syllable structure proposed by Calais and Peñalstein (1982) to ASL. As expected, ASL allows the unmarked syllable branching into an optional Onset (On) and a required Rhyme (Rh). When On occurs, it appears to be restricted to Hold (H) segments (using the distinction identified by Liddell, 1982). The Rh is divided in Nucleus (Nu) and an optional Coda (Cd), which appears to be restricted in the same way as On, as predicted by Calais and Peñalstein. The Nu consists of at least a required Peak (Pk) and an optional Satellite (Sa). Movements in ASL are categorized into those which may be Sa ("local" movement) and those which can only be Pk (linear movement). When both Pk and Sa occur, they are realized simultaneously. Nu and Cd are realized simultaneously except in the cases where Pk is linear (suggesting a new definition for Hold). This proposed structure allows formal recognition of the ambiguously status of some movement (eligible to be both Pk or the more marked Sa) as well as constraints on syllable structures and metasyntactic and sequential constraints of On and Rh.

MAURICE K. WONG, Texas Instruments, Inc.

The Changed Tone in Two Cantoneses Dialects: A Tone Merger Hypothesis

The phenomenon known as bín9lín, or "tone change", occurs in a number of Cantonese (or Yu) dialects. Some cases of tone change are predictable by phonological rules; other cases involve various semantic, morphological and syntactic tendencies that favor one of the following conditions. In standard Cantonese, the changed tone has the same tone value as one of the basic tones, the high rising tone, and thus on the surface many of the four non-high tones may alternate with the high rising tone. (e.g. (1) tin35 'swallow' vs (pak2 tin53) 'canary';(tin2) 'correct'; vs lup3 in35) 'of course';(tin2) vs (g435 tin35) to perform'; vs (tin239 vs (mak2 tin35) 'ink tone'). In a Shihnan dialect, the changed tone has three distinct tone values; each of the three non-high tones forms a distinct set (vs (tin35) 'friend'; vs (g435 tin35) 'war'; vs (g435 tsi35 'go to war').)

In the Phenomenon of Tone Change, some languages ascribes this change to a high contextual mechanism which governs the occurrence of the changed tone, and therefore tone change is a relatively recent development in the history of Cantonese.

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A Metrical Analysis of Shanghai Tongal Sandhi

An analysis of Shanghai tonal sandhi is presented, based on stress-footing within the word, and the limits of 2-syllable per foot, as described by Bates (1980). The tone bearing unit is shown to be the word and assignment of tone on compounds proceeds first from left to right starting at the second mora of the compound. Verbs at the end which do not receive a tone from the following mora receive a core value of 1, as described by Haile and Vergnaud (1982). Furthermore, the tone assignment domain is argued to be the foot, yielding different mapping for three and four syllable compounds.

This mapping system is shown by the following pronunciation rule, accounts for three problems which had previously in analyses by Zee and Munitz (1971) and Yip (1980).

1) Initial short and long syllables with the same 1H melody show a split in pattern within the complex, and this is simply accounted for by the analysis, whereas other work had assumed ad hoc rules. 2) Third syllable L is shown by all rise-rise-rise patterns except initial short IH ones. The solution here also follows simply from the mapping, and 'core value' analysis. 3) The lack of splitting of tone classes in four syllable compounds follows from the two-foot structure, and no additional rules are necessary for these forms.

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Passive and Oblique Case

Both traditional grammarians discussing historical change, and recent proponents of GB-theory assume that the following generalization must be maintained and explained: "Oblique case is immune from passivization" (Ben Besten(1982)). In this paper, we will show that this principle is not universal, and that Modern Icelandic is a particularly clear exception to it. Recent work on Icelandic syntax has led to the development of several tests distinguishing subjects from topological NP's in that language. These tests all use syllable phenomena word order, extraction restrictions, dummy insertion and control of reflexives. We will show that all these tests, the initial NP in (1) is a grammatical subject, despite the fact that the verb agrees with the postverbal NP, and the fact that it is the postverbal NP which is nominative, whereas the initial NP is in the dative.

1) Honum voru oft gefnar baueur. ‘He(D) were (pl) often given(N,F,pl.) books(N,F,pl.).’

We will then discuss the consequences of this finding for proposed principles of the interaction between syntax and morphology in language change, specifically for those principles pertaining to the appearance of "indirect" passives in Middle English.
This paper examines morphological resegmentation from the hypothesis that morphological paradigms are organized according to principles similar to natural categories. A flurry of recent work has aimed at showing that semantic phenomena, like organization of senses, can be described in terms of natural categories (e.g. Lakoff, 1982). Similar results for organization of forms in morphology have been reported by Bybee and Slobin (in Language, 1982). Their study draws on data of a morphophonological form class, the strong ablauting verbs of English. This paper will look instead at the organization of forms through a single paradigm, namely, the passive imperfect paradigm of the northern dialects of Modern Greek. Among these dialects, it is more common for the forms of this one paradigm to show idiosyncracies than those of any other paradigm. The idiosyncracies strongly suggest that massive resegmentations have occurred in the person-number markers. No one dialect, however, seems better equipped to make the necessary distinctions than any other, or than the proto-form, as a result of the changes. If both old and new segmentations are transparent and communicative, then why should there be change? What the changes among the dialects have in common, I will argue, is that the passive imperfect is organized as a natural category, meaning that there is a prosodic pattern prescribed for members of the paradigm. The resegmentation that occurs can thus be seen rather as an accidental by-product of formulicization of that pattern.
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LYNN GORDON, Washington State University
PAMELA MUNRO, University of California Los Angeles

Raising Rules and the Projection Principle

Chomsky (1981) proposes the Projection Principle (PP), which states that a given predicate will have the same subcategorization properties in D-Str, E-Str, and Logical Form (LF); this subcategorization determines the semantic 9-roles of the arguments. As Chomsky points out, PP interacts with other properties of his system to restrict possible raising rules; To see how this works, consider a schematic statement of a classical Raising rule:

\[ \text{Raising} \rightarrow \text{EPP} \rightarrow \text{Host} \]

In the pre-raising structure, the upstairs predicate will appear in a subcategorization frame that includes just the host constituent; in the post-raising structure the frame will include both host and NPR. There is therefore a violation of PP. Given data that might lead one to set up a Raising rule like (1), there are three moves consistent with PP: (A) The Single-Constituent Analysis: Contrary to appearances, NP remains part of the host at all levels, and the data that motivated the putative Raising rule is handled in some other way. The standard EST analysis of English Raising to Object (R-to-0) is an example: There it is claimed that no raising has taken place, and the data with Passive, Reflexive, etc. is taken care of by rules of S' Deletion and Exceptional Case Marking, which have the effect of making the host clause "transparent" to the relevant rules. (B) The non-9 GF Analysis: There we postulate that a raising does take place, but that NP is moved to a position previously occupied by an empty NP with a grammatical function that has no 9-role, a "non-9 GF." We thus get the same output structure as the classical Raising rule, but there is no violation of PP, since the frame includes both host and an NP at all levels. This is Chomsky's analysis of English Raising to Subject (R-to-S): (e)PP is likely [John to win] = (move-9PP) John is likely [1 to win]. (C) The Extra-Argument Analysis: There we postulate that NP is base-generated in its 5-Str location outside the host, and the semantic role NP plays in the host is handled by an Equi-type control mechanism: in effect you postulate a persuasive-type structure rather than an expect-type structure.

Of course PP will make testable predictions only to the extent that we can constrain the use of B and C type analyses. For example, Chomsky argues (1981:327) that PP rules out in principle the classical English Raising-to-Object rule. To show this, he rules out an extra-argument analysis by arguing (obviously correctly) that expect and other R-to-0 verbs are semantically two-place predicates, with no 9-role to assign to an extra argument. Similarly, he rules out a non-9 GF analysis (p37-8) by an independent condition that states that a subcategorized position must have a 9-role. Since objects are subcategorized, a non-9 object GF is ruled out. (Note that this argument implies some difficulties for the natural GB analysis of extraposed object clauses, which appear to leave a dummy (non-9) object: "I regret it very much that John left.")

In this paper we test PP by examining a series of apparent Raising constructions for which the single-constituent analysis can be ruled out immediately. Our arguments are of two sorts: First, we look at a number of examples which collectively cast doubt on PP by showing that analyses consistent with PP will require exactly the sort of unmotivated non-9 GFs and extra arguments that Chomsky sought to rule out in his discussion of English R-to-0. While an EST model is powerful enough to permit analyses consistent with PP, the moves required remove any empirical content from PP. Second, one of our claimed rules, Chickasaw Possessor Raising, applies to its own output. If, as we suspect, the number of successive applications of PP is limited by performance factors, rather than by anything in the competence grammar, then an analysis consistent with PP would require an unbounded number of non-9 GFs or extra arguments in the lexical entry for the PP predicates.

1. Raising-to-Object
Modern Persian (Mayne & Garden, Li 5:203-50)

(1) a. man mimsh-an [ke ali beyday-ad\]g
I want 3SG COMP A. come 3SG
"I want Ali to come."

b. man[ali-ad\] mimsh-an [ke (u) beyday-ad\]g
I A. OSG want 3SG COMP (he) come 3SG
"I want Ali to come."

Modern Greek (Joseph, 1975 Harvard PhD thesis; Perlmutter & Soames 1979:154ff)

(3) O yanes afias [zon kombojena fтан s to xtemel]
"John let things come to a head."

John/NOM 1st let the knot/ACC COMP arrive at the comb
In these three languages, the putative Raiser NP appears in the normal DO position, separate from the host clause; the host S' is tensed and has a visible COMP. There is thus no hope of handling these by a Single-constituent Analysis parallel to Chomsky's analysis of English.

Any analysis compatible with PP will need to base-generate a DO NP, either as a non-O CP or as an extra argument. Either move leads to problems.

A non-o direct object raises the raising data well enough, but it requires abandoning the constraint on non-O CPs: There would be no reason not to apply a parallel analysis to English non-DO cases setting up an extra argument looks better, but has its own problems. It results in a semantically unmotivated control statement for the contrast between Persian (5a) and (5b).

In particular, (7) has a good reading with koya coreferent with Here. To handle this in an extra-argument analysis, NP should "koya's knot" would have to be base-generated separately. J. Most seriously, in Fijian NP should act for purposes of coreference if it were still downstair, contrasting with "real" 3-place predicates like "ask":

(5a) man as ostovár mix'khäm [ke saríba bey'î-ad] "I want that the sergeant that the 
man [ostovár r̴-r̴] mix'khäm [ke saríba bey'î-ad] "I want that the sergeant that the 
'sergeant OBJ want S'COMP private come S'COMP pro S'COMP want DET S'COMP help person DET M. "Samu asks him/her that Here help him/her."

(7) e vinakati [koya] ko Samu [ni vuken ko Mere] (koya = Mere)

Samu wants Here to help the girl.

(8) e vinakati [koya] ko Samu [ni vuken ko Mere] (koya = Mere)

Samu wants Here to help the girl.

2. Greek permits raising of idiom chunks, so that (3) has the idiomatic reading of "The knot arrives at the comb."

With an extra-argument analysis, NP should "koya's knot" would have to be base-generated separately. J. Most seriously, in Fijian NP should act for purposes of coreference if it were still downstair, contrasting with "real" 3-place predicates like "ask":

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Fijian has the familiar structural condition on coreference, so that koya in the matrix of (6) must be Abandoned or Modified on its own.

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Samu wants Here to help the girl.
This colloquium is an excerpt from Langendoen and Postal (forthcoming). Its aim is to show that the collection of sentences comprising each individual natural language (NL) is so vast that its magnitude is not given by any number, finite or transfinite. This means that NLs cannot, as is currently almost universally assumed, be considered recursively enumerable, hence countable (denumerable) collections of sentences. For if they were such, the magnitude of each would be no greater than the smallest transfinite cardinal number $\aleph_0$. There can then be no procedure, algorithm, Turing machine or grammar that constructs or generates all the members of an NL. For, by definition, any such system can construct or generate only recursively enumerable, hence countable, collections. A system which constructs some NL sentences must inevitably leave most NL sentences unconstructed.

Linguistic research over the past quarter century has largely been guided by two major assumptions introduced by N. Chomsky: (i) that the best theory of NLs is a theory of grammars that generate NLs; and (ii) that human beings know an NL in virtue of knowing a grammar that generates it. These assumptions cannot be maintained. The only adequate theories of NLs are, we contend, those that posit nonconstructive or nongenerative grammars. The theory of such grammars is truths about NLs in general, or about particular NLs; one of these theories states that no procedure can construct or generate all the sentences of any NL. Accordingly, if human knowledge of NLs is limited to what internalized grammars can generate, then that knowledge is extraordinarily deficient. Put differently, if psychologically real (internalized) grammars are generative, then those grammars describe not NLs, but at best only proper subcollections of NLs.

Our conclusion concerning the vastness of NLs is based on a demonstration of a strict parallelism between the collection of all sentences of an NL and the collection of all sets. The discovery at the end of the last century and the beginning of this century of various so-called paradoxes showed that the collection of all sets is not itself a set, that is, is not a collection with a fixed magnitude and which is a member of other collections. These paradoxes are contradictions which arise from the assumption that various collections are sets, and thus prove they are not sets but rather what are called proper classes in set theory. See Cantor (1967). The contradictions in question include the Burali-Forti Paradox, Russell’s Paradox and, most importantly for present purposes, Cantor’s Paradox; see Beth (1959), Eisenberg (1971), Fraenkel (1966), Fraenkel, Bar-Hillel and Levy (1973), and Quine (1963). We show that it is possible to model Cantor’s Paradox in NL sentences from the assumption that the collection of all NL sentences is a set. This immediately entails that such collections are not sets but rather proper classes.

The modelling in question depends on the parallelism between NL coordination of sentences and the set-theoretic association of each set $E$ with a provably bigger set called the power set of $E$ (henceforth: $P(E)$). $P(E)$ is the set of all subsets of $E$. The fact that $P(E)$ is always larger than $E$ is called Cantor’s Theorem, after its discoverer Georg Cantor; it is one of the most fundamental results in set theory. See Eisenberg (1971).

We argue that for each set $F$ of sentences of the same type, e.g., declarative) of an NL $L$ there exists some single sentence of $L$ consisting of the coordinate compounding of all the members of $F$. For example, let $L$ be English and $F$ the set in (1):

(i) a. Gregory is handsome.
   b. Figs can kill.
   c. Most pterodactyls are morose.

There then exists a coordinate compound of all of (1), namely:

(2) Gregory is handsome, figs can kill and most pterodactyls are morose.

We claim that it is no accident that a sentence like (2) exists for each set like (1), but rather that this is lawful for NLs. The principle determining that such a coordinate compound exists is called the principle of closure for coordinate compounding (henceforth: CLOSURE).

Consider again some arbitrary set of sentences $F$ of an NL $L$. For each nonnull, nonsingleton member of $P(F)$, there is, by CLOSURE, a distinct sentence of $L$. Let $G$ be the set union of all those sentences with $F$. For example, if $F$ is (1), then $G$ is (3):

(3) a. = (1a)
   b. = (1b)
   c. = (1c)
   d. = (1d)
   e. = (1e)
   f. = (1f)
   g. = (1g)

By definition, $G$ is a subset of $L$. Since the members of $G$ can be put into one-to-one correspondence with the nonnull members of $P(F)$, the cardinality of $G$ is, by Cantor’s Theorem, greater than that of $F$.

Now, suppose, contrary to what we wish to show, that $L$ is itself a set of sentences. Then, by the preceding remarks, $L$ contains a set of sentences whose cardinality is greater than that of $L$ itself, namely, a set of coordinate compounds like (3), one for each nonnull member of $P(L)$. But this is a contradiction. Hence $L$ cannot be a set.

Given the demonstration that NLs are not sets, it immediately follows that no NL has any generative (proof theoretic, Turing Machine, procedural, or constructive) grammar, since, by definition, all such systems specify recursively enumerable collections, hence finite or countably infinite sets. Consequently, every theory of NL grammars which takes these to be generative systems is falsified. More specifically, what is demonstrated is that every logically possible version of almost every extant theory of NL grammars is false, e.g., every version of phrase structure grammar, lexical/functional grammar, Montague grammar, transformational grammar, daughter dependency grammar, and many others. The overall program of generative grammar is shown to be based on a misconception of the nature of NLs and their grammars. Basically, this program is defined by the question: what is the right form of
generative grammar for NLs? But the present results show that no NL has any correct generative grammar, and so the whole program is misguided.

The only extent conception of NL grammars known to us which survives is the nonconstructive approach of Johnson and Postal (1980) and Postal (1982). This framework takes NL grammars to be combinations of statements which determine necessary and sufficient conditions for sentencehood via the logical notion of satisfaction but which provide no procedure for constructing sentences. Thus, the present results support this view of NL grammars, which in effect takes them to have the axiomatic character of, e.g., set theories.

A further consequence of CLOSURE and the nonsenthood of NLs is that contrary to the standard view that all NL sentences are finite in size (length), there is no upper bound on sentence length at all. Each NL therefore contains sentences of transfinite length. In fact, for any transfinite cardinal number \( \alpha \), there is some sentence of each NL longer than \( \alpha \). This consequence illustrates a further respect in which the assumptions underlying generative grammar are incorrect. If each NL sentence were, as assumed in generative grammar, a finite object, then NLs would fail naturally in the formal domain of what can be called theoretical computer science, a domain concerned with recursively enumerable sets, algorithms, effective procedures, etc.; see Hopcroft and Ullman (1979), Lewis and Papadimitriou (1981). Since NLs involve sentences of all transfinite sizes, however, they do not lie within this limited mathematical domain, but only within a much broader slice of mathematical reality studied in higher set theory.

References

ABSTRACTS
of symposium pap
Biographical accounts of the life and work of individual scholars are an important tool for historians of knowledge. All recent work in the history of linguistics includes such accounts, yet even major volumes include almost no references to the work of women scholars. This invisibility of women scholars is partly due to the fact that women did not begin to contribute to linguistics in significant numbers until the present century. However, at this time we have before us the work of a generation of women scholars whose careers have reached full maturity. The Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics has selected for biographical treatment six scholars, all either retired or deceased: Marguerite Durand, Eli Fischer-Jørgensen, Kerstin Hadding, Ruth Hirsch Weir, Adelaide Hahn, and Mary R. Haas. These women represent a variety of fields, experienced diverse career trajectories, and come from several national traditions. They share, however, attainment of the highest levels of distinction in linguistic scholarship. The presenters, who are all students or colleagues of the subjects, will assess their contributions, placing the scholarship of these women in the contexts of their lives and careers. The symposium will honor these scholars with a place in the annals of their science, contribute to the history of linguistics by 'making visible' the contributions of a generation of eminent women linguists in order to provide a balanced range of biographical materials for future historians of our field, and demonstrate to young men and women entering linguistics that the highest levels of linguistic scholarship are the province of both sexes.
Marguerite Durand died twenty years ago but through her writings she emerges as a very modern, very versatile, and very independent scholar of language. From 1936 when she submitted two theses to the Université de Paris ("Grammatical gender in Parisian French" and "Experimental study of consonant duration in Parisian French") to 1962 she made significant contributions to such diverse areas as the phonetics and phonology, including the perception, of the duration of speech sounds, child language, aphasia, sound change, poetics, psycholinguistics, and the phonetics and phonology of particular languages, e.g. D'yak, Tahitian. She conducted research on speech perception at Haskins Laboratories in the early 50's and was perhaps the first person to apply the results of such empirically-based modern studies of speech acoustics to questions of sound change ("The role of the listener in the formation of the sounds of language" 1956). In her academic career, she began as a teaching assistant to F. Pouche (Eli Fischer-Jørgensen was one of her students) and ended as president of the Société de Linguistique de Paris in 1961. Her independence manifested itself in many ways: she delayed publication of her book, Long vowels and short vowels (1946) by 3 years rather than seek authorization for publication from the occupation forces in France during the war.

Arthur S. Abramson, University of Connecticut/Haskins Laboratories

Eli Fischer-Jørgensen

Eli Fischer-Jørgensen's important contributions to linguistic scholarship can best be seen under two headings: research in experimental phonetics and assessments of trends in linguistics. Under the first, early in her career at a time when linguistic phoneticians, as contrasted with those in the biological or physical sciences, were not accustomed to doing so, she eagerly plunged into the use of instruments to test linguistic hypotheses. This led to a steady output of research efforts. Under the second heading, Fischer-Jørgensen has produced a number of explanatory and critical overviews of descriptive methods, theoretical constructs, and now theories in general linguistics, with special attention to phonology.

This presentation will cover the highlights of a span of some fifty years in these endeavors. In addition, her role as a prime mover in linguistic education and international scholarly cooperation will be stressed.

Moira Lindup, University of California-Los Angeles

Kerstin Hadding

Kerstin Hadding (b. 1915) started her career in phonetics relatively late in life, after rearing four children, and she ultimately became Professor of Phonetics at the University of Lund in Sweden. She got started with Kenneth Pike at Ann Arbor in the early fifties, and continued with Bertil Malmberg in Sweden. She also worked on research fellowships at the Phonetics Department of Edinburgh and at Haskins Laboratories in New York. In the fifties and sixties she was a pioneer in the use of electro-myoigraphy, spectrographic analysis and speech synthesis on Swedish intonation material. Her contributions consist to a large extent of integrated work on prosody, but she has also contributed to the field of child language studies. She retired in 1979.

Jean Berko Gleason, Boston University

Ruth Hirsch Weis

Ruth Hirsch Weis is perhaps best remembered for her 1962 volume on language acquisition, Language in the Crib. In this book, she described her own children's development of language, and, by making tape recordings of their pre-sleep monologues, was able to document the fact that children engage in spontaneous language play and pattern practice. Interest in the book was such that it went into a second printing in 1970, five years after her unexpected death at the age of only 39. Language development was, however, only one of her interests: she also published a college textbook on the Czech language and a number of works related to the teaching of foreign languages. Her Michigan doctoral dissertation was A Study of Some Aspects of a Judeo-Spanish Dialect as Spoken by a New York Sephardic Family. She was born in Czechoslovakia on 8 October 1926, and attended the Charles University in Prague, where she became qualified as a teacher of English in Czech schools. She came to the US in 1947, and later held positions at the Foreign Service Institute, at Georgetown University, and at Stanford. Her brief career has had a lasting impact on our discipline.

Robin Tolmach Lakoff, University of California-Berkeley

Adelaide Hahn

Adelaide Hahn (1893-1967), scholar, educator, feminist and indefatigable professional activist, was a prominent personality in linguistics during her long career. As alumna and faculty member at Hunter College, she made a permanent mark on the high standards and distinguished reputation of that institution. Her contributions to Indo-European studies, ranging from textual analysis through extensive studies of Hittite syntax to her final synthetic monograph on naming constructions, were honored by the Collits Professorship at the Linguistic Institute in 1951. She served on many executive boards and was President of the Linguistic Society of America in 1946. She particularly valued the professional meeting as an arena for scholarly communication, and participated unflaggingly as discussant and presenter. Indeed, the formidable prospect of a report from Adelaide Hahn kept a whole generation of American linguists honest in their use of examples from classical languages. This review of Professor Hahn's life and work will emphasize the range and depth of her many contributions to linguistics.

Sally McElroy, Hunter College, CUNY

Mary R. Haas

Mary Haas (b. 1910) was a member of the distinguished group of American linguists trained by Edward Sapir at Yale University. In her own turn, during a long career at the University of California-Berkeley, Professor Haas has trained many of the men and women who stand now in the first rank of the linguistic profession. Her diverse scholarly contributions range from Southeast Asian languages to American Indian linguistics, and include both descriptive work and daring syntheses in historical linguistics, as well as contributions to sociolinguistics. She has done extensive field work and has sponsored and encouraged the field work of many students of American Indian languages. The present paper will review Professor Haas's life and work, in order to suggest how, during a long career, she has helped to shape modern linguistics.
abstracts

of the American Association for Applied Linguistics
JOSH ARD, University of Michigan

A Differential Perspective for Second Language Acquisition Studies

The primary purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that studies of second language acquisition can profit from the adoption of a wide differential perspective. Differential linguistics (cf. Wildgen 1977, Akhmanova and Polubienko 1979) is the branch of linguistics that analyzes and compares different language (sub)systems. Hence, second language acquisition studies form a portion of differential linguistics, since they involve a comparison of an interlanguage with i) the NL, ii) the TL, and/or iii) stages of the TL found in child language acquisition. The investigation of second language acquisition from a differential perspective emphasizes similarities (universals) of different analyses.

In this paper I will investigate differential concerns common to 2nd lg. acq. and other areas, devoting special attention to the problem of external influence in historical change ('borrowing') and in 2nd lg. acq. (esp. 'transfer'). Of special interest is the fact that the influence is often very delayed temporally in both domains and the external influence is often just one of several interacting relevant factors on development. Finally, the problems of justifying external influence as a causal factor in both domains will be discussed and compared.

FRANK BRANDON, UNICAMP

Cultural Factors and the Microcomputer in the Production of a Bilingual Dictionary

This paper reports on the use of a microcomputer to produce a culturally and linguistically appropriate bilingual dictionary for the approximately 5000 speakers of Satere, a Tupi language of northern Brazil. The main focus is on the way a microcomputer can make it possible to produce a bilingual dictionary focused entirely on the cultural needs of a very small population, something which would otherwise be perhaps too costly because the reduced number of potential users would make it uneconomic, resulting in no dictionary at all or a dictionary aimed at the majority culture. [In this case, a version of the dictionary is also being prepared for the majority culture.] The dictionary is viewed as an essential part of a bilingual education program and as a way of affirming the value of the minority language to both cultures. Although the report concentrates on a specific group and concerns a Portuguese-Satere/Satere-Portuguese dictionary, the methods developed should be of interest to those who work with any other of the very small minorities of the world, whose cultural/linguistic survival and capacity for fruitful and non-traumatic incorporation in the majority culture could benefit from the same sorts of bilingual programs more readily available to large minority groups.

ROANN ALTMAN, University of Southern California

Interlanguage Modality

A very difficult segment of English for second language learners is the system of modality. In order to gain more insight into the acquisition of the English modal system, the oral interlanguage of 7 learners with 4 different native languages was investigated. Since the modal auxiliaries appear relatively infrequently in L2 learner speech, and when they do appear they seem to be performing several different functions, it was decided to use a functional/semantic framework for the analysis. The basic framework adopted is that of Palmer (1979), using the two major categories of epistemic (probability) and deontic (obligation) modality with three levels of strength within each. All modal expressions in the data (periphrastic verbs and adverbs as well as the modal auxiliaries) were categorized according to the functions they represented. The instances were tallied and only those forms occurring at least 3 times for any one function were considered in the final analysis. The results show that lower-proficiency students: (1) produce fewer modal expressions, (2) produce the smallest variety of modal expressions, and (3) tend to use one modal to express a particular function or set of functions (and there does not appear to be any correlation between the form selected and the native language of the learner). The results of this study lend further support to the need for including function as well as form in the investigation of learner interlanguage.
APPLIED LINGUISTICS AND THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE URBAN UNIVERSITY

Arthur J. Bronstein and William A. Stewart, Graduate School and Lehman C. Cuny

The rationale of the urban university has shifted considerably in the course of the present century — from the private, elitist school with its strong commitment to the classic disciplines, to the training ground of the intellectually inclined and strongly upward mobile children of immigrants, through more recent policies of admission open to all, to the present state of pedagogical and curricular reassessment in the wake of stressful changes in the nature of our urban centers and the students coming from them. Generally paralleling this, the urban university's commitment to the study of language as a discipline has been vindicated as the development of linguistic theory (e.g., the training of linguists primarily for research and professional teaching positions) to the training of highly specialized linguists who will develop careers in both academic and non-academic settings.

This paper reports a carefully planned, federally funded, 3-year experiment launching a major doctoral training center in urban and applied linguistics in one of the nation's largest universities. The thrust and details of that experiment bridge theoretical and applied linguistic courses of study, special colloquia, carefully integrated fieldwork and major conferences, all leading to training of wider application than has been usual.

Bruce Cronnell, S.wl.

SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC DEVIATIONS IN THE ENGLISH WRITING OF THIRD AND SIXTH-GRADE MEXICAN-AMERICAN STUDENTS

This paper presents the results of an analysis of English writing samples produced by third- and sixth-grade Mexican-American students from a low-income school in the metropolitan Los Angeles area. Errors in syntax could sometimes be explained in terms of misapplied rules, often as a result of transfer, and result from problems in learning English—or as influences from non-standard English dialect. Inappropriate vocabulary usage seemed to be the result of difficulties in learning English.

Joanne Devine, Skidmore College

CONVERSATIONAL PRINCIPLES: EVIDENCE FROM SPANISH SPEAKERS

This paper follows an earlier study investigating the universality of conversational principles and the process of forming implication as delineated by Urice (1975). That study compared native and non-native subjects' responses to examples of conversational implicature in English and asked respondents to comment directly on the applicability of Grecoean principles in their cultures. Results indicated that there may be important cultural and situational constraints on the use of conversational implicature and their permutations. The current study, reported on here, examines the responses of thirty native Spanish speakers studying English in the U.S. who were asked to describe the relative importance and applicability of the conversational principles in their own cultures and the impact of a failure to observe these rules in actual conversation. Subjects were also asked to compare the operation of these principles and attitudes about conversational rules in their cultures with those they have observed while in the United States. The findings provide further insight into the variability of discourse systems among different cultures.

Sylvia Galambos, Yale University

EFFECTS OF BILINGUALISM ON THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF GRAMMATICALITY

The development of metalinguistic awareness, that is, the ability to focus on and reflect upon the structural properties of language was assessed in Spanish-English bilinguals and in English and Spanish monolinguals, ranging in age from 4.6 to 8.0. The bilingual and monolingual subjects were matched on IQ, SES, sex and age. All subjects were administered a test of a metalinguistic task, bilinguists receiving the two versions in different languages. Each version contained both grammatical and ungrammatical constructions. Errors in the ungrammatical constructions were found from syntactic anomalies with respect to the development of linguistic theory (e.g., the training of linguists primarily for research and professional teaching positions) to the training of highly specialized linguists who will develop careers in both academic and non-academic settings.

This paper reports on a study of stress assignment production and perception amongst Arabic speakers of various dialects who are learning English as a second language. The study tested the following hypotheses: 1) given a stress in the Arabic accent, this stress is transferred to the target language 2) other phonological processes (such as enphasis and consonant deletion) influence or are influenced by stress assignment 3) There is a correlation between a learner's production of stress and target stress in the target language 4) Certain syllable types or positions will be preferred in production and perception for speakers of all dialects tested. The subjects were speakers of Cairene, Levantine and Palestinian Arabic. These dialects have different stress rules. The subjects were given two tasks: 1) to pronounce a set of nonsense, yet possible English words and 2) Given variable pronounication, the subject was asked to choose a word that he would like to choose the the most like English. The results of this study suggest that 1) There is stress rule transference 2) Other processes are involved in stress assignment 3) There is a correlation between the learner's perception and production of L2 4) Amongst dialects, there is a preference for least syllable stress.

Jose Goncalves, Georgetown University

A COMPARATIVE LOOK AT TOPICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE ACQUISITION OF PORTUGUESE AS A SECOND LANGUAGE IN CLASSROOM INTERACTIONS AND IN NATURALISTIC CONVERSATIONS

This is a follow-up study examining topic initiation and recycling in the reflexive nature of classroom interaction and in informal conversations. The research builds on functional studies of classroom interactional discourse applying a fine-grained conversational analysis as the basic analytic tool. For this purpose speech exchanges of adult learners of Portuguese in classroom interactions both in classroom and small-group informal naturalistic conversations with a view to examining means to develop an adequate metric to determine the simplicity and/or complexity, predictability and functional adequacy of these two conversational micro levels. By quantitative analysis, both linguistic and non-linguistic features are considered as topic announcers, shifters and terminators. Topical development at macro level, while key words avoid the macro level of devices, cohesive mechanisms and language functions. The final analysis confirmed findings of the preliminary analysis indicating that adult second language learners rely on a complexity of interrelated devices to build and maintain topical cohesion with a fair amount of individual differences.
How Abstract is Interlanguage Phonology?

Based on several hours of recorded data, some interesting claims were made by Eckman (Lg. Lrng. 1981) regarding the interlanguage of two groups of ESL learners: Spanish speakers were claimed to have a rule of word-final devoicing of obstruents ('dog' pronounced [dok]), and Mandarin speakers a rule of word-final vowel insertion ('dog' pronounced [doga]). Neither rule is found in the native languages or in English, so may be argued to be a construct of learning an abstract interlanguage system. This interpretation suggests that while interlanguages include phonological rules which are not target-language-like, they do involve setting up lexical representations which are (with final voiced obstruents in the case of Spanish speakers and consonant-finales in the case of Mandarin speakers learning ESL).

I am now replicating Eckman's research, and expect to be able to report no disagreement with his data. But my interpretation of the findings is different. Native language phonetic constraints determine perceptions of English words, and therefore the lexical representations they are assigned in the interlanguage lexicon.

The Acquisition of Modes of Cohesion by Child Writers

This paper seeks to provide an explanation for the fact that children at the earliest stages of composition writing use an attributive mode of cohesion more often than a narrative mode (Sower, 1979) and make almost no use of the relational mode of cohesion (Jacobs, 1982). We might expect narrative and attributive modes of cohesion to be the most commonly used mode by children of this age (5 to 8) since studies (such as Boggs and Vatson-Gego, 1975) show that they acquire the rules of narrative mode (Labov, 1972) quite early—as early as 5, to judge by their oral stories. The explanation for their choice of mode in writing lies in the complexity of cognitive demands. Children faced with the need to pay attention to spelling and penmanship in addition to formal writing skills are probably better placed to use the attributive mode, because of its simplicity. It's more than possible that the rules come into use, not because the children are not ready to utilize the narrative mode, but because there is too much going on to demand more complex skills.

The Acquisition of English Bound Morphemes in Sign Language

Do deaf children exposed to English in a sign form follow the usual sequence and manner of acquisition? Researchers have argued that generally later acquisition of the aux and -ing in 3 previously studied deaf children were the result of little perceptual salience for grammatical forms, following Brown's suggestion for late acquisition of the possessive by hearing children. More extensive data reveal other differences in acquisition of the aux, -ing, possessive, BE contraction, regular plural and regular past as well as the particle to. Two deaf children were videotaped monthly, one between 36 and 62 months, and the second between 47 and 66 months. Results support a very high perceptual salience for the morphophonemes signs. Four stages were observed: 1) bound morphophonemes without root forms at all, 2) bound forms signed as free forms, only sometimes near a possible root, 3) bound forms attached to almost any root, including impossible forms, 4) when appropriate meaning could be constructed, 4) forms consistent in spontaneous language at the same time as correct and inconsistent in song and story language. Perhaps these sign forms are too salient perceptually, that is, not small, slurred, or indistinct enough relative to the roots they should be affixed to to convey their relational function to children. Or perhaps adults over emphasize these elements in the belief that they represent good English.

Bilingualism and Language Planning: The Present State of Affairs in Mexico

Mexico has long tradition of bilingualism between the various Indian tongues and Spanish, beginning somewhat hesitantly after the Spanish Conquest and continuing with some vigor than ever in 1972. Although the Spanish-speaking Mexicans, such effort is being expected to preserve the vernaculars and to achieve a state of functional bilingualism in Spanish among the different Indian groups.

The Dirección General de Educación Indígenas, established in 1972, was founded primarily to carry out the mandate of implementing one of the top three priorities of the Secretaría de Educación Pública in its program "Educación para Todos": the teaching of Spanish as a second language to Indian pre-schoolers; however, since then there has been a shift in policy, and the Dirección has been working actively in favor of indigenous educational institutions in the elementary schools. As a process of teaching and learning in the native tongues, complemented by the gradual learning of Spanish as a second language.

To date training courses for teachers and supervisors have been held and teaching materials for different ethnic groups at the preschool and first-grade level have been printed and used during the 1980-1981 and 1981-1982 school years. At present carefully developed tests for teaching Spanish as a second language are scheduled to be distributed nationwide in September.

This paper will discuss the practical problems that have arisen during the implementation of this program, as well as the outlook for Indian bilingual-bicultural education during the De la Madrid administration.