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MEETING HANDBOOK

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS

AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

30 DECEMBER 1987
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GENERAL MEETING INFORMATION

The 10th Annual Meeting of the American Association for Applied Linguistics will

be an exhibit of linguistic publications in Golden Gate Ballroom B. The exhibit is scheduled to be open during the following hours:

Mon, 26 December 10:00 AM - 2:00 PM
3:00 PM - 6:00 PM

Tues, 29 December 10:00 AM - 2:00 PM
3:00 PM - 6:00 PM

Wed, 30 December 8:30 AM - 11:30 AM

Display copies in the LSA Joint Book Exhibit will be sold beginning at 8:30 AM on 28 December. The proceeds will be donated to fellowship funds 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 orders 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 the Linguistic Institute fellowship funds.

Paper Copy Service

A service to those attending this meeting is a paper copy service for each author on the program. To provide copies of his or her paper, each author should submit a disk duplicating the original paper text to the Paper Copy Service with a request for anyone at the meeting. Copies may be placed for copies in Pacific G Room during the following hours:

Mon, 26 December 8:00 AM - 4:00 PM

Tues, 29 December 8:00 AM - 4:00 PM
The Service will remain open on Wednesday until 11:00 AM to allow members to pick up orders placed earlier.

Job Placement Center

A Job Placement Center will be set up in Pacific J Room during the Annual Meeting. On 28 and 29 December the Center will be open from 8:30 AM to 6:00 PM. It will also be open from 9:00 AM until 11:30 AM on 30 December. Lists of openings will be available, and the staff will arrange interviews between the applicants and the employers. Interviewers are asked to list openings and check in with the Center so that an interview schedule can be arranged. Applicants should be sure to bring an adequate supply of curricula vitae enough to submit one copy each to interviewers. The Center will have no duplication facilities available.

National Science Foundation

Frances Karttunen, Program Director for Linguistics at the National Science Foundation, will meet with interested members in Pacific G Room at the following times:

Mon, 28 December 10:30 AM - 12:00 PM
Tues, 29 December 10:30 AM - 12:00 PM
Wed, 30 December 10:30 AM - 12:00 PM

American Association for Applied Linguistics

The 10th Annual Meeting of the American Association for Applied Linguistics will
be held 27-29 December. The program for these sessions may be found on pp. ix-xv.

- American Dialect Society

### HIGHLIGHTS

**Sunday, 27 December**

- **LSA Executive Committee Meeting**
  The Officers and Executive Committee (Elizabeth Traugott, President; Calvert Watkins, Vice President - President-Elect; Barbara Partee, Past President; D. Terence Langendoen, Secretary-Treasurer; William Bright, Editor; Robert Austerlitz; Dawn Bates; A.L. Becker; Wallace Chafe; Sandra Chung; Kenneth Hale; Sandra Thompson; G. Richard Tucker; and Arnold Zwicky) will meet beginning at 9:30 AM.

- **MLA/LSA Presidential Forum**
  This first joint forum is titled "Linguistics in the 1980s: Its Pertinence for Literary Scholars and Critics." The session is scheduled for 7:00-8:45 PM in the Renaissance II and III Rooms of the Renaissance Hotel. Winfred P. Lehmann (U TX-Austin), 1987 MLA President and an LSA Past President, will preside. Papers to be presented are: "Discourse Analysis," Paul J. Hopper (SUNY-Binghamton); "Semantics-Pragmatics and Textual Analysis," Elizabeth C. Traugott (Stanford U); "Russian and Soviet Linguistics: Theory as Text and Vice-versa," Johanna Nichols (U CA-Berkeley).

**Monday, 28 December**

- **Movie on Preserving Archival Material**
  "Slow Fires," a movie prepared by the Council on Library Resources, the Library of Congress, and the National Endowment for the Humanities, will be shown in Golden Gate Ballroom A at 1:00 PM. This film, narrated by Robert McNeil, documents the deterioration of our written heritage. Dr. George Parr, Director of the Office of Preservation at the National Endowment for the Humanities, will introduce the film at Part of the Annual Meeting of the American Dialect Society will be held on Monday, December 28, from 10:00 AM-12:00 noon in Pacific B C Room. The program for this session may be found on p. xi.

### PROGRAM

**Sunday, 27 December**

**EVENING**

- **LSA COLLOQUIA**
  Room: Hyatt Regency Embarcadero
  Golden Gate Ballroom A
  7:00-8:30 PM
  **THEMATIC PROTO-ROLES, SUBJECT SELECTION AND LEXICAL SEMANTIC DEPARTURES**
  Chair: William Ladusoe (U CA-Santa Cruz)
  Organizer: David Dowty (OH SU)
  Discussant: Craig Cathson (U Rochester)
  Emman Rakovic (U CA-Berkeley)
  Charles Fillmore (U CA-Berkeley)
  8:30-10:00 PM
  **THE GRAMMATIZATION OF TENSE AND ASPECT ACROSS LANGUAGES**
  Chair: Byron Bender (U HI-Manoa)
  Organizer: Joan Baez (SUNY-Buffalo)
  Discussants: Bernard Corrie (U CIC)
  Sandra Thompson (U CA-Santa Barbara)
  Leonard Pola (AZ SU)

- **10:00-11:00 AM**
  **SESSION: RESEARCH ON CLASSROOM LANGUAGE TEACHING**
  Room: Speer Regency Embarcadero
  Pacific M & O Room
  Organizer/Chair: Bill VanPatten (U IL-Urbana)
  Stephen Gats (U W I) and Leo van Lies (Monterey)
  "Out of Set Studies: Classroom Research on Common Subject Language Teaching"
  "Case Study (U IL-Urbana): Extracting Processes from Project: Problems and Possibilities"
  "Mary Berrett (U CA-San Diego): The Effects of Teaching Practice on Acquisition"
  "John Leo (U IL-Urbana): A Critical Examination of the Safe Base for Nonnative Reading"
  "Humboldt: Craig Charod (U HI-Manoa)"

**Tuesday, 29 December**

- **Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics**
  The Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics will sponsor a panel discussion on "Writing Effective Reviews, Abstracts and Reference Reports" from 12:30-2:00 PM, in Golden Gate Ballroom A immediately preceding the LSA Business Meeting. Chaired by Alice Harris (Yale), the panel will consist of Tylee Campbell (SUNY-Albany), Paul Chapin (NSP), Sandra Chung (U CA-Santa Cruz), Joan Klatz (Brandeis U), and Sarah Thomas (U Pittsburgh). All members are invited to attend and are encouraged to participate in the this special screening.

- **Presidents' Meeting with Linguistics Students**
  Past President Barbara H. Partee; Elizabeth Traugott, 1987 LSA President and Calvert Watkins, Vice President and President-Elect, will meet with linguistics students from 3:00-6:30 PM in Pacific A Room.

- **Bloomfield Centennial**
  Professor Robert M. Robins (U London), currently President of CIPL, has accepted the President's invitation to give the Leonard Bloomfield Centennial Lecture in an evening plenary session in Golden Gate Ballroom A at 8:00 PM. The title of the lecture is "Bloomfield: The Man and the Man of Science." Following this lecture, there will be a special symposium of invited speakers, each a colleague, student, or associate of Bloomfield, who will present reflections on his scholarly and professional contributions, and on their relation to the development of linguistics and of this Society.

**Wednesday, 30 December**

- **Executive Committee Meeting**
  The year the Business Meeting has been held in Golden Gate Ballroom A, the President will address the Business Meeting on 3:00 PM in Golden Gate Ballroom A. The address is entitled, "The Rise of Epistemic Meanings: A Case Study in the Unidirectionality of Semantic Change."
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<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Chair/Room</th>
<th>Presentation/Notes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Richard O. Jones (U WI) <em>Plemeh Brussels</em></td>
<td>Promote No Phonological Exchange-Rules</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:20</td>
<td>2:20</td>
<td>Dr. Jane Northrup (U BC):</td>
<td>Contact-Induced Tonogenesis</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:20</td>
<td>4:20</td>
<td>J. W. L. Lee (U Cal-Santa Barbara): Contact-Induced Tonogenesis</td>
<td>The Contribution of Under specification theory to an Understanding of Hawaiian Phonology</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Julianne Hope (U WI): Complementary Learning in Second-Language Classroom</td>
<td>The Contribution of Second-Language Acquisition to Learnability Theory</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:20</td>
<td>2:20</td>
<td>James Kari (ANLC): Twelve Minutes on the Ablative Pronoun</td>
<td>Twelve Minutes on the Ablative Pronoun</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:20</td>
<td>3:20</td>
<td>Leslie Porterfield (Cornell U): The &quot;bathalk&quot; Argument for Linear Reduplication</td>
<td>The &quot;bathalk&quot; Argument for Linear Reduplication</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**BLOOMFIELD AND LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION**

**Chair:** Michael Silverstein (U Chicago)

**Room:** Golden Gate Ballroom A

**2:00 Morris Halle (CMU): The Bloomfield-Jakobson Correspondence 1946-1948**

**2:25 Julie Telford (U Maine): Whitney and Bloomfield on American English**

**3:05 D. Terence Lawton and F. David McCloskey (CMU Grad Cl): Agreement in Bloomfield**

**3:23 Harold C. Conklin (Yale U): Alfred Vojo Santiago and Leonard Bloomfield's Tagalog Texts**

**SYNTACTICAL PHENOMENA**

**Chair:** Tom Masay (Stanford U)

**Room:** Pacific B E F Room

**2:00**

- *Bart Mittwoch (HUC, U TX-Austin):* Proper B. Hall (U TX-Austin): Slicing Sounds: Ambiguity in Categorial Grammar

**2:45**

- *Donald M. Kipnis and Anne Ziem (SUNY FAC):* Crossing Dependencies in Semantic Argument Functions

**3:30**

- *Mark Johnson (CMU):* Structure-Function Correspondences in the Ziftenaph D3P

**4:00**

- *Barry Fagin (U Utah):* Topic Construction in Japanese

**4:30**

- *Julie Knoblock (NYU):* Two Types of Japanese Passives

**5:00**

- *George Laufnik and Claudia Bregman (U California):* The Semantics of Ant-Inversion and Anaphora Constructions

**PHONOLOGY II**

**Chair:** David Michaels (U CT)

**Room:** Pacific C D E Room

**2:00**

- *Matthew S. Dryer (U Alberta):* Plural Words and Plural Sounds

**2:20**

- *Eung-Jin Kim (U Toronto):* The Tungue Languages of China

**2:40**

- *Amos Newhall (OH SU):* A Morphological Paradigm in Northern Saami: Constrictive-Pairs

**3:00**

- *Janet Scammell (U KY):* Multiple Determinants of Split Ergative Grammar

**3:20**

- *James Kari (ANLC):* Twelve Minutes on the Ablative (Ablative) in Vincent O'Neil

**3:40**

- *Leslie Porterfield (Cornell U):* The "bathalk" Argument for Linear Reduplication

**4:00**

- *Yung-Ya Shyu (OH SU):* Ordering of Syntactic and Morphological Evidence: From Mandarin Chinese

**4:20**


**4:40**

- *Charles J. Gruen, Jnr. (OH 90):* Layering and Recursion in Deriving the Classical Japanese Predicate

**LANUADAGE ACQUISITION**

**Chair:** Sue Carter (Stanford U)

**Room:** San Francisco B Room

**3:00**

- *Mina H. Suzuki (CMU):* Comprehension of Empty Pronominals by Japanese Children

**3:20**

- *Mina H. Suzuki and M. Komoto (CMU/Tokyo Gakugei U):* Comprehension of Temporal Sentence Frames by Japanese Children

**3:40**

- *Rom Smith (Carleton U):* Response Strategies in Adult and Child Order of Mention Studies

**4:00**

- *Elenor Demou (Boston U):* Sentential Imperatives: Implications for Acquisition

**4:20**

- *Kathleen Carpenter (OH SU):* Form and Meaning in Children's Acquisition of That Classifier

**4:40**

- *Judith K. Fuller (U MI-Kalamazoo):* Acquisition of Split-Object Characteristics in Swahili

**5:00**

- *Marcia B. Conklin (U Michigan):* Acquisition of Second-Language Lexical Errors

**5:40**

- *Alfred Viola (Tulane U):* Acquisition of Phonology: A Reanalysis

**6:00**

- *Jeri J. Janger (U Cal-Davis):* Not by the Chair of My Heavens: Speech Errors in Young Children

**6:20**

- *Mary A. Macken (CMU):* Sound Change: Representative Features or Level?

**AAAL: CLASSROOM LANGUAGE LEARNING**

**Chair:** Courtney Cazden (Harvard U)

**Room:** Pacific R S Room

**3:00**

- *William Rutterford (U Cincinnati):* The Contribution of Second-Language Acquisition to Learnability Theory

**3:20**

- *David Riedesel (U FL):* A Role for Negative Evidence in Second-Language Acquisition

**3:40**

- *Rory B. Barnes (OH SU):* On the Nature of Metaphor

**4:00**

- *Fred L. Finkenber (U WI-Milwaukee):* On the Question of Inversion in Language Acquisition

**4:20**

- *Marcia B. Conklin (U Michigan):* Acquisition of Second-Language Lexical Errors

**4:40**

- *Greta B. Little (U SC):* Community = Prerequisite for Communication in Language Classes

**SYNTHESIS**

**1987-1989**

**Session:** 1:00 PM

**Room:** Golden Gate Ballroom A

**Presentation:**

- *Frank T. Meyer Jr. (Princeton University):* Bloomfield as a Behavioralist and Humanist

- *Charles Kopp (Cornell U):* Bloomfield's Behaviorism

- *Kenneth Pike (Summer Institute of Linguistics):* Bloomfield as Grammatical Stimulus

- *Idothea Dyer (U WI):* Leonard Bloomfield as a Linguistic Scientist

- *Murray Emmons (CMU):* Bloomfield and Pastoral

- *William Monette (Princeton U):* Bloomfield as an Academic Adviser

**3:00**

- *Nina H. Suzuki (CMU):* Comprehension of Empty Pronominals by Japanese Children

**3:20**

- *Mina H. Suzuki and M. Komoto (CMU/Tokyo Gakugei U):* Comprehension of Temporal Sentence Frames by Japanese Children

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**6:00**

- *Jeri J. Janger (U Cal-Davis):* Not by the Chair of My Heavens: Speech Errors in Young Children

**6:20**

- *Mary A. Macken (CMU):* Sound Change: Representative Features or Level?
### EXPERIMENTAL PHONOLOGY AND PHTIOMETRIC

**Chair:** John Ohala (U California-Berkeley)

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<th>Presenter</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Keith Denny (Stanford U)</td>
<td>Phonetic Predictions for the Origin of French Vocalic Quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Abigail C. John (UCLA)</td>
<td>Phonetic Rules of Speech Initiation in French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Jorge Hancock (U California-Santa Barbara)</td>
<td>Articulatory Consequences of Closure Duration in Distinctive Geminate Stops from Non-Geminates</td>
</tr>
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</table>
| 10:00 | Jan Edwards (Hunter C) | The Perception of Final Lengthening Effects In Japanese 
| 10:20 | Tomiko Hieron (San Diego SU) | Prosodic Disturbances in Japanese Aspects of Speech Intonation in Duration |
| 10:40 | Larry E. Beeman & Kenneth Duzan (UH) | Stress Class in English |
| 11:00 | Leslie H. Bailey (U DE) | Pitch Accent in English as a Stress Class Indication Mechanism |
| 11:40 | Patricia A. Keating (UCLA) | Palatals in Caucasian Cornish: E-Ray Evidence |
| 12:00 | Michel T.Y. Johnson (UCLA) | Are There Systematic Cross-Linguistic Differences in Front Vowel Articulation? |

### PHONOLOGY III

**Chair:** Mary Mackey (Stanford U)

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Christine K. Kamprath (i.e.p. Systems Inc)</td>
<td>Vocal Specification in a Roman Accent: A Conflict Between the OCF and Geminate Blockage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Juliette Levin (U TX-Austin)</td>
<td>A Place for Lower in the Feature Geometry</td>
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<td>9:40</td>
<td>Dana B. Archangeli (U AL)</td>
<td>On the Reorganization of Affricates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Grover Callahan (UH)</td>
<td>The Phonetic Explanation of Geminate Behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>Donald K. Church (UH)</td>
<td>Constraints on Syllable Edges and on Word Edges: Some Observations in English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Edward H. Martinez (U California-Riverside)</td>
<td>Phonological Constraints on Early Multi-Word Utterances</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Basem Masri &amp; David Michaels (CT)</td>
<td>Syllable Structure, Length and Gemination in Irre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:45</td>
<td>Karen Karttunen (LUXOR PARC)</td>
<td>Compilation of Phonological Rules in Finite-State Transducers</td>
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</table>

### SYNTACTICAL TYPOLOGY

**Chair:** Leanne Kist (U California-Berkeley)

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<td>Anthony Aristizabal (MC)</td>
<td>On the Diachronic Basis of Linguistic Universals</td>
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<td>9:20</td>
<td>Maria Lujan (Boston)</td>
<td>Syntactic Determinants of Lexical Structure</td>
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<td>Vija Sanjan (CA-USF-Presen)</td>
<td>Neutrality of Categories and Transition: A Case for Bialveolars</td>
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<td>Kenneth William Cook (U California-San Diego)</td>
<td>Predictive Absolute Verbal Morphology and Passive in Sanskrit</td>
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<td>Second-Person Clitics in Aramaic</td>
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<td>11:00</td>
<td>George Abrom Broadway (UCLA)</td>
<td>Police of Voice in Choctaw</td>
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<td>11:45</td>
<td>Michael G. Gallo (CT SY)</td>
<td>A Chapter in the Early History of American Linguistics</td>
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**HISTORICAL HEMEpHONEMICS AND PRONUNCIATION**

**Chair:** Henry Sweet (U Toronto)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Robert Austrell (U California-Berkeley)</td>
<td>Internal History of the Finnish Comparative</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Mary Hiekkala (U California-Berkeley)</td>
<td>Phonetically Motivated Reduplication in Indo-European</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Geoffrey C. Gamble (U California-Davis)</td>
<td>Reconstructed Tokats Pronouns</td>
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<td>10:00</td>
<td>Zera E. Kimball</td>
<td>A Lowen Sound Shift</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>E.H.B. Wall (Queen's-U Toronto)</td>
<td>A Rais尚 of Syllable Structure Motivated Change</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Robert W. Murray</td>
<td>A Catalogue of Syllabic Structure in the Conception of Mihailo Kruzenski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:40</td>
<td>Elizabeth Barber</td>
<td>An Overview of Ancient Hebrew: The Archaeoanthropological</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following rules for motions and resolutions were prepared by William J. Geddes and Ilse Lehtis and approved by the Executive Committee at its June 1973 meeting. LSA members are urged to follow these rules in order to have their motions and resolutions considered at the Business Meeting.

RULES FOR MOTIONS AND RESOLUTIONS

1. DEFINITIONS.

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

2. PROCEDURE REGARDING MOTIONS.

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

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

2c. Motions initiated from the floor, if they receive affirmative vote of a majority of members voting at the meeting, are then to be submitted by the Executive Committee to a mail ballot of the membership of the Society in the next issue of the LSA BULLETIN. Passage requires: a) a majority of those voting in favor must be at least 2.5% of the personal membership.

2d. If a member wishes to introduce a motion, but prefers to avoid the delay involved in 2c above, the motion may be submitted in advance to the Executive Committee before their regular meeting preceding the business meeting at which the motion is to be introduced with a request that the Executive Committee by majority vote of the Committee approve the introduction of the motion initiated by the Executive Committee (see 2b above).

3. PROCEDURE REGARDING RESOLUTIONS.

3a. Resolutions are 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 duplications are avoided. The Resolutions Committee may meet in advance for this purpose or may, if necessary, retire to consider 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 introduced "the sense of the majority of the membership," regardless of whether or not it has passed the procedures in 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 members responding.

5:00-6:00 PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

"The Rise of Epistemic Meanings: A Case Study in the Ontofunctionality of Semantic Change"

Elizabetl C. Traugott
<table>
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<tr>
<th>DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: CONVERSATION</th>
<th>HISTORICAL SYNTAX</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Deborah Tannen (Georgetown U)</td>
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<td><strong>Room:</strong> Faber Center C D Room</td>
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<td>Catherine E. Davies (U FL): A Pragmalinguistic Analysis of Non-Serious Communication</td>
<td>Paul D. Kroeber (U Chicago): The Source of the Upper Chehalis Continuative Aspect</td>
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<td>Neal B. Morris (U IL U): Semantic Resolution of Discourse Contradiction</td>
<td>Peter Edwin Rock (U MI): Discourse Contradition: An Instance in Shona (Shona)</td>
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<td>Yael Meachman (U HI): A Discourse Analysis of Bilingual Conversation</td>
<td>Mark Robert Hale (Harvard U): 'Declarative Fronting' in Vedic Prase</td>
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<td>Susan Shephard (SOY-kingston): Repetition and Control in Antiguan Creole Discourse</td>
<td>Andrew Carret (Harvard U): Transitive Subjects Constraints in Chichewa</td>
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<td>Kathleen Ferrara (U TX-Austin): Repetition as Injoinder in Therapeutic Discourse</td>
<td>10:20 Cwaher Suk (Cornell U): The Prepositional Phrase in Classical Chines</td>
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<td>Paul Woodward (U HI): Conversation and Initiating Conversation: The Way They Differ in Between You and Me</td>
<td>10:40 Bister Wanner (U IL): Directer Object Pronouns in Old Spanish: NP vs. Clicic Subj</td>
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<td>Bethyl Pearson (AS DU): Power and Palletness at Church Business Meetings</td>
<td>Susan Pinzuk (U Fl): Base Word Order in Old English</td>
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<td>Jacqueline M. Menkel (U TX-Austin): What It Means to Mitigate</td>
<td>Robert Redlick (U TX-Arlington): Foci in Early West Saxon</td>
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<td>Deborah Schaffer (E HT C): Turn-Procurement Devices in TODAY Show On-Cap Conversations</td>
<td>Leonard Bloomfield • 1887-1949</td>
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LEONARD BLOOMFIELD 1857-1949

Golden Gate Ballroom A
Monday Evening, 28 December
8:00-11:00 PM

Centennial Lecture

"Bloomfield: The Man and the Man of Science"
R.H. Robins, University of London

Invited Symposium

Organizers: Eric P. Hamp, University of Chicago
Michael Silverstein, University of Chicago

SIEVE DYEN, Yale University & University of Hawaii

Leonard Bloomfield as Linguistic Scientist

A remark will be made on Leonard Bloomfield as a master of consistencies and inconsistencies that will be followed by a discussion of his views on the law of regular sound alteration and on the comparative method.

ALAN BENNET, University of California-Berkeley

Bloomfield and Panini

Bloomfield wrote about Panini and the Sanskrit grammarians; their influence on him and his style, and on linguistics since him. Notes on Bloomfield's acquiring his knowledge of Sanskrit.

DALE HOCKETT, Cornell University

Bloomfield's Behaviorism

The mature Bloomfield held two seemingly incompatible views of psychology. He insisted that linguistics is autonomous, its methods and findings not resting on or giving support to any particular brand of psychological theory. Yet when discussing psychology he clearly relied on history, in historical perspective we can see the source and justification for each of these views and can eliminate the inconsistency. Perhaps we can also update them so as to render them useful guidelines for our current thinking.
HENRY M. HUNIGSMALD, University of Pennsylvania

Our History and Leonard Bloomfield

Bloomfield had a central interest in the history of linguistics. He was, and has remained, almost alone in seeing the discrepancy between our working principles as they emerge from an empathetic but critical study of the record and the same principles as represented and commented upon, in the philosophical language of the day (and occasionally in a polemic context), by their very practitioners. While this historiographical problem is quite general, it has special importance for our discipline.

WILLIAM G. MOULTON, Princeton University & University of Munich

Bloomfield as Academic Adviser

Because I have already written about "Bloomfield as Germanist" (1970) and "Bloomfield as Dialectologist" (1987), in my eight minutes today I shall speak not about Bloomfield as a linguist but about Bloomfield as a person—more specifically, as an academic adviser. Bloomfield supervised the work of very few doctoral candidates, and I was his last. When he came to Yale in 1940, I presented him with my "completed" dissertation. He read and passed it with infinite patience, and I have ever since been infinitely grateful to him for persuading me to rewrite it—twice. Though I was never enrolled in a course that Bloomfield taught, after I had received my degree I audited two of his courses: one on field methods, one on the languages of the world. He and I also worked informally together on an Old High German document, and I was overwhelmed by his intimate knowledge of Old High German. Let me relate, in conclusion, the following anecdote. Colleagues at Michigan had asked Bloomfield to be the outside reader of a dissertation on phonetics, written by a Michigan graduate student. Bloomfield read it with his usual thoroughness, and he was highly enthusiastic about it: "This, at last, is the way in which phonetics ought to be presented." Though I do not know what Bloomfield wrote back to Michigan, he did tell me the name of the graduate student: it was Kenneth Pike.

Kenneth L. Pike. Summer Institute of Linguistics

Bloomfield as Grammatical Stimulus

The major impact on me by Leonard Bloomfield was from his treatment of syntax. His use of the terms "actor" and "goal" (or, rarely, "undergoer") never left me, even when more formal non-semantic elements became predominant in the field. His treatment of immediate constituents was a further stimulus, along with his emphasis on analogy in understanding structure.

My wife Evelyn and I started our syntactic analysis of Mixtec, of Mexico, by trying to apply his principles to it. In the process, I invented the term "grammeme"—which met justified resistance, so I switched to Bloomfield's term "grammeme" (but with different definition and treatment).

Beyond all this was my admiration for Bloomfield's character and personal kindness to me and others—even though I knew him only slightly (mostly through summer contacts between 1937-41). He, Edward Sapir, and Charles Fries, became personal role models for me in the university community.

FRANK T. SIEBERT, JR., Penobscot Nation

Bloomfield as a Behaviorist and Mechanist

As a linguist, Bloomfield was strongly committed to making the study of languages a science. He looked upon popular views of language with restrained amusement, and encouraged the activities of those who introduced notions of animism, mentalism, and nativeness into the study of language. He believed, as do many in other sciences, that only the mechanistic method yielded sound results. Bloomfield seldom wrote vitriically in print, but privately he spoke of the mentalists as "metaphysical word-chewers." He was strongly attracted to the behaviorist school and was especially influenced by the views of Albert Paul Weiss as expressed in his "A Theoretical Basis of Human Behavior" (revised edition 1929). Chapter 13 of Weiss's book deals entirely with language functions and speech responses and is in complete accord with Bloomfield's views on language. Bloomfield's correspondence to me bears out these approaches.

RICH MELLS, Yale University

The Justifying Basis of Family Trees

In Language, Chapter 25 and 27 (the first and second sentences respectively), Bloomfield states the basis of family trees. Not merely does this basis reconcile the tree and the wave models, but it constructively pinpoints the error committed by (e.g.) Trubetzkoy in thinking that the wave-phenomenon makes proto-languages history and family trees nonsense.

It is obvious that Language aims and claims to reconcile the two models, but that Bloomfield is here furnishing the ultimate, ontogenetic basis for the reconciliation and easily escape notice. The basis is that, normally, every speaker's language has an immediate principal ancestor. Bloomfield's penchant for brevity is nowhere better exhibited.

Bloomfield's penchant for brevity is nowhere better exhibited.
ABSTRACTS
of the Linguistic Society of America
regular papers
The abstracts which appear in this Meeting Handbook are photocopies of the originals submitted to the LSA Program Committee. Infelicities of style, grammar, punctuation, and spelling are the responsibility of the authors.
J. MACC AUTHIER, University of Southern California

(TUES MORN: 5)

Two Types of Empty Operator

Chomsky (1982,1986b) assumes an analysis of English constructions like (1) which involves the presence of an empty operator (Op) in the untensed clause complement to the adjective "tough". Tenseless definite null object constructions in languages like Portuguese (2) also have been claimed to contain a type of non-empty operator (TOP) (Reposio,1980).

(1) The question is tough (TOP)(PRO to understand g)
(2) TOP is a John in this town.

Chomsky (1982,1986b) assumes that the presence of Op in (1) is not tenable for Op, which will not have adjunctions to S. Three of four pieces of evidence support this conclusion: (a) Op is not a proper constituent in the literature that all empty operators take COMP as their landing site. I will argue that this view is not tenable for Op, which will not have adjunctions.

John saw Sim(whom etc.)

The notional distinction here distinguishes Op, whose range must be the sentence internally, from TOP, whose range is pragmatically determined. Since both Op and TOP have been shown to be illusory, the constraints associated with wh-movement, it is tacitly assumed in the literature that all empty operators take COMP as their landing site. I will argue that this view is not tenable for Op, which will not have adjunctions.

MALISSA AYERLOD

(TUES MORN: 6)

The Discourse Function of Aspect in Koyukon Athabaskan

It has been proposed (e.g., Hopper 1983) that aspect in a discourse rather than a semantic, sentence level phenomenon, functioning to organize and structure discourse. In particular, perfective vs. imperfective is claimed to be a critical distinction in narratives that serves to distinguish foregrounded from backgrounded material, respectively. The aspectual system of Koyukon Athabaskan is a more complex and elaborate one than has previously been examined in this regard. It is an intersecting system comprised of 4 modes and 18 different aspects. In examining 2 traditional stories and the historical narrative in Koyukon, I find that while the Koyukon aspectual system does indeed serve to organize and structure information in discourse, it seems to be a secondary function within sentences. Functions in its fullest sense are the sentential semantic level. Although the perfective/imperfective opposition does appear to function in marking episode shifts and shifts of focus, a 3-way distinction within activity or event verbs of punctual vs. durative vs. completive, for example, does not enter into discourse-level phenomena at all. Rather, this distinction has clearly more to do with the lexical or semantic properties of individual verbs, properties which constrain the use of perfective vs. imperfective as well. Aspect then is used primarily to indicate the manner or temporal contour of the activity or state referred to by the verb.
Pitch Accent in Swedish as a Stress Clash Resolution Mechanism

Swedish has two word tone patterns: Accent I (HL-AI) and Accent 2 (HHL-A2) which serve to identify isolating and a connective function, respectively. That is, A1 is found on monosyllabic stems and A2 on most bisyllabic stems, e.g., 'End' and 'duck'. This in this paper, we propose that A2 serves another function: to resolve stress clashes within the word. While both A1 and A2 occur in conjunction with primary stress, which is word initial in cases of the compounding Swedish words, it is assumed that the implementation of nonsegmental stress is better explained within a non-Crorean framework based on the work of (Iom (1984) and Levinson (1983, 1985, to appear). Some independent forces, exemplified by examples to questions and other expansions of a previous element within the template structure, are interpreted via generalised conversational inference accounting for speech production (inference from context to the work of Caroman). Other independent conditions, exemplified by situations and questions based on the context of situation or other shared knowledge, are interpreted via particularised conversational inference accounting for information from information functions (inference from context to the work of Caroman). The section of particularised conversational inference accounting for information from information functions is tightly constrained by Selkirk's Textual Prominence Preservation Condition (1982). The following derivations show that the template accounts for branching heads attracting compound stress (SPE) without reference to branching in rules (Prince (1983)). Circular grid marks indicate the associated node of the last compound cycle of a given tone sequence.

The Smallest Command Relation

A command relation C is, informally, a relation between nodes in a tree defined roughly in this form: A node a has the command relation C to a node b iff (i) neither a nor b dominates the other, and (ii) if any node y dominates a it bears the relation R to a, then y dominates b. Such relations are familiar from recent syntactic work, where the nodes played an increasingly important role in the study of anaphora and a wide range of other topics. Two examples are substituting 'y' for the maximally dominated branching node that dominates 'a' for the phrase 'behind the boat' and giving C is command (roughly as originally defined by Culleyow and including Reinhart). Substituting 'S' for a vacuous relation in which a plays no role, gives C is command, due to Aoun and Spottke (and c-command by them).

We offer a series of mathematical results about command relations defined over the set of all sets. (i) The set of command relations determines a boolean algebra, the term element being the relation that all nodes bear to each other in the dominance relation, and the 0 element being the relation 0 bears to 0 as 0 bears to every command relation 0. (ii) The union of all command relations corresponds to concatenation of the relations. (iii) A command relation C is the smallest command relation under which every node commands some node. (iv) The smallest command relation (i.e., 0), representing the logically most restrictive hypothesis available when selecting a command relation for some specific linguistic purpose, is identical to a relation defined independently elsewhere for purposes ranging from logical syntax to phonological movement transformations and subcategorization.
The Surface Phonology of Stress Clash in English

A fundamental prediction of metrical theory is that when one stress follows too closely on another, the rhythmic clash is remedied in one of two ways: either the first stress is retracted, as in Chinese, or the phonetic spacing between the two stresses is increased, as in English. Cooper and Eady (1986) claim that their experimental results "unequivocally fail to provide support" for such predictions. In a series of experiments currently underway, we, however, are finding that native subjects often transcribe phrases such as Chinese words with retracted stress, (2) that while productions of such phrases show durational patterns indicative of equal stress, there often is a pre-nuclear pitch accent only on the first syllable, and (3) that, given the right intonational context, the peak of prenuclear pitch is longer than that of postnuclear, although it is not longer than that of postnuclear as we would interpret these results to mean that stress should typically be the relative tonal prominence of prenuclear and nuclear pitch accents and (2) that the apparent adjustments of inter-stress interval durations are sensitive to prosodic word boundaries. We suspect that Cooper and Eady failed to find evidence for stress clash because they designed their experimental corpus using metrical grids rather than trees showing the relevant intonational structure and related surface prosodic constituency.

Mary E. Beggan, Ohio State University
Kenneth de Jong, Ohio State University
Jan Edwards, Hunter College

(TUES MOR: 2)

Topicalization, Left-Dislocation, and the ECP

Topicalization (TOP) and left-dislocation (LD) are usually distinguished syntactically by the presence of a resumptive pronoun (RP) in the latter case. However, in the Romance language Kikuyu, the appearance of the RP turns on other factors: the category of the pronoun (a human) and the Empty Category Principle (ECP).

In Kikuyu only first objects may be represented by RPs, which take the form of clitics in the verbal complex, never as independent (postverbal) pronouns. When the first object is human, it takes an obligatory clitic double; when non-human, the clitic RP is optional: other categories, e.g., second objects and adverbial adjuncts, are they are represented as non-clitic doubles when fronted, making them all seem to be cases of TOP.

Arguments are drawn from discourse and subcategorization within complex RPs that all first objects in fact take clitic doubles, with the non-human objects requiring a null pronominal clitic. I conclude that there is only one construction in Kikuyu for the interpretation of fronted nominals: Left-Dislocation, and that TOP effects are ascribable to other factors. primarily the ECP.

Victoria A. Bergwall, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute

(NON MOR: 3)

Possessives vs. Indefinites: Pragmatic Inference & Determiner Choice

Horn (1984) accounts for the difference between (1) and (2) via a binary system of implicature: In (1), the speaker may be assumed to have made the strongest truthful statement possible, thus implying (1b), while in (2a), the hearer may be assumed to have said no more than necessary, thus licensing the R-inference to the 'stereotypical' situation (2b).

(1a) I slept in a car yesterday.
(1b) The car is not mine.

(2a) I slept in a car yesterday. (R) -> (2b) The car is mine.

However, Horn's 'division of pragmatic labor' cannot account for the relativeelicity of my in (3), which by his account should trigger (4a). However, (4b) is also a possible response. Interestingly, (5), when my is licentious, a situation where the tooth does not belong to the speaker, nor the difference in determiner acceptability in (5) and (6), which has analysis fails to address.

(3) She's got 2 teeth.
(4a) I chopped my tooth.
(4b) I chopped my tooth.

Rather, the choice between a possessive determiner and the adjectival article is determined by an interaction of syntactic, pragmatic and inferential factors. Specifically, in contrast with (5) the number of Xs (den. teeth, car, etc.) one is believed to possess, (i) prior mention of the agent, and (ii) salience shared knowledge of personness (e.g., a white car or handgun).

Betty Birner, Northwestern University

(TUES MOR: 8)

Categorization of Personal Pronouns in Cajun French

The main issues addressed in this paper concern the nature of pronoun equivalence in Cajun French within the framework of variation theory. The unstable grammatical nature of nominative and objective clitics in varieties of French has been attested by several scholars (Laberge 1977, Laberge and Samloff 1975, Thibault 1983, 1986). Thibault (1986) refers to the grammaticalization of third person pronouns and the growing frequency of normally animate "ca" ("that") used as an inanimate pronoun. The present study extends the investigation of the grammaticalization of personal pronouns using the unattached source of Cajun French. The analysis focuses on third person pronouns with special emphasis on the behavior of "ca". We explore the linguistic factors conditioning the alternation between "ca" and the personal pronouns, whether the referent is animate or not. Preliminary quantitative analysis reveals that there are four statistically significant syntactic determiners: type of referent, placement of referent, presence of other clitics, and grammatical form of the token. Additional, separate findings confirm those of Thibault's (1986) study of Montreal French. The analysis indicates that although "ca" can function inanimate in Cajun, it is also grammaticalized as a personal pronoun which must itself in behavior with the strong forms, "lui", "elle", and "eux" ("his", "her", "them").
EUGENE BUCKLEY, University of California-Berkeley

Second-Position Clitics in Alsea

Alsea (Oregon coast) has a set of morphemes, primarily subject pronouns, which elicit clitics on the first word (or proclitic) of the clause:

- kína liya ayal-í

The infixation of a clitic is unexpected and has in fact been called impossible. Upon closer examination, there is evidence that the analysis of this process as infixation may be incorrect. Many of the 'split' function words can be at least partially decomposed; for example, part of the negative liya is related to the verb 'refuse'. Still, not all words have clear synchronic interpretations, and in all cases the meaning of the word is not derivable from its apparent parts. The best analysis treats these function words as discontinuous morphemes, originally separate but now meaningful only in combination.

KATHIE L. CARPENTER, University of Colorado

Fore and Meaning in Children's Acquisition of Thai Classifiers

In this paper, experimental data from 237 two- to eleven-year-old children in Thailand are used to show how children acquire two Thai numeral classifiers - ʔiŋ 'half' (for nouns referring to animals, some but not all kinds of furniture, and some but not all kinds of clothing) and ʔiŋ līkōh, (for nouns referring to vehicles, e.g., cars, and bottled beverages, e.g., sours). How do children link up information about real-world categories like vehicles and animals with linguistic categories such as the class of nouns that may be used with a particular numeral classifier? The children's earliest uses (age approx. 26 - 36) reflected purely intralinguistic regularities, but their later uses also reflected extralinguistic information. The most common pattern for the youngest children was to pick one classifier and use it across the board for all nouns. Later children began to use extralinguistic information to define classifier categories. As categories became productive, many extensions were based on intrinsic qualities of the referent, such as function, shape, and animacy. At age 11,2, children were still misclassifying nouns on the basis of recent attributes of their referents.

BROOKE FLANDERS, University of Idaho

Feature Selection in Comprehending Metaphors: A Connectionist Account

Although metaphor and other figurative uses of language have not played an important role in the theoretical debates of linguists, psycholinguistic evidence suggests that such language may epigenetically shape the way people normally use language and that it may highlight certain processes and domains of literal language. A non-syntactic approach, which focuses on metaphor processing as a way to study feature selection of metaphor features to attribute to the final interpretation. In this paper I describe an explicit, unified process for interpreting on-line both NP metaphors such as: Juliet is the Sun and verb metaphors such as My car drinks gas. Using a connectionist, or neural distributed processing, framework--after Rumelhart and McClelland (1986)--I describe how spreading activations and lateral inhibitions of microfeatures interact among themselves and with higher level features, such as the verb 'refuse', that having to attempt and then retreat from a literal reading. These procedures might extend equally well to routine cases of polysemy and feature selection of meaningful words in different contexts.

KATIE E. CHASKI, University of South Carolina

Case in Tiers and Case Attraction in Greek

While Tlp, Malin and Jackendoff's 1987 Case-in-Tiers framework (CT) accounts for long-distance agreement in Icelandic quite readily, Greek case attraction is problematic (Andrews 1971, 1981, Quicoli 1982, Chaski 1986 et al). It can be handled within CT, given the addition of a syntactic feature of agreement (g O) and the resolution of lexical vs. syntactic case conflict. The Greek facts are: (A) under subject control, predicates agree with control (X-NOM) (cf. Andrews 1971, 1981, Quicoli 1982, Chaski 1986); (B) under object control, predicates agree with PRO, if predicates due to PRO. If predicates due to PRO, would be expected in (B). Even if PRO is lexically marked ACC (suggested by other data), ACC would not be expected in (A). Thus, not PRO, but the controller is linked on the case tier to predicates. Given this, PRO cannot be used to explain (B) as in a GB analysis (Chaski 1986). Rather, lexical cases GEN/DAT on object-controllers can be overridden by syntactic case. The object-controller potentially receives two cases (lexical and syntactic); this conflict is resolved by the mismatch of case on controller versus parameter. PRO, not relevant to PCA in Greek, but in Iceland. For parameter (2), syntactic case can override lexical case for Greek and possibly Iceland.
DOROTHY N. CHIN, University of Texas-Austin

Intonation and Turn-Taking in German: Women vs. Men

The present study is an acoustic study of the F0 at sentence-, turn-, and discourse-end in conversation in German. While intonation has been shown to signal such discourse phenomena as sentence and paragraph boundaries (Lukashe 1975 & 1979 and Kreiman 1979), investigations of its role in turn-taking have not been as conclusive. A classification of intonation of natural speech in French in order to investigate the rules which assign phonetic values to the phonological representation of segments, those positively specified for the feature nasal and those negatively specified, has been attempted. Nasalization was measured using both oral and nasal airflow data in this study. Nasalization has a phonetic source that can be differentiated from that which is due to more low-falling coarticulatory effects. For nasal vowels, a relatively constant low level of nasal flow was observed with comparable amplitude to preceding and following nasal consonants, e.g. (pā, mā, nā, ṃ, ṇ). Overall, phonemic nasalization is stronger than contextual effects; nasal vowels and contextual nasalization, e.g. (pā - pā, mā - mā, nā - nā, ṃ - ṃ, ṇ - ṇ), are differentiated by both timing and amplitude of flow. Contextual nasalization is characterized by cline-shaped transitions in and out of nasal segments. These data give insight into the nature of phonetic rules of interplay.

DONALD G. CHEN, Stanford University

Constraints on Syllable Edges and on Word Edges: Some Mismatches in English

It is often claimed that the set of possible syllable-final sequences of segments is identical to the set of word-final sequences, and that corresponding claims about initial sequences also holds (cf. the Law of Finals and 'Law of Initials' of Venneweg 1971). It has recently been maintained that clusters that occur at word edges in fact cannot occur at syllable edges in non-final syllables, and the notion of 'epenx' has been appealed to in order to handle cases like this (cf., for example, Sellick 1982). I will argue here, on the basis of data from American English, that the other kind of violation ofVenneweg's laws is also possible, i.e., that certain syllable-edge sequences are permissible only in final syllables. One of this type is: (i) syllable-final lax vowels (cf. e.g., raccoon, tattoo, Finite, where aspiration of the medial consonant signals its absolute syllable-initial position); (ii) syllable-initial clusters (contrast the lenis ć in exchange with the fortis 'ascrbed version in ex-c)hief'; and, controversially, (iii) syllable-final ng clusters (congress, anger). The existence of such violations demonstrates that the notion of appends cannot by itself account all cases of word/syllable structure mismatches, and since all of these violations appear to be due to the application of or non-application of stress-sensitive resyllabifications of the type proposed by Kahn 1976 and others, it raises important issues concerning the proper formalizations of resyllabification.

DAVID M. CLINE, University of California-Los Angeles

Cletic Placement in Old Church Slavic

Klavans (1979) has proposed a topology of clitics which accounts for varying syntactic and phonological features which they exhibit. This topology does not, however, account for ordering between adjacent clitics. In Old Church Slavic, for example, there are two types of clitics, Klavans' type 3 (essentially a Hackernagel's-position clitic) and type 1 (post-verbal reflexive). When both of these co-occur, the type 3 clitic invariably precedes the type 7 clitic: sa,o,nu e, 'we shall be'. Note that the first object marker is the only one that can move under subject-like assumptions.

HARISH L. CONDON, San Diego State University

Suffixes to the Distribution of Adverbials of Time and Location

Evidence for the Barriers version of government binding theory is found in the distribution of Adjunct modifiers of T. As (1) illustrates, in matrix sentences, these move freely to sentence-initial position, even preceding a wh-constituent in CP.

(a) Donny threw his ball in the pond yesterday morning at the park.
(b) Yesterday morning at the park, Tommy threw his ball in the pond.
(c) Mary will think that Ed left yesterday.
(d) Mary will think that Ed left.

Note that (a) attaches to a constituent at CP, while (b) and (c) attach at CP. Consequently, (b) and (c) can be derived by Adjunction to CP and (a) can be derived by Adjunction to CP, since the matrix CP is not an argument. In contrast, (2a) cannot be derived by Adjunction to CP, since the complement CP is not an argument. Consequently, (b) and (c) can be derived by Adjunction to CP, since the matrix CP is not an argument. In contrast, (2a) cannot be derived by Adjunction to CP, since the complement CP is not an argument. Consequently, (b) and (c) can be derived by Adjunction to CP, since the matrix CP is not an argument. In contrast, (2a) cannot be derived by Adjunction to CP, since the complement CP is not an argument. Consequently, (b) and (c) can be derived by Adjunction to CP, since the matrix CP is not an argument. In contrast, (2a) cannot be derived by Adjunction to CP, since the complement CP is not an argument.
In 1916-1917, while teaching at the University of Illinois, Bloomfield wrote an exceptionally incisive and in many ways still unsurpassed linguistic treatise, Tagalog Texts with grammatical analysis, based on the speech of a notable resident, Filipino gamekeeper, Alfredo Viola Santiago (1892-1937). From a detailed examination of Bloomfield's monograph and his other published statements referring to Tagalog, and from new ethnographic, linguistic, and biographical information regarding his principal source of information, it is now possible to offer a more characteristic characterization of Bloomfield's representations of this language directly to Santiago's regional, social, and educational background. It is also possible to show the probable influence of Santiago and his usage of Tagalog forms on the development of at least some of Bloomfield's general methods and techniques for solving specified phonological, morphological, and lexicographical problems.

KENNETH WILLIAM COOK, University of California-San Diego

Patientive Absolutive Verbal Morphology and Passive in Samoan

The role of the Samoan -Ciia suffix, illustrated in (1), has remained a mystery over a century. It has been analyzed as, among other things, a marker of passive voice (-Ciia marks passive in some other Polynesian languages) and a transitive suffix. In recent literature it has been claimed that -Ciia is not a marker of passive voice and assumed that Samoan does not have an active/passive contrast. This paper argues that Samoan does have an active/passive contrast and that it is indicated by a different word order rather than by verbal morphology. It is shown, however, that -Ciia is similar to a passive suffix in that it indicates that a particular nominal of a clause is a patient (in the broad sense) but there are differences prototypically involving the choice of a patient as subject, while -Ciia indicates the choice of a patient as absolute. It is argued that -Ciia cannot always be analyzed as a transitive suffix since besides deriving transitive verbs, it also derives intransitive verbs. A brief historical explanation, based on the passive-to-ergative realanalysis proposed by Chung, et al. is offered as to why -Ciia appears in active as well as passive clauses.

(1) Na fa'u'umata e le fili le na'u. PAST destroy-Ciia ERGATIVE the enemy the village 'The enemy destroyed the village.'

HARUKO MINEGISHI COOK, University of Southern California

Group and Individual Evidentials: Sentence-Final NO and bare Verbs in Japanese

The difference in meaning between an utterance with the Japanese sentence-final particle no and the corresponding utterance without no has puzzled a number of linguists. Previous analyses claim that no marks exclamations, presupposition, positive politeness, facts, and cohesion in discourse. In this paper no is analyzed as a marker of evidentiality. No signals that the speaker shares a commitment to the knowledge in question, as in and NO and bare verbs are contrasted with other evidential markers such as those of reported speech and "terrestrial" evidentials which lack social-functional pressure on the linguistic system.

The data used in this study come from a hour of audio-taped family conversations. This data reveals that while NO frequently encode knowledge the Japanese folk belief considers inaccessible (e.g. psychological states), no frequently encodes knowledge common to the sender and hearer. The proposed analysis can account for the data used to support the previous analyses of no. It also accounts for why no is used in particular conversational contexts (previously unaccounted for uses). This paper concludes with a discussion of how this analysis of no would fit into a theory of social meaning.

SUSAN CRAIN, University of Connecticut

Children’s Understanding of Reference: A Pragmatic vs. a Structural Emphasis

This research attempts to disentangle a structural and a pragmatic explanation of children’s understanding of anaphora. It was recently argued that transitive passive voice as subject, rather than by verbal morphology.

The data used in this study come from a hours of audio-taped family conversations. This data reveals that while NO frequently encode knowledge the Japanese folk belief considers inaccessible (e.g. psychological states), no frequently encodes knowledge common to the sender and hearer. The proposed analysis can account for the data used to support the previous analyses of no. It also accounts for why no is used in particular conversational contexts (previously unaccounted for uses). This paper concludes with a discussion of how this analysis of no would fit into a theory of social meaning.
KATHERINE DEUTH, Boston University

Sesotho Impersonal Passives: Implications for Acquisition

While there is a wealth of conflicting literature on the acquisition of passives from both theoretical and descriptive viewpoints (e.g. Boier & Waxler 1987; Pinker, Lebeaux & Front 1987; Matsuo, Fox, Becker & Chafeley 1985), there has been little discussion of the acquisition of impersonal constructions passives, even in languages where these constructions have received a flurry of recent attention (e.g. Dutch - Kinker 1976, Islandic - Maling & Thrasslson - 1985). However, work on the acquisition of passives in Sesotho (Dermuth 1987) indicates that, while passives in this language become quite productive by the age of 3, productivity of impersonal passives lags until age 5 - 6 months behind. First, this paper considers a GO analysis of Sesotho impersonal passives (Machobane 1987), finding that they are syntactically non-canonical, requiring the additional handling of case assignment and agreement rules. It then examines the discourse contexts where both personal and impersonal passives are used, finding that they are primarily used in discourse contexts where a 'old/given/typical' noun phrase is not available to fill subject position, requiring a more sophisticated understanding of the actual meaning of subject position in this language. The paper concludes with some cross-linguistic predictions regarding the acquisition of impersonal passives, and suggests further avenues for both theoretical and empirical research.

KEITH DENNING, Stanford University

Phonetic Explanations for the Origin of Phonemic Voice Quality

Phonemic use of voice quality distinctions - i.e. those involving manipulation of such aspects of articulation as pharyngeal width, laryngeal height and phonation type (modal, voiceless, creak/laryngealization etc.) - is an important area of research in linguistic phonetics and phonology. An understanding of the interaction between articulatory and acoustic, voice quality and such well-investigated areas as vertical and horizontal specification of the place of constriction in vowel production is especially promising with regard to questions about change over time in certain phonological systems of the world's languages, the development of the 'i' to 'e' sound series of many languages, including the 'i' to 'e' sound series of Southeast Asia (e.g. the Mon-Khmer group) and the 'i' to 'e' sound series of many languages of Southeast Asia (e.g. the Nilo-Saharan group). The authors of the present paper, using an acoustic analysis of the Nilo-Saharan and the Nilo-Saharan (Gabb) group, have reconstructed and explained in terms of such interactions.

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The authors of the present paper, using an acoustic analysis of the Nilo-Saharan and the Nilo-Saharan (Gabb) group, have reconstructed and explained in terms of such interactions.
A rule of Tensin in Long Island English (this rule changes /a/ to its tense allophone [Æ] before tautosyllabic /b,d,g,m,p,n,t,s,z,s,ʃ,ʒ/) presents a challenge to one aspect of the lexical/post-lexically specified L-tones are underlyingly distinguished by default rule. To account for the tones in the associative construction, e.g. m-bÎNE wâ mÎ-nûman 'tail of animal,' first the H spreading rule is introduced as an attempt to systematize the toneless /Æ/ preceding noun stem. Application of this rule, H Spread Left, may be blocked by a linked H in that noun stem. Next, Default L Insertion introduces one L for each remaining toneless /Æ/ in the phrase. Finally H Spread Right spreads the H from the connective to the prefix on the right and the prefix L delinks. These rules, which also apply to TA /æ/ Tensing, result in the toneless /Æ/ on nouns being specified in UR and participating in phonological rules before L-tones are filled in by default rule. Furthermore, the different rules for H specification in noun stems—none, final V-slot, or initial V-slot—greatly simplifies accounting for whether or not final vowels appear on nouns (Wilkinson, 1972).

### The Interpretation of Tense in Narrative Discourse

Recent work in discourse analysis has suggested that grammatical categories such as aspect are realized by discourse functions (e.g. past tense in Arabic). In particular, the perfective/perfective aspectual alternation in many languages has been explained in terms of the discourse function of linguistic material, i.e., foreground vs. background material. Following Comrie (1986), I argue that this feature is not all one dimension. The English simple past tense (perfective) overtly marks an event as an event not yet completed and is thus an aspectual feature that can assume different discourse realizations depending on the local discourse context in which it occurs. Predicates like the underlined one below can represent sequentially ordered events on the main time-line of a narrative (i.e. foreground material) but can also represent habitual events as perceived through the consciousness of another character (i.e. background material).

1. She knew she was an awful coward about bulls, she said.

...This paper demonstrates that perfective aspect in Arabic does not signify a specific discourse function. Rather, it assumes different discourse functions on the basis of its meaning within a particular discourse context.

### Pronouns as Question Markers?: Evidence from Arabic

This paper examines one aspect of questions in Arabic: the use of 3rd person pronouns as what markers. The pronouns may be used in initial position to mark yes/no and wh-questions.1) All kaan Hayyuskun hina. "Ali was going-to-live here." 2) (Huwâli)âli madârâa? "Is Ali a teacher?" 3) (Huwâli)âli kaan Hayyukun feen? "Where was Ali going to live?" The pronoun agrees in gender and number with a following NP but remains in the unmarked 3rd,mas.,sing form if that NP is a pronoun. 4)(Chiyâdi)Madâ ruðâsâraa? "Is Radwa a female or male?" The value of the pronoun as a Question Particle in COMP that function to mark wh-questions and act as operators to define the scope of wh-words-in-situ.

The analyses have been proposed to account for this phenomenon. Jelinek (1981) analyzes these pronouns as constituents of AIX, thus relating them to other uses of pronouns as markers. Within this approach, these pronouns are analyzed as Question Particle constituents with which it is mutually exclusive elsewhere in the language. The Question Particle analysis provides no explanation for why the pronoun as question markers agrees with the following NP. An alternative analysis can be found in the following NP. An alternative analysis of these pronouns is based on the multiplicity of cases where these pronouns are analyzed as question markers with the following NP. An alternative analysis of these pronouns is based on the multiplicity of cases where these pronouns are analyzed as question markers with the following NP. An alternative analysis of these pronouns is based on the multiplicity of cases where these pronouns are analyzed as question markers with the following NP.
The Unit Representation in the Lexicon

Karen Emms, Salt Lake (MED HORN: 4)

This study investigates the mapping between formal grammar and language processing. Specifically, it is concerned with how morphological structure is represented in the lexicon. I will present the results of three auditory priming experiments. In all three cases, words are faster at recognizing a word if it is preceded by a semantically related word. The related words share a regular morphological relationship (e.g., poor, pouring). However, when the related word is not semantically related, it is not faster at recognition. The lack of speedup for semantically related words suggests that the mapping between formal grammar and language processing is not as direct as was previously assumed. In this case, morphological processing is not controlled by the semantic relation between words; instead, it is controlled by the phonological similarity of the words.

The analysis of this result suggests that the morphological structure of words is represented in the lexicon in a way that allows for rapid processing. This is consistent with the idea that the lexicon is a rich source of information for language processing. The results of these experiments support this idea and provide a coherent treatment for understanding how morphological structure is represented in the lexicon.

Generic Properties of Nouns

Generals like generic sentences in that they state propositions that are held to be generally true, but typically occur in the simple present tense (cf. (1)), the tense used in English to state generic propositions. Unlike other generic sentences, generals do not exhibit surface subjects that are generic. However, they do involve generic quantification over their underlying subject, and are thus like the type of generic in (2), which involves generic quantification over an implied object:

(1) People in general, can read this book easily.

(2) Fire destroys.

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The Interaction of Under specification Theory to an Understanding of Halkomelem Phonology

I will present evidence that in Halkomelem, one of the Coast Salish languages, schwa is the totally unspecified vowel and /i/ the totally unspecified consonant.

In an underspecification system the segment will be totally devoid of hierarchical structure on the melodic tier. Its basic form vowel reduction occurs unstressed vowels that are not in strong syllables to schwa. A rule of sonorant reduction changes an underlying word initial sonorant to /h/ in a derived environment. Both rules are implemented through the surface realization of the schwa and feature structure on the melodic tier.

A third rule of the language; glottal spread, neutralizes oppositions between word initial sonorants, as does sonorant reduction. It is shown that the feature [+constricted glottis] is deleted from an underlying glottalized sonorant and spreads over the following vowel.

The interaction of underspecification theory and a theory of feature structure is a critical issue for Halkomelem, since the surface realization of the schwa and feature structure on the melodic tier will not only tolerate the surface realization of schwa, since there is no melodic structure to which schwa must be attached.

The rule does not fit the standard rule typologies since it involves both the spreading of one association line and the deletion of another.
Repetition as Rejoinder in Therapeutic Discourse

Two aspects of cohesion, repetition and contingency, are strategic resources which can be manipulated for social purposes. Because languages provide substitution and paraphrasing as alternatives to iteration, the occurrence of repetition as an immediate rejoinder is possibly a discourse strategy. Analysis of 36 hours of tape-recorded naturally occurring psychotherapy sessions between 8 clients and 4 therapists reveals the repetition of another's statement, echoing and mirroring, which differ on 3 dimensions: 1) syntactic form, 2) function, 3) originator. Their functional regularities, which censure telegraphic and sequential production (Kim et al., 1980), are captured in Latvian 'rules' of discourse. Echoing is client-generated repetition which constitutes schematic agreement, while mirroring is therapist-generated word-for-word restatement which serves as an indirect request for elaboration. Differences are visually presented in Sound Cap notation. A brief comparison with room, conversational and non-spontaneous types of repetition (echolalia) shows the importance of speech event for interpretation. The study extends the work of Geffken (1973) and Halliday and Hasan (1976) on response and rejoinder and represents an advance in discourse analysis because previous studies of repetition (Schifrin 1982; Polanyi 1964) examine a single speaker's repetition of his own words. The study further contributes to DA by providing a model for a synthesis of discourse and conversation analysis.

Sharon Flank, Foreign Service Institute

Constraints on Code-Switching

Intrasentential code-switching is limited in several ways. Joshi 1983 claims that the switching rule governing the switch from a matrix language (Lm) into an embedded language (Le) is constrained, and cannot apply to the "closed class items", such as determiners, tense, and negation. Then between the developing the developing different behavior of nominal and verbal affixes. Word-internal switching occurs in contrast to the claim made in Poplack 1979, and it conforms to the closed class hypothesis. (1) fully explicit general form (the phonological output of the MARGIKI morpheme: "... plastic bags... markets") (Russian) (both Le and Lm noun morphology shown) (2) Rad si naucio da DRIVEVEI CAUH? (do you know how to drive a car?) (Serbo-Croatian) (Lm verb morphology) (3) Donde este TRÄCNING? Where are you teaching? (Sp) (Pfaff 1979:299) (Le verb morphology, but Lm verb morphology on INFL)

Klavans 1983 argues that La is determined as the language in which INFL appears. The clause switch between here the behavior of nominal and verbal affixes supports her solution. Furthermore if INFL is taken as the head of S, as Chomsky 1981 and others argue, then the language of the head of the element (INFL) is the language of the element itself.

Nonaka Porner, Macalaster College

Tutorial Questions in Caretaker Speech

The hypothesis that those questions asked by caretakers of language learning children to which the questioner already knows the answer serve a language-teaching function, in whole case a well-defined curriculum should be discernible within the set of these particular questions, is supported by the findings reported in this paper. Statistical analyses of the incidence of what-questions requiring variable complex responses in the input by different sets of data show that in English-German bilingual children from age 6 months to 28 months show the following significant shifts over time in both languages. As children are taught first what objects are called ("What's that?") then how to produce them ("Show me the one") and finally how to encode a new event ("What's happening here?"), i.e. the caretakers' questions are geared toward the child's production of NPs first, then of VPs, and finally of full Ss in that order. The questions calling for NP responses, furthermore, are simple with the child's production and comprehension abilities, then, both sets of caretakers systematically change their questions from the simple to the more complex over time.

Kathleen Ferrara, University of Texas-Austin

(WED MORN: 5)

Repetition as Rejoinder in Therapeutic Discourse

Donald G. Frantz, University of Lethbridge

Null Pronouns in Blackfoot Conjectures

McCloskey (1980) gives evidence for null pronouns as second member of conjuncts in Modern Irish. To maintain an analysis in which null pronouns are governed by AGR of INFL (required in agreement affixes on the verb), McCloskey redefines government for Irish so that only the rightmost conjunct is governed by AGR. This works because features of only the rightmost conjunct are reflected in affixes of the governing verb or of the proposition. Blackfoot has null pronouns as members of conjuncts, but no reasonable revision of the definition of government can account for these, for in such cases the governing verb or possessed noun agrees not with an individual member of the conjunct (as in Irish), but as much as possible with a set of features which is a function of the features of the members on Blackfoot null pronouns is evidently not one based on government, but on a principle of minimal redundancy. The cases in which a government-by-AGR principle appears to work are simply a subset of the cases in which an overt pronoun would be redundant, given the information reflected in the affixes of the verb and knowledge of principles of coordination.

Lin Frazier, University of Massachusetts

Taking On Semantic Commitments: Processing Multiple Meaning vs. Multiple Senses

When does the human language processor take on semantic commitments? This question has two components: For what class of semantic decisions will the processor make some decision rather than leaving this to the listener? For what point during sentence analysis will a decision be made if insufficient information is available to guarantee an accurate decision? Neither question has been answered (or even clearly posed) in psycholinguistic work.

Three eye movement studies were conducted to begin exploring these questions. Eye movement records indicate that delaying the presentation of disambiguating information until after the occurrence of an ambiguous target lengthens reading times for targets with multiple meanings (the concrete vs. abstract meaning of "ball," "ring") but not for targets with multiple senses (the concrete vs. abstract sense of "library," "pom"). This finding is taken as initial support for the view that semantic commitments are minimized, occurring only when mutually incompatible choices are presented by the utterer or when forced by the need to maintain consistency between the interpretation of the current phrase and any already processed contextual material. However, decisions forced by either of these circumstances occur immediately with associated effects appearing in the eye movement record long before the end of the sentence.

Keith Rainer, University of Massachusetts

(WED MORN: 4)

Acquisition of Topic-Comment Characteristics in Hmong

In earlier work (1985) I delineated characteristics of topic-comment structure in Hmong adult language. These include (a) clear topic-comment divisions in sentences, (b) zero noun phrases controlled by topic, (c) optional topic markers, and (d) syntactic constructions which create complex sentences with a topic-comment division. The present paper examines two other-topic-comment characteristics in four Hmong-speaking children, ages 1½ to 6½. Analysis of their utterances in conversation and story-telling reveals that (a) a topic-comment division on sentence or segment level marks comments as well as universals and obligatory aspects of topic-comment structure, while (c) and (d) are optional and/or language-specific.

E. Fuller, University of Wisconsin-Madison

(TUES MORN: 8)

(WED MORN: 6)
Weinreich's categories. Moreover, these errors are similar to those reported in studies on L1 lexical acquisition (Bowerman, 1974 and 1981). An external argument either is left unexpressed or appears in a by-phase. Some theories of argument structure (Williams, 1981; Zubiak, 1985) have claimed that the external argument may be prevented from appearing in this way; a verb which has the same effect on an internal argument should be impossible. It is thus interesting that one common and plausible analysis of the ba-construction in Mandarin Chinese involves a rule on an external argument which modifies this property. An internal argument is prevented from appearing in its canonical position, and instead it shows up as the object of ba as seen in (1):

(1) Wo ba Zhangsan dasie. 'I killed Zhangsan.'

(2) Ba zhangsan ku de hen run-si-la-am. 'I cried so much that Zhangsan was amused.'

The paper presents preliminary results of a study of the lexical errors of English as a Second Language students using both recognition and production tasks. The study is used to investigate the possible parallels between historical changes, as described by Weinreich, in the lexicon of LI due to interference on the one hand, and the effects that LI has on the acquisition of the lexicon of L2 on the other. The paper presents a categorisation of the observed phraseological errors of ESL students in written English compositions, noting neutralization and semantic field errors constituting the two major categories. While there is a broad similarity between aspects of the categories described and Weinreich's three categories of simple and complex interference, many of the errors found, such as errors that seem to result from the unaided use of converse pairs like "teach" and "learn," and the selective use of non-causatives with causative meanings, do not fit into Weinreich's categories. Moreover, these errors are similar to those reported in studies on L1 lexical acquisition (Bowerman, 1974 and 1982). This suggests that while pragmatic principles play a significant role in lexical change, psychological processes similar to those proposed for L1 lexical acquisition are also important in L2 lexical acquisition.
The semantic theory of complementation (Grimshaw 1979, Pesetsky 1982) predicts that languages which allow 'where-wh' questions (ones whose answers appear in their D-Structure positions), will also allow complement (embedded) "in situ" WH-movement. While this is true of Chinese, Japanese, etc., there are some languages in which complement "in situ" is not allowed. French is an example of this phenomenon. Following Chomsky (1980), I assume that both S and WH-projections. Hence, I assume that both S and WH can be syntactically selected. I derive the absence of overt WH-movement in sentences like (i) from the absence of the landing site (COMP) in the clause. That is, the categorical status of "in situ" questions is S (see Fuku 1986 for a similar approach to Japanese). Hence, complemented WH-items in French must have overt complementizers, I argue that verbs which take these complement items select S-bar. From this it follows that sentences like (ii) violate the selectional requirement on the matrix verb. Crucially, no reference is made to 4/½-va Comp.

A Generalized Binding Account of Polarity Sensitivity

This paper will show that the distribution of the polarity sensitive items in Serbo-Croatian can be captured in terms of Generalized Binding, provided a fourth Binding Principle is introduced (along the lines with Iatridou). There are two types of NPIs in Serbo-Croatian: one of them behaving like a 4/½-noun (Iatridou 1986) has to be bound by Negation in its governing category and the other one behaving like a pronoun anaphor (it has to be free in its governing category by and large in the whole sentence. It is the letter that calls for an introduction of another binding principle, Principle D. Positive Polarity items in Serbo-Croatian are analyzable as A'-pronounals; they have to be A'-free in their governing category. It will be argued in this paper that this syntactic approach to the polarity sensitivity is both theoretically and empirically superior to the proposals proposed so far in literature, e.g., Ladas and Linerbar. Theoretically, the distribution of the NPIs is captured here at no extra cost, by principles already needed in the grammar. Empirically no other approach to polarity proposed so far is able to incorporate the fact that there are two different types of NPIs in Serbo-Croatian.

A Chapter in the Early History of American Linguistics

This paper will look at the linguistic work of Peter Stephen Du Ponceau (1760 - 1844) and John Pickering (1777 - 1846). They are important and often overlooked figures in the history of linguistics and played a particularly important role in the study of American Indian languages. One important role that they played was to recover early documents pertaining to these languages and republish them, for example, they were responsible for the republication of John Elliot's grammar of the Massachusetts language, Dr. Edwards observations on the Mohican language, as well as many other publications. Their interest in Indian languages extended in many other departments of linguistics. They also published extensively in the U.S. and Europe and revived a more general scholarly interest in the languages of North America in the U.S. and Europe.

Notes

1. Du Ponceau was the 1826 winner of the Prix Volney, and Pickering in 1826, and was the President of the American Philosophical Society in 1828.
JOSEF MOSER, University of California-Santa Cruz

ADITI LAHART, Max Planck Institute JACQUES KOBMAN, Max Planck Institute

Perceptual Relevance of Closure Duration in Distinguishing Geminate Stops from Non-Geminates

Earder work has demonstrated that closure duration overrides other cues (VOT, preceding vowel length) in the perception of various non-geminate stops. The present experiment aims to determine whether closure duration is the only relevant perceptual cue for this distinction, or merely the primary cue.

The method, adapted from earlier studies on duration cues in the fore/aft (Elgie & Hombert 1979), is to create two sets of stimuli with closure duration varying incrementally between that of a non-geminate and that of a geminate. One set is made by artificially lengthening an original non-geminate in 10-msec steps up to the length of a geminate, and the other set is made by shortening an original geminate in the same manner. Subjects are then asked to identify the stimuli. If the crossover point is the same for the two sets of stimuli, it will be established that closure duration alone determines the perception of geminate vs. non-geminate stops. If the crossover point is significantly different, it will be clear that some other cue is having an effect.

Starting with recorded minimal word pairs with taotomorphemic geminate and non-geminate stops in Bengali, we constructed sets of stimuli as described above. These stimuli were presented to subjects in a word identification task. Results clearly indicate that the crossover point at which subjects' perception shifts from geminate to non-geminate consonants is virtually identical for the two sets of stimuli. This suggests that secondary cues play no role in distinguishing geminate and non-geminate stops, a result contrary to that obtained by Elgie & Hombert for the fore/aft distinction.

JOSEF MOSER, University of California-Santa Cruz

Nest Antecedents

In discourse model approaches to anaphor resolution (Webber 1979, Sag & Hamburger 1984), the assignent of an interpretation to an anaphor involves direct association of the anaphor with some entity in a discourse model. One of the motivations for this proposal is the split antecedent phenomenon, where a plural anaphor may refer to an entity which lacks a single constituent. Bob was arguing with Marie about their children.

In the discourse model approach, a set of discourse entities is built up as the discourse proceeds. Some of these entities are directly evoked by linguistic elements, but others are derived by plural entity creation, which adds a new plural entity to the model by combining entities already present.

In the cross-linguistic study of the discourse model approach, the discourse model has been an unstructured set of entities. This paper will show that plural entity creation must be sensitive to the syntactic relations between the evokes of the original entities. In particular, if one evoke is nested within another, either may serve as an antecedent (showing the other may evoke a discourse entity), but the two cannot serve as split antecedents.

Bob presented his theory about the ECP, which is* pretty uninteresting.

The antecedent for the pronoun 'which' can either be 'his theory about the ECP' or just 'the ECP'. But no plural entity corresponding to the set consisting of the ECP and Bob's theory above it is available.

These and related facts lead to a proposal for a discourse model which reflects at least in part the syntactic relations between evokes. Then plural entity creation can be constrained not to affect nested entities.

JACQUESINE N. HENDRICK, University of Texas-Austin

What It Means to Mitigate

Mitigating speakers in the sociolinguistic literature are consistently evaluated from a negative perspective, the result of certain unexamined assumptions about what it means to mitigate. In some accounts, to mitigate always means--especially for female speakers--to incur a loss of power or to betray an unconscious knowledge of subordinate social status. In other accounts, mitigating speakers, especially those who clearly wield social power, are suspected of dishonest tactics. However valid these interpretations may sound in specific cases, as in general statements about the nature of mitigation they fall obviously short. Too often unmitigated speech comes to seem more "real" than mitigated speech against some ideal but unformed notion of what it means to be direct, powerful, and honest. Equally, sometimes unmitigated or non-gendered speakers are assumed to feel a lack of power and to use mitigations as a way to compensate. Data from both male-female and all-female group conversations are cited to question the notion of directness in mitigating as distributed across speech act types, to associate mitigations with socially powerful speakers, and to positively correlate a high percentage of mitigated utterances with those speakers who most dominate floor time.

KATHRYN HENNIS, Stanford University

Underspecification for Subject: Evidence from Malayalam

The Malayalam sentence represented in (1) below is ambiguous. The structure proposed for the two readings is given in (2a) and (2b).

(1) (a) Jack ko/en-co shud a/a-adap-in pen-in-ko/ko
(b) Jack ko/en ko/shad-a-adap-in pen-in-ko/ko

(2a) John wanted [Mary to pitch the sheep]], and [to beat Bill]
(2b) John wanted [Mary to pitch the sheep], and [to beat Bill by]

Reading (2a) is associated with unqualified infinitives, whose clausal subject is the embedded constituent, meet. Reading (2b) is associated with a sentence in which an S-complement and a VP complement are expanded. In a phenomenon apparently inconsistent with scope-based effects ("split control"), the right constituent (the embedded VP) is controlled by the matrix subject, even, while the left constituent (the embedded S) exhibits no such control relation. In analysis, I posit that the complement of the verb infinitives must be an infinitival phrase, but that this complement is crucially unspecified for the presence of a structural subject. This is consistent with assumptions about syntactic underspecification in cross-serial structures, as proposed in Chierchia, Sag, and Watanabe (1985).

This analysis is supported by evidence concerning cross-serial subject dependencies involving subject identity and recursive antecedency.

Many current syntactic theories propose treating subjects as different from other, "internal" arguments. Representing the presence of a subject by means of a separate syntactic feature allows the use of underspecification to predict the ambiguity of sentence (1) above, proving, as well, an elegant solution to the otherwise problematic phenomenon of "split control" in cross-serial structures.

JEANNINE HENY, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill

Case, Theta Roles, and the Right-Head Rule

Peralan compounds exhibit no clear "Right-Headed" pattern. In these equivalent English-Peralan pairs, only English requires a suffix as "Right-Headed" determining category and interpretations left-hand-ed vs. chlap-peddy book-sell-er vs. ketab-formus. This paper proposes other principles to determine headness, category and interpretation for such a system. Case again clearly limit possible interpretations. Compounds containing Case-assigners maintain head-position as specified in the syntax (V-final, P-initial), and combine almost exclusively with possessive constructions. These constraints would case-mark such a pattern, assuming a broad system of Case marking between a verb and its subcategorized complements. Further supporting the relevance of Case are productive P-forms, which involve only a subset of direct Case-assigner prepositions. Case-markers may not combine, and forms without V or P show no consistent headness. Deverbal compounds of form X-V are always interpreted as the range of possible external arguments for the corresponding predicates. Thus, personclean could only mean "person/service which cleans shoes".

This contrasts with Japanese (Sugihara 1986) where identical forms bear a range of six common readings. Category may be derived, not directly from headness, but from general properties as described above, e.g. adjectival plus noun forms a semantically iconoclastic adjective regardless of order.

C.B. HEYCOCK, University of Pennsylvania

The Japanese Causative: A TAG Analysis

The Japanese causative morpheme "-sae-" affixes to verb stems to form causative verbs that are morphologically and phonologically single words. However, monosyllabic lexical analyses cannot account for the failure of the complements object to passivize in this construction. A number of syntactic analyses have been proposed, including those of Kuno (1973), Baker (1985), Miyagawa (1981) and Dobush (1985). None of these analyses is successful in fully reconciling the case-marking in active causatives with the behavior of the passive. I propose a syntactic analysis within the framework of Tree Adjoining Grammar (TAG) in which the causative morpheme subcategorizes for a small clause, the verb of which raises to form a fully inscribed verb. I propose that verb tracing can assign case accounts for the case-marking of the complement object, its failure to assume matrix subject position in a passive follows from the assumption that the derived structure is fully biclausal. This paper also demonstrates how the restrictions on the case-marking of the causee can be handled in a TAG using information available within a strictly limited domain of locality.
The importance of structural constraints on (intrasentential) coreference has been widely accepted. However, in a radical departure from previous approaches, Reinhart (1985) argues that such constraints are intrinsically bound anaphora. In this paper, we claim that the role of structural constraints on anaphora must be further restricted still. Specifically, when coreference is to be interpreted as bound even anomic, the psychological experiments were conducted which show that variation in accent placement and accent type can, in general, have bound or unbound interpretations of both R and non-R pronouns, including pronouns under 1s that speakers actually prefer the sloppy interpretation in sentences like 1, for valid Reinhart the sloppy interpretation is not available since the requisite c-command relation between "Los Angeles" and "it" does not obtain: 1. People who were born in Los Angeles adore ITS beaches but people who were born in New York do not. Assuming that the sloppy interpretation does correlate with anaphoric binding, an extra-intuitively correct, then we must conclude that accent does permit WPs which do c-command pronouns to nonetheless bind them.

**HENRY HIZ, University of Pennsylvania**

**Bloomfield, the logical Postivist**

To many concerns of the logical positivists, Bloomfield gives an unexpected twist. 1. A variant of an antonym: if in a text there appear exactly three classes of three elements each, then the class of tris and a triad 2. If we are an anti-dogmatist in the problem of parts of speech, this was in the style of thinking started by Frege. Various grammatical con 3. The only thing clear is that this form is not the form itself. The choices of the kind of entities for naming the linguistic differences linguists (cf. Mustion of the form, a language is an arbitrary version of meaning to form. This leads almost to functionalism.

**YOSHIKIO HIRAGASHI, San Diego State University**

(TUES MORN: 2)

**Proxodic Disturbances in Japanese Agrammatic Speech: Disturbance in Duration**

The aim of the present study is to investigate the relationship between mora duration and pause duration in a Japanese agrammatic patient, following Hagoita and Pauls (1980) for normal subjects. A set of utterances ranging in length from one mora to nine mora was read by the patient (7) in isolation and (2) in a carrier. Mora duration and pause duration were measured from the data processed by PARCOR Analysis and sound spectrographs. Major findings included the following: 1. The same of utterance durations without pause increases when the number of morae increases both in isolation and in embedded condition, but it varies greatly; 2. (the duration of [an] (an) decreases up to two-mora utterance in isolation and in embedded condition, but it increases above two-mora utterances, which is different from normal subjects; 3. (the correlation coefficient of duration of the an) that of [a] in the utterance 4. (a pause appears at grammatical phrase boundaries. Based upon these major findings, it is concluded: 1. the function of speech rate control is preserved to some extent, 2. a quantitative analysis of its ease to control speech rate, and (3) lack of compensation in isolation and 80% compensation in embedded condition, as well as inconsistent and varying pauses, are causes of agrammatic sound disturbance in ERAN.

**JULIA HERSCROB, AT&T Laboratories**

**Accent and Bound Anaphora**

**GREGORY L. NAGD, Northwestern University**

Accounting for Scalar Phenomena in 'Let Alone' Sentences

The semantics and pragmatics of let alone sentences must include scalar ordering of their component propositions. One-dimensional linear scales are inadequate for sentences such as (1) and (2):

(1) You couldn't get a poor man to wash your car for $2 but a rich man to wash your truck for $1.

(2) You couldn't get a poor man to wash your car but a rich man to wash your truck.

(4 scales: rich/poor, wash/car/truck

The multiple paired foils (1) require a multi-dimensional system such as the scalar models of Fillmore, Kay and O'Connor (1987). In a scalar model, propositions can be ordered based on the values of their coordinates in n-space with the dimension-scales as axes.

A scalar approach using partially ordered sets (posets) as defined by Hirschberg (1985) can account for both linear and non-linear cases. A partial ordering R on a set I is a relation that for all members bi of R either a) reflexive, b) closure and the new order is an irreflexive, asymmetric and transitive. A set and a partial ordering on it defines a partially ordered set. Under a partial definition of scale, X is lower than Y on a partial ordering R if XRY X.

In a speech interpretation, the order and Shari Pei can be placed on the scale needed for interpretation of (2). A scalar approach accounts for both non-linearity and multiple foils. However, a scalar approach with dimensions based on poset defined scales can. A synthesis of the two approaches provides more adequate coverage of scalar phenomena in let alone sentences than either approach separately.

**PETER EDWIN HOOK, University of Michigan**

**Discourse of Subjecthood: An Instance in Shina (Skardu)**

In their 1960s Languag article Cole et al. adduce evidence to show that noun phrases that acquire subject properties acquire the behavioral ones (like control of reflexives) historically prior to acquiring the coding ones (control of verb agreement, nominative case). On the basis of field work in Pakistan on Shina I show that it is also possible for such noun phrases in a particular construction to lose coding properties but not lose behavioral ones. In this construction two morphological features, contra Reinhart, do not permit anaphoric interpretation as bound even anomic, but do prohibit interpretation as bound even anomic.

The dative experiencer has both non-linearity and multiple foils. However, a scalar approach with dimensions based on poset defined scales can. A synthesis of the two approaches provides more adequate coverage of scalar phenomena in let alone sentences than either approach separately.

**JANICE R. HORN, Yale University**

**Giving a Name: When Redundant Affirmation Doesn't**

On diagnostic criteria proposed for imp/feature (cf. Sebeok 1978) involves the thesis that while conversationally implicated material may be non-redundantly affirmed (some but not all men are chauvinists). He was able to win and did win), entailment and presupposed material (by) may be (*He managed to win and he did win. *The king is bald and there is one. Hora recently, Ward (1985) has shown that the frontal syntax of proposition affirmation (PA) is normally possible when the affirmed proposition has been evoked in the context but not nullified by it. (I said thought) she would win, and win she did vs. *I realized she would win, and win she did not. In Ward's analysis of the proposition may be affirmed even after it has been initiated or presupposed by the prior clause. The alleged acceptance rules what might be called concessive affirmation but constructions.

I don't know why you love me, but you love me (cf. *I don't know why I love you, and thus I love you). It is true that you failed, but you still did (cf. *It was fortunate that you passed, and you still did). He won by a small margin, but win he did (cf. *He won by a large margin, and (but) win he did). Account for those contexts in terms of the pragmatic theory of argumentation (Acquistarla 1983). For any finality, it is strictly redundant affirmation to be discourse-acceptable. It must count as contentually distinct. In particular, a VP-fronted PA second clause in a biclausal structure must be (1) evoked by a proposition p expressed by the first clause (1 is Ward), and other (1) logically independent of p or (1) argumentative inconvertible with p. Thus. He may have won, he may have won, (but he did win, win he did) He may have won, but (he won by a small margin/*win by a small margin he did).
Syllable Structure Constraints on Tonal Associations

Why do languages tolerate semantically redundant derivational morphology? In particular, given Arens' blocking of morphemes that derive one word from another, why do languages tolerate such derivational redundancy in their morphology? One candidate answer is the so-called Linking Constraint (Hayes 1986), which holds that words cannot be composed of two or more identical morphemes. However, this constraint has been criticized on several grounds, including the lack of empirical evidence for its existence, its failure to account for certain observed phenomena, and the fact that it is not compatible with the principles of optimality theory (Kiparsky 1991). In this paper, I propose an alternative explanation for the syntactic behavior observed in certain languages, such as Korean, that has not been adequately accounted for by previous theories. The proposed explanation is based on the idea that morphemes do not compose words in an arbitrary manner, but rather according to specific syntactic constraints that are determined by the underlying phonological structure of the language. The syntactic behavior observed in Korean, for example, can be explained by the fact that certain morphemes are required to occur in specific positions within the syllable, and that these positions are determined by the underlying phonological structure of the language. This explanation is supported by a variety of empirical evidence, including a close examination of the morphological structure of Korean words, and the use of computational models to predict the behavior of the language.

GROVER HUDSON, Michigan State University

The Phonetic Explanation of Geminate Behavior

Hayes' (1986) Linking Constraint is a simple autosegmental explanation of why geminates either do or do not undergo many rules affecting similar nonsingleton geminates. An alternative explanation, achieving much the same results, is based on the traditionally-recognized articulatory nature of syllables as clusters, but the internal (deletion) analysis of singletons (e.g., epenthesis) rules, since they have the relevant strength characteristics of clusters. (1) Geminates act like clusters referred to as (e.g., epenthesis) rules, since they have the relevant strength characteristics of clusters. (2) They act like singletons in the focus SD of (e.g., epenthesis) rules, since they lack the assimilation resist analysis as clusters, since the assimilation shows that their internal structure must be phonetically absent, but (4) other as permitting a phonetic context. The phonetic explanation as well unitary than the autosegmental but is based on independently necessary aspects of analysis.

LARRY M. HAHAN, University of Southern California

Syllable Structure Constraints on Tonal Associations

It has been widely accepted that syllable structure plays an important role in toponymy. Whether the tone-bearing unit of a word is the syllable or a smaller unit (e.g., word), it appears to be general that tones do not (at least initially) associate onto syllable structure, but instead may link only to elements within the rimae. In this paper, two further universal constraints are proposed to rule out ill-formed tonal associations within a single heavy syllable, i.e., within a syllable having two morae. The first concerns the linking of HHH and LLL complex contours obligatorily as in (a), not (c). The second concerns the linking of HHH and LL complex contours obligatorily as in (c), not (d). The first principle has to do with distributing the tonic contour evenly throughout the syllable, whereas the second with distributing greater tonic complexity to the first head vs. second more of a heavy syllable, when even distribution is not possible. To link these tonal structures, it would automatically result in ill-formed syllables, thus giving the impression that the starred forms actually constitute two syllables. These principles are otherwise more nonpredictably (Grassmann, 1990), providing insight into the total internal structure of tonal contours in general.

(c) CVV  CVV  CVVV  CVVV  CVV  CVVV  CVVV

(i) LL  LL  LL  LL  LL  LL  LL  LL

(a) CVV CVV CVV CVV CVV CVV CVV

(ii) LL LL LL LL LL LL LL LL

(b) CVV CVV CVV CVV CVV CVV CVV

(iii) LL LL LL LL LL LL LL LL

(c) CVV CVV CVV CVV CVV CVV CVV

(iv) LL LL LL LL LL LL LL LL

Hyun T. J. JACKSON, University of California-Los Angeles

Are There Systematic Cross-Linguistic Differences in Front Vowel Articulation?

It has been suggested that the assignment of phonetic values to phonological feature specifications is conditioned by the structure of the vowel inventory. For instance, Wood (1982) claims that languages differ systematically in whether they use a prepalatal or midpalatal constriction for front vowels. Languages with front rounded vowels (e.g., Swedish) prefer prepalatal constrictions, whereas languages without front rounded vowels may use either prepalatal or midpalatal constrictions (Cairo Arabic) or midpalatal constrictions (English). The prepalatal constriction gives a high F5, which in turn improves the perceptual contrast between rounded and unrounded vowels. There is some evidence against this claim, but there are differences in the perception of vowels from Icelandic (2 speakers), Swedish (2), and Chinese (3) are analyzed using a speaker-independent model for tongue positions in American English vowels (Hahsar, Lade, and Gollub 1977). It is found that presence of front rounded vowels in the inventories of these languages does not systematically affect the articulation of front vowels.
Central Yiddish Breaking and Druml: The Hybrid Origins of a Rule

Yiddish, a hybrid language, consists of Germanic and Semitic - and to a lesser degree Slavic and Romance - components. In the source dialects of Middle High German (MHO) and Yiddish Hebrew (YH), there existed independent breaking rules: MHO [f] > [v] and [v] > [f] in syllables; they normally are one or two syllables apart in utterances (never since most recent 200 years). Consequently, vowel fricatives breaking, with no regard to context or origin. The present paper describes how like historical data were generalized in CT, but not so in other Yiddish dialects. Relevant factors include: CT vowel length; pseudo-vocalization; and development of the Jaegerian rule based on a further generalization of CT breaking.

JERI J. JAEGER, University of California-Davis

Not by the Chair of my Nanny Han Han: Speech Errors in Young Children

"Slips of the tongue" in adults have been used as evidence for claims about the units and hierarchical arrangements in speech planning and production mechanisms. Evidence on the topic from children is rare. In this paper I present an analysis of a corpus of 200 speech errors collected from one child. 0-5; 072, and show that there are very few differences between adults and children. In phonological error corpora, as are those of us engaged in research on the topic from children is rare. In this paper I present an analysis of a corpus of 200 speech errors collected from one child. 0-5; 072, and show that there are very few differences between adults and children. In phonological error corpora, (vowel fricatives that are more frequent than /v/), and come from syllables like stress; the tonic word is most involved, as are content words, and phonotactic constraints are not violated. Word substitutions, blends, phonotactic constraints, etc. are not marked in all clause types are marked) are argumental in function, and that NPs are optional adjuncts, not necessary for sentencehood. This analysis resolves the paradox: Navajo relativization involves the binding of a pronominal argument in the relative clause by a pronominal argument in the matrix clause. A constraint on the Navajo relativization involves the binding of a pronominal argument in the matrix clause. A constraint on the...
JOHN E. JOSEPH, University of Maryland

Bloomfield's Saussureanism
In a letter first published in 1987, Bloomfield expresses frustration with reviewers of Language (1933) who rebuked him for neglecting Saussure. "His influence," Bloomfield insists, "is on every page." If this is true, it means: (1) that Saussure's core significance must have lain elsewhere for Bloomfield than where it lies for linguists today; and (2) that the history of linguistics in the 20th century needs some radical revision: American generational et al. will not have great influence unless all fundamental elements predominate over all the rest. It does not handle the facts in dialects in which the NPs can be interspersed with the VPs of a given unit, and that arguments of higher verbs come before those of a lower order. All and the argument of a verb precede it.

This paper gives an LFG account that handles these different dialects. The account relies on the relation of Functional Precedence, a relation on functional structure that is induced by its argument list, as opposed to the traditional precedence relation on constituent structure. Specifically, F-precedence permits ordering constraints to be stated among constituents in a-structure that are not children of any single node but correspond to a single unit in structure. With this relation it is simple to state the arguments of an intonational complement follow those of higher verbs without having to introduce them in the same phrase-structure rule. This is just what is needed for Swiss German and West Flemish as discussed by Lobscher and Haegeman & van Riemandijk. We conclude by pointing out some other phenomena that F-precedence naturally explains.

JAMES KARI, Alaska Native Language Center

Twelve Minutes on the Akha (Aethaskan) Verb Complex

The array of prefixes and suffixes in the Akha verb complex is much more elaborate than the eleven-position model of Saussure which has been so influential in studies of Athabaskan languages. An integrated root-affix lexicon for Akha has led to a productive derivational verb complex with 27 possible positions before the root and three suffix positions after the root. In Akha, several vowels and of V null stop and a glottal stop are phonologically possible. The pattern of crossing dependencies is so strong that Akha has been designated as a SOV language for purposes of structural analysis. The prefixes and affixes have been described in terms of a single unit in E-structure. With this relation it is simple to state the arguments of an intonational complement follow those of higher verbs without having to introduce them in the same phrase-structure rule. This is just what is needed for Swiss German and West Flemish as discussed by Lobscher and Haegeman & van Riemandijk. We conclude by pointing out some other phenomena that F-precedence naturally explains.

JOSEPH CONTAG, XEROX PARC

Crossing Dependencies in Germanic Languages and Functional Precedence

Influnval and participial constructions in West Germanic languages have attracted much attention in the writing of Functional Precedence, a relation on functional structure that is induced by its argument list, as opposed to the traditional precedence relation on constituent structure. Specifically, F-precedence permits ordering constraints to be stated among constituents in a-structure that are not children of any single node but correspond to a single unit in structure. With this relation it is simple to state the arguments of an intonational complement follow those of higher verbs without having to introduce them in the same phrase-structure rule. This is just what is needed for Swiss German and West Flemish as discussed by Lobscher and Haegeman & van Riemandijk. We conclude by pointing out some other phenomena that F-precedence naturally explains.

NAOMI M. KAPLAN, XEROX PARC

ANNE ZAENEN, XEROX PARC

Compilation of Phonological Rules to Finite-State Transducers

In their unpublished 1980 LSA paper, Kaplan and Kay pointed out that any mapping from underlying lexical forms to the corresponding surface forms, constrained by a set of ordered rewrite rules, constitutes a REGULAR RELATION. This work led to an efficient computational technique for recognition and generation of which phonological and orthographical rules are implemented as finite-state transducers. Koskenkari 1983 presents a framework for describing lexical-surface correspondences as simultaneous two-level rules. A compiler for this two-level formalism has been developed [Karttunen, Koskenkari, Kaplan 1987]. This paper describes some properties of the two-level rule formalism and the method for converting two-level rules to transducers. The main example is the implementation of the "Elsewhere Principle," which gives a specific rule priority over a more general rule, without invoking any notion of rule ordering.

KARI KARTTUNEN, XEROX PARC

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Several as nonanterior, distributed coronal, cavity under the entire alveolar-palatal region. The combination presented to a show that palatals offers two available approaches: vowel presentation (compensatory) level rather than palatalization.

Thus, the split-antecedent is not an excluive (intrinsic) property of anaphors, rather it is derived from a language specific property - whether the number agreement between an antecedent and its pronoun is required for the structural an or rather semantic as in Japanese. Anaphors in the former type of languages, but not in the latter, appear to show split-antecedents. Our claim is based on the fact that in some languages, such as Japanese, singular and plural forms of reflexives are structurally interchangeable but each offers a distinct reading; a distributive (singular) reading and a collective (plural) reading respectively. We will show how and why a plural form of reflexives in these languages can have split-antecedent, which is a plural reading in nature. The ungrammaticality of (i) in English is thus the result of the numeral disagreement at the structural level, not an intrinsic property of anaphors.

PATRICIA A. KEATING, University of California-los Angeles

Palatals as Complex Coronals: X-Ray Evidence

Several recent proposals about feature geometry and segment structure describe palata as a posterior, distributed coronal, rather than a fronted velar. Recently, true X-ray tracings of segments from several languages (collected from the literature) is presented to show that indeed palata should not be phonetically identified with fronted velars: palata have a completely different tongue shape, of constriction from palatalized or fronted velars, and indeed from other coronals. What is special about palata is that the tongue tip contacts the lower teeth with a very long lingual constriction along the entire alveolar-palatal region. The combination of these articulations requires the whole blade to be raised and pitched forward, involving the whole tongue, as if a whole blade has become a tongue tip. Thus, phonetically at least, palata should be represented as complex segments combining coronal and high front vowel articulation. This representation of palata as phonetically complex segments offers two theoretical advantages; first, it provides a needed distinction in feature representations between palata and other coronals, such as palatalized velars; second, it predicts the relative rarity of palatae re plain coronals and velars.

SUSAN KIM, Seoul National University

Stress Assignment Rules for Old English Verse

In OE, stress on the second metrical level is assigned either inherently on heavy syllables by QS ('quantity sensitivity rule')(1) or rhythmically on alternating light syllables by PG (perfect grid construction rule)(2), except for the initial syllables of a root whose second level stress is assigned by EM(1) (end of domal rule)(3) regardless of its quantity. Finally, word stress is assigned on the third (and fourth) metrical level by ER(14), together with two (possibly one) PG (deactivating rules)(9) and low-tempered, high-tempered, and intermediate attraction(10). This straightforward and governed assignment of stress based on five universal (1-5) and two language-specific (6-7) parameters can provide correct criteria for uniform scanning of some problematic verses, herefore analyzed variously, and rather ad hoc, being non-rule governed. Thus, (3) [i] [e] [i] [e] (5,6) but (7) [i] [e] [i] [e] (5,6) but (8) [i] [e] [i] [e] (5,6). Moreover, the following verses from Beowulf (a-b), for example, should be scanned as six-syllable A-type verse (5,6) with secondary stress on medial syllables, unmarked 4-syllable A-type verse (5,6) with secondary stress on medial syllables of the underlined words: (a) (we) [i] [e] [i] [e] (5,6) (b) [e] [i] [e] [i] [e] (5,6).
Inversion and Configurationality

This paper contributes to the configurationality debate by presenting a case study of Turkish, a language with properties that would place it among non-configurationally languages. Our goal is to show that the latter claim, substantiated by various "binding" facts as well as at least one process crucially referring to a VP-constituent (which we shall term "VP-Substitution") and surface properties with (non-)configurationality. We shall further argue that the configurationality hypothesis that claims that non-configurationally languages, while being configurational at an abstract level, are truly non-configurational in their phrase structure. Our view will have the conceptual advantage of validating the Projection Principle for all languages (rather than for configurational languages alone).

TINA KRASIN, University of Pennsylvania

Implications of Multiple Wh Movement for Wh-island Violations

Comorovski's 1986 analysis of multiple Wh Movement in Romanian makes the prediction that, assuming subjacency, a language which permits long-distance multiple wh-fronting (as in (1) below) will not show wh-island violations. (1)

[Example]

who did you promise what to whom whom [who is [wh-what [wh-you [wh-he]]]]

In Bulgarian, however, long-distance multiple wh-fronting is permitted, but we find wh-island violations -- relative pronouns (REL-PROs) may extract out of wh-islands, but interrogative pronouns (INT-PROs) may not (Rudin 1982). We propose that INT-PROs and REL-PROs do not necessarily share the same set of bounding nodes (BNs), reducing the extraction differences above to parametric variation at UG: in Bulgarian, interrogative S' is a RN for INT-PROs. We thus derive a general explanation for the widely noted INT/REL-PRO extraction asymmetry in languages. We explain the Italian facts (Rizzi 1978), for example, by the fact that S' and NP are BNS for REL-PROs, and S and NP, for INT-PROs. Our prediction now holds only when INT- and REL-PROs share the same BNS.

PAUL D. KROEBER, University of Chicago

The Source of the Upper Chehalis Continuative Aspect

The continuative aspect of Upper Chehalis (UCH; Washington), not paralleled in other Salish languages, is shown to preserve the form of Proto-Salish (PS) transitive nominalized clauses. The suffixes with which continuative verbs are inflected for subject derive from the subject suffixes used with transitive verbs in PS (Neuman, JIAL 1980): the continuative prefix s is clearly the Salish nominalizer prefix. PS nominalized clauses are shown to have had a continuative function like the non-nominalized languages of the interior branch of the family: subject suffixes were used with transitive verbs, just as in non-nominalized clauses, but possessive affixes were used with continuative verbs. The suffixes are used with continuative verbs, just as in non-nominalized clauses. UCH has given new functions to its formal split: ALL nominalized clauses are now inflected with possessive affixes, while the old nominalized continuative inflection is now used as the configurationality hypothesis that UCH uses different sets of subject suffixes was also that of PS.

JAKLIN KORNFELT, Harvard University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology & Syracuse University

Agreement, Government, and Word Order

In many languages, word order possibilities within a syntactic constituent are correlated with the presence or absence of agreement on the constituent marker. For example, in some languages, where there is agreement on the constituent marker, the latter also has a variety of empty categories (thus giving rise to a potential discontinuous constituency). However, we shall defend the view that Turkish has a configurational language by showing that it has a VP process crucially referring to a VP-constituent (which we shall term "VP-Substitution") and surface properties with (non-)configurationality. We shall further argue that the configurationality hypothesis that claims that non-configurationally languages, while being configurational at an abstract level, are truly non-configurational in their phrase structure. Our view will have the conceptual advantage of validating the Projection Principle for all languages (rather than for configurational languages alone).

TINA KRASIN, University of Pennsylvania

Re-evaluation of Syllable Weight and Stress Assignment: Evidence from Dutch

Vowel quantity is known to play a significant role in assigning syllable weight. However, the weight relationship in Dutch does not fit into the conventional typology. A re-evaluation of weight assignment is proposed.

JAKOB P. KROEBER, University of California-Berkeley

The Semantics of Aux-Inversion and Anaphora Constraints

Not all proposed negative adverbs trigger aux-inversion. For example, at no time at no place and under no circumstances all do, while with no help does not. In general, inversion occurs with negative adverbs that entail that the event of the main clause does not occur. Compare At no time did I move the piano (it didn't move it) vs. With no help, I moved the piano (I did move it). For no reason allows both inverted and non-inverted forms, but with different meanings: For no reason would be his wife entails that he wouldn't beat her, while For no reason, it would beat his wife entails that he would beat her. This phenomenon is known as anaphora constraints. Certain c-command restrictions disappear when a negative adverb entails the nonoccurrence of the main clause. Compare At no time could I convince her that Sue needed a piano (I didn't try to convince her), there was no evidence, than Sue needed a piano (I convinced her). This agreement holds for all cases where the nonoccurrence of the proposition is entailed. "A friend had him, in class who had Dan's brother as a student. vs. No one would want him in class who had Dan's brother as a student. We will investigate whether certain other cases, such as all, also trigger the same effects. Such disappearances of c-command anaphora constraints under semantic conditions show that such anaphora constraints are not purely syntactic.
GEORGE LAROFF, University of California-Berkeley

The Syntax of Metaphorical Semantic Roles

Semantic roles are used in the statement of certain regularities governing how meaning is expressed in English, for example, DESTINATION can be expressed as the object of the preposition to. In this paper metaphorical semantic roles are defined as the metaphor allows the principles governing the expression of semantic roles to be extended to a much wider range of cases. Metaphors are conceptual mappings that impose a structure of a concrete source domain onto an abstract target domain. The general principle that targets domain elements are expressed in the same way as source domain elements extends to other roles.

The reason is that (A) is understood in terms of the conventional metaphor that thoughts are external objects that enter the head from the outside. Since the THINKER is the metaphorical source domain, it is expressed in the same way as a DESTINATION.

When Subjects Behave Like Objects: An Analysis of Sentence Focus Constructions

When subjects behave like objects: An Analysis of Sentence Focus Constructions.

A sentence focus (SF) construction is defined here as a sentence structure in which the (necessarily lexical) subject NP is intentionally and/or morphosyntactically marked as a focus, i.e. as included in the domain of the subject ("new information"), which in SF constructions extends over the entire proposition (rather than over the predicate or some part of it, as in the break down, answering the question, What happened? "constructive" or "narrow focus readings are excluded from consideration). SF constructions thus contrast formally and/or morphosyntactically with unmarked subject-predicate sentence types, called here predicate focus (PF) construction, in which the subject is topic about which the predicate expresses some accord and in which the object NP is the focus of the sentence (marked in English by main sentence accent), as in I broke my car. This paper proposes that the category "SF construction" can be universally characterized as a marked structure in which the focus property of the subject NP is expressed by a member that expresses thematic role assignment to objects in the same way as a source NP as the unmapped focus in a PF construction. This proposal accounts e.g. for the following properties shared by SF subjects and PF objects across languages: (i) locus of main sentence accent (English, German etc. cf. the NP in the above examples); (ii) noun agreement in NP positions (VS/VO in SOV languages) (Romance, Slavic, Chinese etc.); (iii) lack of verb agreement (English, French, Genoese etc.); (iv) marking of SF subjects as objects of indirect-verbs in special clausal constructions (French, Arabic etc.); (v) constraints on concord with object NP in SF sentences (e.g. subject + verb in Italian); (vi) constraints on null agreement between NP and verb; (vii) lack of agreement in French, etc. are possible, in agreement with the specialized distribution of whose-member sets include groups and some do not, and VP forms are not grammatical.

D. TERENCE LANGDON, Graduate Center, City University of New York

Agreement in Bloomfield

This paper focuses on one aspect of Bloomfield's treatment of agreement. Agreement for Bloomfield is a type of selection, which is one of the four classes of expository analysis. In Bloomfield's typology, the four classes of expository analysis are: (1) case; (2) cross-reference; (3) concord; (4) selection. General agreement is the simplest kind, in which the constituents of a construction are members of the same subclass (e.g., singular or plural in number). The Theorem of Substitution, which is the feature that gives the verb and the actor to be cross-reference. In English, for example, the verb form includes -s, which is a pronominal mention of person. It is somewhat unclear in what cases the concord factor is manifested. In Bloomfield, government is selection based on the position of a constituent in a construction. Bloomfield's only examples are the assignment of case and the selection of subordinate verbs by features of the main clause in Indo-European languages.

RICHARD N. LASERSON, Ohio State University

Group-Sensitive Adverbials and Distributive Predicates

A group-sensitive adverbial is one that occurs in object" contexts: such adverbials correspond to a retrieval of Q from the store of XP at the point where the XP is semantically combined, then Q will have exactly the scope possibilities that May assumes. It will be able to obtain scope over XP despite its lower structural attachment.

JOHN W. LASERSON, Ohio State University

Some VPs show an ambiguity between "collective" and "distributive" readings. Thus John and Mary earned $7000 means either that John and Mary earned $7000 each or that they earned $7000 on their own. English VPs, e.g. fall asleep, may have only a distributive reading, though arguably they have more than one. How can we account for these plural cases? Some model-theoretic analyses of distributive predication have assumed that they have been incorrectly analyzed as if the verb phrase were a singular. A different account is that the subject-predicate construction is partial and that the distributive predication is equivalent to a function of the individual arguments. This proposal is based on the idea that distributive predication is equivalent to the selection of a special subset of the argument. As a Hyrill picture of an account of quantifier scope in Cooper (1984). In the latter, scopally dissassembled LFs are dispensed with and the focus property of the verb and the actor to be cross-reference. In particular, why the THINKER in (A) is expressed in the same way as a DESTINATION.

WOO SANG LEE, University of California-Los Angeles

A Discourse Account of the Korean Accusative Suffix

Standard accounts of the accusative suffix (ACC) in Korean point out that it occurs with "direct objects". However, in actual discourse there are many "direct objects" contexts where the ACC does not occur. Some of these "bare nominals" are determined by lexical or grammatical considerations; others, though, particularly in conversation, can be accounted for in terms of discourse conditions. It is these with which we will be concerned here; we claim that a satisfactory account of these instances of missing ACC can be given by appealing to the notion of "sharedness". That is, the ACC is available in contexts of a collective or distributive ACC (as in "Mary took bread and [then] fell asleep"). A reconciliation of the adverbial and constructional facts is possible, however, if the account given above can be extended to cases of whose-member sets include groups and some do not, and VP forms are not grammatical.

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The examination of the phonological processes in a variety of word games has long provided external evidence to validate many abstract linguistic constructs. Word games typically present well-formed linguistic units or insert material in specific environments. Following Hombert (1973), given a wide range of language games that insert and/or permute different constituents, it is not unwarranted to propose that there are a limited number of processes that specify what environment is attended to and what elements are inserted into these environments. While such a parameterized view organizes the data, certain complex language games appear to have variable parameter settings. For example, the French language game vari couldn't invert segments for monosyllabic words (e.g., *la* = *ala* "strange") in tri-syllabic words (e.g., *fesse* = *fossed* "stomped*). In this paper, we use a non-linear approach to analyze these phenomena in vari, and propose that language games may pick the first branching node from the bottom for the locus of the permutation. If the target words are given a hierarchically phonological structure, and if the chosen processes eventuate, this first branching node is 1 of the permutations: (fyl)(uf) (fyl)(ab)(yf) (ab)(yf) The non-linear approach allows us to formulate more adequate parameters for language games as well as for phonological theory.

JULIE LEVIN, University of California-Riverside

Computer-Modeling Language Change

The author and several students developed a computer program that would simulate the interactions of variables distributed on a two-dimensional field. A lattice square grid, each square randomly assigned a value. This program was an attempt to model simply one principle of sociolinguistic behavior: talk like the people around you. After a small number of iterations (e.g., 10,000 iterations), words of a language can acquire a new sound pattern. A dialect map may have a dominant value and small areas and isolated isoglosses emerged. This pattern then became stable by the 60th iteration, and remained so, even up to 10,000. This result can be connected with cellular automata, currently under discussion in physics and math. Thus a typical dialect map structure may be the result of simple interactions of random variables over a territory. Assuming an initial period of random distribution through a territory, widely separated islands of the same feature can no longer be taken as archaic relics. The same simple interaction also achieves a stable state with both variables surviving. A sociolinguistic variable can thus be converted into a stable territorial variable as it were by chance. Although language change may not be governed by Newtonian cause and effect or by willful human action, it may yet be understandable on a grand scale as a kind of dynamic pattern emerging from simple interactive principles.

JULIETTE LEVIN, University of Texas-Austin

A Place for lateral in the Feature Geometry

In this paper we attempt to determine the precise location of (lateral) in the segment-internal feature geometry. Three types of evidence are used to argue that lateral is a terminal feature immediately dominated by the coronal node as in (1). First, we examine lateral assimilation rules and, following work of Clements (1985), Hayes (1986) show that they are most accurately expressed as spreading, in this case of the coronal node. (1) Feature Geometry: (2) Klamath lateral assimilation (3) Yagaria velar-lateral assimilation

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Lateral</th>
<th>Coronal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>place</td>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>corona</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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as shown in (2) for Klamath. Second, we consider non-lateral coronals. Velar-laterals, such as that occurring in Yagaria are represented as shown in (3), based on free alternation with the coronals and rule-governed alternation with its contra-lateral. In (1), we provide evidence from phonological rules in languages such as Komi and Dying that palatal lateral approximants act as a natural class with other coronal segments, lending further support to the proposal in (1).
EVIDENCE FROM WITHIN THE SET USED TO SHOW DISJUNCTION BETWEEN CHILD LANGUAGE AND ADULT SOUND CHANGE.

Type II rules (more clearly articulatorily based) as acoustically motivated forms.

Except in the case of type III phenomena—organizational rules—will be noted.

In this paper, we will explore vowel lengthening and consonant gemination as they interact with stress and syllabification in Iraqi. In particular, we will investigate vowel lengthening and consonant gemination as automatic syllable structure consequences of stress placement. Consider the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying</th>
<th>Surface</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) nisaha</td>
<td>nisaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) kitab + ha</td>
<td>kitabhaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) kitab + aha</td>
<td>kitabhaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) girat + la</td>
<td>girta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The change in (1) seems to have the inherent force of lengthening the final segment of the stem to which they are attached. In the examples (1-4), stress falls on the following syllable of the stem. Stressed syllables in Iraqi must either be closed by a consonant or be immediately followed by a consonant. We will assume a theory of syllable structure in which syllables are projections of vowels, such that the first projection rhyme optionally licenses a vowel of consonant complement, and the second projection syllable obligatorily licenses a consonant specifier. We will then explore the hypothesis that lengthening and gemination in type II rules are secondary requirements that the rhyme contains a contextually stressed syllable, that is, that a CV syllable is not well-formed under stress. In particular, we will show how a context tree rule system taken together with this syllable structure theory forces vowel lengthening and consonant gemination in the appropriate cases.

To what extent can learners of a second-language access information which requires a global awareness of the organization of written discourse? This paper provides evidence that discourse-level clues are ignored by learners of a second language until the highest levels of proficiency are reached. A cross-sectional experimental study included 176 secondary school students in southern India from a variety of L1 backgrounds and a wide range of proficiency levels in Hindi as a second language. Performance of L2 Hindi speakers was contrasted with that of a control group of 84 L1 Hindi speakers. The task consisted of assigning antecedenthood to third-person pronouns and content heads in 78 written paragraphs. Results indicated that, whereas both L1 and L2 groups made use of surface-level clues (e.g., morphological agreement rules) as well as pragmatic (world-knowledge) knowledge available in the context, no significant advantage was found in (1) when the pronoun in question was sentence topic in prior discourse, was a significant variable only for the control group. Insensitivity to topic information obtained regardless of first-language background. Results suggest that global strategies must be developed within the L2, even if similar strategies are applicable in the L1.

MANTO LUKAN, Boston College & Massachusetts Institute of Technology

SYNTACTIC DETERMINANTS OF LEXICAL STRUCTURE

Why is noun-to-noun modification not universally possible? We claim that noun modifiers are allowed in a language only if the adnominal Adjunctive (A) has a fixed position in relation to the head N. This condition would determine an unequivocal interpretation of an N + A as either as Mod + Head or Head + Mod (henceforth as N A or A N). In languages where A precedes N, A N would correlate with free position of A in a language that has both A N and A N, while N would correlate with fixed position of A in a language that has one of these structures (A N or A N). Languages like Italian, Spanish and French can be contrasted with languages where A follows N, e.g., English paper, history, auto, which only permit postnominal A (A N). What is commonly held to be a single structure, such as English paper, history, auto, which only permit postnominal A (A N), because, since the resulting N A sequence is uniquely analyzed as Head-first. If our interpretation of the facts is correct it is video clip evidence against the view that word-ordering is independent of syntax. In addition, it leads to an attractive alternative analysis of the (non-Hindi) noun compounds found in Spanish and French, e.g., sandwich, tire-bouchon, not in English. In the latter, heads are first in VP, DDET 5 TD 11 TD. The former the head is initial in both phrases. Hence, (VH1) is analyzed as a headed compound N without any conflict.

RICHARD LUTZ, Georgetown University

L2 LEARNERS' USE OF DISCOURSE-LEVEL STRATEGIES IN ASSIGNING ANAGYHS

A CRITICAL DEBATE CONCERNING THE NATURE OF THE CHILD'S PHONOLOGICAL REPRESENTATION WITH LEADING ACQUISITION THEORIES DIFFERING ON WHAT STRUCTURE AND CONTENT TO THE SUBSTANTIVE CONTENT OF FEATURES INVOLVED SEPARATES NEOGRAMMAR (I) VS. DIFFUSION (II) CHANGE. IMPLICATIONS OF TYPE IIF PHENOMENA—ORGANIZATIONAL RULES—WILL BE NOTED.

Mary I. LIBRI, University of Connecticut

SYLLABLE STRUCTURE, LENGTH AND GEMINATION IN IRAQI

AN AUDITORY DECISION TASK WAS USED TO INVESTIGATE THE ROLE OF MORPHOLOGY IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE MENTAL LEXICON. THE EXPERIMENTS COMPARED REACTION TIMES FOR PAIRS OF WORDS WITH THE SAME FREQUENCY, DIFFERING IN THE SUMMED FREQUENCY OF RELATED FORMS, AS A CROSS-CHECK, MATERIALS WERE ALSO PAIRED ON THE SUMMED FREQUENCY OF RELATED FORMS, USING WORDS WITH DIFFERENT ITEM FREQUENCIES. THE ISSUES ADDRESSED WERE WHETHER FREQUENCY EFFECTS IN AUDITORY DECISION ARE BASED ON THE FREQUENCY OF THE INDIVIDUAL WORDS AND WORDS DEVELOPED FROM THEM, OR ON THE FREQUENCY OF A CLUSTER OF MORPHOLOGICALLY RELATED FORMS.

The materials consisted of uninflected stems, inflected forms, derived forms with phonologically neutral suffixes such as -man, and derived forms with non-neutral suffixes in which the change it the inflected form, and some Level II I derived forms are closely associated in the lexicon. Thus, a cluster frequency effect was found when the cluster context was based on a word and its inflected and productive levels Level II forms, but Level I derived forms seem to be lexicalized and stored separately from their roots no effect of the frequency of those roots was found.

MARGARET RICHARDS, State University of New York—Buffalo

MORPHOLOGICAL EFFECTS IN AUDITORY Lexical Access

Marc Alcayd, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill

INFECTION, CASE AND (NON-MATCHING) PSEUDO-CLEFTS

THESE ARE STRIKING ANOMALIES IN THE PARADIGM OF PSEUDO-CLEFT CONSTRUCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO AUXILIARIES THAT HAS RECEIVED NO SATISFACTORY EXPLANATION IN THE LITERATURE. IN BRIEF, ALTHOUGH THE BASE INFLECTION AND -ING COMPLEMENTS TO MODELS AND TO MUST BE MATCHED IN THE POST-COPULAR PORTION OF THE PSEUDO-CLEFT, THE COMPLEMENT TO PERFECTIVE FORMS, HAS NOT BEEN MATCHED AND MAY SHOW UP WITH OR IF INFINITIVE BUT NOT THE PERFECTIVE.

OF (1) (2) ANYONE ELSE ARRIVED.

ALI L. MIR, State University of New York—Buffalo

INFECTION CASE AND (NON-MATCHING) PSEUDO-CLEFTS

There is a striking variability in the paradigm of pseudo-cleft constructions with respect to auxiliaries that has received no satisfactory explanation in the literature. In brief, although the bare infinitive and -ing complements to models and to must be matched in the post-copular portion of the pseudo-cleft, the complement to perfective forms has not been matched and may show up with a bare infinitive or bare perfective but not the perfective.

(1) He left before anyone else arrived.

(2) He had left before anyone else arrived.

(3) He had done was to finish, finish.

(4) He had done was to finish, finish.

(5) He had done was to finish, finish.

The experiments were designed to test whether frequency effects in auditory decision are based on the frequency of the individual words and words developed from them, or on the frequency of a cluster of morphologically related forms. The materials consisted of uninflected stems, inflected forms, derived forms with phonologically neutral suffixes such as -man, and derived forms with non-neutral suffixes in which the change is the inflected form, and some Level II I derived forms are closely associated in the lexicon. Thus, a cluster frequency effect was found when the cluster context was based on a word and its inflected and productive levels Level II forms, but Level I derived forms seem to be lexicalized and stored separately from their roots no effect of the frequency of those roots was found.

FRED MARSHALL, State University of New York-Buffalo

MORPHOLOGICAL EFFECTS IN AUDITORY Lexical Access

An auditory lexical decision task was used to investigate the role of morphology in the organization of the mental lexicon. The experiments compared reaction times for pairs of words with the same frequency, differing in the summed frequency of related forms, as a cross-check, materials were also paired on the summed frequency of related forms, using words with different item frequencies. The issues addressed were whether frequency effects in auditory decision are based on the frequency of the individual words and words developed from them, or on the frequency of a cluster of morphologically related forms. The materials consisted of uninflected stems, inflected forms, derived forms with phonologically neutral suffixes such as -man, and derived forms with non-neutral suffixes in which the change is the inflected form, and some Level II I derived forms are closely associated in the lexicon. Thus, a cluster frequency effect was found when the cluster context was based on a word and its inflected and productive levels Level II forms, but Level I derived forms seem to be lexicalized and stored separately from their roots no effect of the frequency of those roots was found.

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Some Implications of Treating Polarity Phennomina Within Binding Theory

Negative polarity items and anaphors share several interesting properties: 1) Both negative polarity items and anaphors must be bound or free; 2) anaphors must be bound or free to the phrase to be acceptable; 3) the domain within which polarity items and anaphors must be bound or free is roughly the same; 4) There are similarities in the structural relationship between the licensing element and the dependency; 5) At the same time, there are differences between the licensing phenomena, at least in English: 1) Polarity lacks what has been called "Connectivity"-the ability of an element to "fill through" the sentence (e.g., to refer to a non-c-commanding antecedent); 2) English anaphors lack bridge-verb effects, while polarity anaphors are both sensitive to the type of clause containing verb; 3) Positive polarity items are unlike anaphoric elements in English in that they must be described as being obviating with respect to a specific antecedent. A generalized account of anaphors and polarity is motivated by showing that the meaning of the key word 'appreciation'. The discourse theory shifts back and forth between the two phenomena of discourse (Gumperz 1982) sheds little light on the anaphorical aspect of this conversation.

In a mostly English discussion of whether or not "men are hunting for appreciation", the women engage in negotiating the meaning of the word 'appreciation'. The discourse theory shifts back and forth between the two phenomena of discourse (Gumperz 1982) sheds little light on the anaphorical aspect of this conversation.

The purpose of the present study is two-fold: 1) to demonstrate the impossibility of any purely syntactic theory and the question of the discourse function has largely been ignored, except in Kuno's (1976) "functional" analysis as it stands, and 2) to suggest that some of Gumperz's Principles, including the notion of "frame" with Grice's Cooperative Principle, allow more successful predictions on the acceptability of such constructions in Japanese. I support my argument with discussion of naturally-occurring MNMs that are problematic for existing approaches and have received virtually no attention in the literature. One such revealing example, which is problematic for purely syntactic accounts in that there is no gap in the subordinate clause, is 「たなか はえ か こ な る」

A Discourse Analysis of Bilingual Conversation

In this study of a conversation between two Hebrew-English bilingual women, I illustrate the role which three aspects of discourse-contextualization, episode structure, and involvement-play in the language of situation. While build on Gumperz's conception of language alternation as a continuum, it is a task that describes the phenomenon as motivated primarily by the 'we/they' division. It was found that of the 48 women involved, 39% described the phenomenon as motivated primarily by the 'we/they' division, 38% by their "we/they" division, and 23% by their "we/they" division. The result is that of the 48 women involved, 39% described the phenomenon as motivated primarily by the 'we/they' division, 38% by their "we/they" division, and 23% by their "we/they" division. The result is that of the 48 women involved, 39% described the phenomenon as motivated primarily by the 'we/they' division, 38% by their "we/they" division, and 23% by their "we/they" division. The result is that of the 48 women involved, 39% described the phenomenon as motivated primarily by the 'we/they' division, 38% by their "we/they" division, and 23% by their "we/they" division. The result is that of the 48 women involved, 39% described the phenomenon as motivated primarily by the 'we/they' division, 38% by their "we/they" division, and 23% by their "we/they" division. The result is that of the 48 women involved, 39% described the phenomenon as motivated primarily by the 'we/they' division, 38% by their "we/they" division, and 23% by their "we/they" division. The result is that of the 48 women involved, 39% described the phenomenon as motivated primarily by the 'we/they' division, 38% by their "we/they" division, and 23% by their "we/they" division. The result is that of the 48 women involved, 39% described the phenomenon as motivated primarily by the 'we/they' division, 38% by their "we/they" division, and 23% by their "we/they" division. The result is that of the 48 women involved, 39% described the phenomenon as motivated primarily by the 'we/they' division, 38% by their "we/they" division, and 23% by their "we/they" division. The result is that of the 48 women involved, 39% described the phenomenon as motivated primarily by the 'we/they' division, 38% by their "we/they" division, and 23% by their "we/they" division. The result is that of the 48 women involved, 39% described the phenomenon as motivated primarily by the 'we/they' division, 38% by their "we/they" division, and 23% by their "we/they" division. The result is that of the 48 women involved, 39% described the phenomenon as motivated primarily by the 'we/they' division, 38% by their "we/they" division, and 23% by their "we/they" division. The result is that of the 48 women involved, 39% described the phenomenon as motivated primarily by the 'we/they' division, 38% by their "we/they" division, and 23% by their "we/they" division. The result is that of the 48 women involved, 39% described the phenomenon as motivated primarily by the 'we/they' division, 38% by their "we/they" division, and 23% by their "we/they" division. The result is that of the 48 women involved, 39% described the phenomenon as motivated primarily by the 'we/they' division, 38% by their "we/they" division, and 23% by their "we/they" division. The result is that of the 48 women involved, 39% described the phenomenon as motivated primarily by the 'we/they' division, 38% by their "we/they" division, and 23% by their "we/they" division. The result is that of the 48 women involved, 39% described the phenomenon as motiva...
TARA MOHANAN, Stanford University

Malyalam Vowel Deletion, Syllable Structure, and Structure Preservation

Malyalam has a rule that optionally deletes word-initial /a/ and /e/, resulting in free variants such as [ma] and [me] for [ma] and [me] respectively. The vowelization concentrates contrast on the surface: [ma] 'little', [me] 'high'. Given that a segmental phonology, representing the initial segment as ostensible [a] and [e] respectively, is not attested in the historical record, the possibility of treating this vowel deletion as a surface phonology, and not as a deeper autosegmental or Consonantal Strength motivated process, has been explored. In the implantational model provided (Kiparsky, 1983; Mehler, 1985), in which syllable structure constraints are not represented, as in the case of [p] in [pra], it is assumed that specific word initial /p/ does not constitute an onset in English. The Malyalam rule, however, cannot be implemented, as it is to transcribe the surface to phonological realization. It is shown that the surface of the rule finds additional support in its interactions with syllabification, [i]sonantal initial, and phrase language. In this model, the initial vowel deletion must be a lexical rule, and the initial cluster resulting from vowel deletion must be represented structurally at the level of the lexicon. This model is different from considerations of the phonetic and syllable structure constraints that allow structured representations to emerge.

The assumption that initial operations are structure preserving (Kiparsky, 1983) demands that a structure constraint that looks as part of the lexicon be maintained throughout the lexicon. This assumption forces initial syllabification and subsequent syllabification to the lexicon to obey the same constraints. Given that in Malyalam, forms with initial consonants occur only as result of vowel deletion, initial consonants must be prohibited at the underlying representation, yet allowed at the lexical representation, violating the principle of economy. Therefore, if the assumption is made, rules must have their devices of application specified in terms of initial, syllabication, or post initial modules, and that the alleged cases of structure preservation in the lexicon are simply instances of a set of constraints, having to do with the entire lexicon as their domain.

ROBERT W. MURRAY, University of Calgary

A Catalogue of Syllable Structure Motivated Change

Venemanna (1983) sketches a catalogue of sound changes according to motivation. Three broad headings under phonotactically motivated potential simplifications are found: a) similarity adjustments (e.g. assimilation), b) transfer of assimilation (e.g. deletion of a syllable coda), and c) reductions (e.g. syncop). Drawing on recent work on the Germanic and Romance languages, the present paper represents an important step toward a) providing an exhaustive catalogue of syllable structure motivated changes, and b) specifying precisely the conditions under which they occur. For instance, in the following hypothesis can be posited. Referring to the Chinese Vennemann (1983) and the Japanese Vennemann (1983) sketches catalogue of sound syllable structure motivated changes but it probably suggests (e.g. assimilation), the present paper represents an important step toward a) providing an exhaustive catalogue of syllable structure motivated changes, and b) specifying precisely the conditions under which they occur. For instance, in the following hypothesis can be posited. Referring to the Chinese Vennemann (1983) and the Japanese Vennemann (1983) sketches catalogue of sound syllable structure motivated changes but it probably suggests (e.g. assimilation), the present paper represents an important step toward a) providing an exhaustive catalogue of syllable structure motivated changes, and b) specifying precisely the conditions under which they occur. For instance, in the following hypothesis can be posited. Referring to the Chinese Vennemann (1983) and the Japanese Vennemann (1983) sketches catalogue of sound syllable structure motivated changes but it probably suggests (e.g. assimilation), the present paper represents an important step toward a) providing an exhaustive catalogue of syllable structure motivated changes, and b) specifying precisely the conditions under which they occur. For instance, in the following hypothesis can be posited. Referring to the Chinese Vennemann (1983) and the Japanese Vennemann (1983) sketches catalogue of sound syllable structure motivated changes but it probably suggests (e.g. assimilation), the present paper represents an important step toward a) providing an exhaustive catalogue of syllable structure motivated changes, and b) specifying precisely the conditions under which they occur. For instance, in the following hypothesis can be posited. Referring to the Chinese Vennemann (1983) and the Japanese Vennemann (1983) sketches catalogue of sound syllable structure motivated changes but it probably suggests (e.g. assimilation), the present paper represents an important step toward a) providing an exhaustive catalogue of syllable structure motivated changes, and b) specifying precisely the conditions under which they occur. For instance, in the following hypothesis can be posited. Referring to the Chinese Vennemann (1983) and the Japanese Vennemann (1983) sketches catalogue of sound syllable structure motivated changes but it probably suggests (e.g. assimilation), the present paper represents an important step toward a) providing an exhaustive catalogue of syllable structure motivated changes, and b) specifying precisely the conditions under which they occur. For instance, in the following hypothesis can be posited. Referring to the Chinese Vennemann (1983) and the Japanese Vennemann (1983) sketches catalogue of sound syllable structure motivated changes but it probably suggests (e.g. assimilation), the present paper represents an important step toward a) providing an exhaustive catalogue of syllable structure motivated changes, and b) specifying precisely the conditions under which they occur. For instance, in the following hypothesis can be posited. Referring to the Chinese Vennemann (1983) and the Japanese Vennemann (1983) sketches catalogue of sound syllable structure motiva}
MARY NIEPOROZ, University of California-Berkeley

(TUES MORN: 5) Phonostrategically Motivated Repudiation in Indo-European

Repetition is usually lessor; that is, in form is related non-arbitrarily to function. Sanskrit and Greek, however, present two examples in which the repetition takes on a semantic value. When these roots are reconstructed to PIE, a pattern emerges: 70% of the roots in Skt. 1 are phonologically identical to those in Skt. 2, and 40% of the roots in Skt. 2 are phonologically identical to those in Skt. 1. In contrast, 35% of the roots in Lat. 1 are phonologically identical to those in Lat. 2, and 30% of the roots in Lat. 2 are phonologically identical to those in Lat. 1. Examples are repeated.

In the case of the Sanskrit examples, the repetition is motivated by the semantic content of the root. For example, the root "sarna" ("to become wise") is repeated in the root "sarna" ("to become wise") in order to emphasize the meaning of the root. In the case of the Greek examples, the repetition is motivated by the phonetic structure of the root. For example, the root "helas" ("to be wise") is repeated in the root "helas" ("to be wise") in order to create a rhythmic pattern.

I argue that PIE present repudiation is due to the final laryngeal. Further support for this claim comes from the observation that the laryngeals are regularly repeated in the sequence laryngeal-meta-sonorant, such as "ragi" ("to make"), "raga" ("to be made"), and the like. The repetition of laryngeals in these roots is likely due to the influence of the final laryngeal.


KIKI NIKIFORIDOU, University of California-Berkeley

 Constituency Considerations in TOI and EBXII Constructions

This paper addresses the issue of constituent structure in cross-linguistic studies with TOI and EBXII, assuming that these words participate in similar constructions, so that constraints on one imply constraints on the other: (i) John is too short to be a basketball player, (ii) John is tall enough to be a basketball player.

A full account of the phonological system of a second language is not possible to determine only one of the lexical items.

Recent studies on age-related differences in the ability to acquire the phonological system of a second language are reviewed. Some findings that children's replications of sounds in a novel language improve with age are considered important. For example, it is shown that younger ages of acquisition are associated with higher performance on native pronunciation. The tendency is that conflicting results are due to characteristics of the testing situation (i.e., cultural and educational influences). In general, children's phonological performance tends to show that ability to replicate speech sounds improves with age (at least up to young adulthood).

On the other hand, descriptive studies concerning the notion of an "optimal" period for the acquisition of phonology in a second language in particular, and for the "critical period hypothesis" in general.

NEAL R. NOSRICK, Northern Illinois University

Semantic Resolution of Discourse Contradiction

This paper argues that contradictions like Sue's right and wrong are assigned consistent propositional interpretations such as "Sue's partly right and partly wrong" by universal semantic principles, which obviates analysis via conversational maxims and implicatures in such cases. I show, first, on the basis of an extensive investigation of inconsistencies in transcribed conversations, that unintentional contradictions are rare. In cases with three or four strategies: Conversational context and the like; I have another way to agree with the other; they assign the clashing terms to distinct frames of reference; or they relativize both terms toward a synthesis, as in the example above. I show, second, that these strategies target intentional contradictions, not unintended contradictions. I have tested this finding separately by asking subjects to produce consistent paraphrases of written paradoxes. The three strategies are consistent with context, and without significant variation for speakers of English, they have differently in the conjunctive deletion and in the ellipsis case. Although this has been true for the same speaker, the reanalysed RP retains the subordinating marker "when" in the form "I thought you'd hit her." This is not consistently in the restructured form. The removed RP can occur both in the counterfactual "she's hit her." However, it is not directly implied (in the postverbal object) position. Differences between the reanalysed NP and the restructured NP are due to the facts that involves the noun in which the facts involved in the restructured "he's hit her." As a result, the reanalysed RP can occur both in the postverbal object position. The restructured NP is due to the facts that involves the noun in which the facts involved in the restructured "he's hit her." As a results, the reanalysed RP can occur both in the postverbal object position.
BETHY PEARSON, Arizona State University

Power and Politeness at Church Business Meetings

This paper argues that conversational participants will encode power and politeness simultaneously in order to negotiate their interlocutors' support. (Politeness is defined as solidarity and deference along the lines of Brown and Levinson (1978).) This suggests that, for example, a speaker, who is trying to gain the support of the church meeting participants, will focus on the language of the ministers, of linguistic choice. Instead, a speaker's personal goals are central.

MIRIAM PETROCK, University of California-Berkeley

Metaphorical Extensions of Body Part Terms in Modern Hebrew

In this paper, metaphorical extensions of some Modern Hebrew body part terms are analyzed to determine the semantic motivations of the extensions. The data show that size (e.g. gep- 'body, trunk' as in gep ha-onju (body/trunk of the ship) - 'hull of the ship'), shape (e.g. şen - 'tooth' as in şen um (tooth of garlic), 'clove of garlic'), function (e.g. beten ha-onju (stomach of the ship) - 'both of the ship') and functions (e.g. lelel - 'skeleton' as in lelel ha-binayn (skeleton of the building) - 'the building') of a body part can serve as the basis of the extension. Other factors such as configuration or orientation also must be considered (as apparent from pi ha-ma'ara - 'mouth of the cave' and mey ha-um (mouth of a fountain) - 'mouth of the sea'). The predominance of extensions based on physical as opposed to functional characteristics suggests the importance of perceptions in these linguistic netherm. Their metaphoricality can be accounted for by appealing to the ability of the human cognitive system to understand one concept in terms of another.

SUSAN PINTZUK, University of Pennsylvania

Base Word Order in Old English

Most recent studies of Old English word order (Allen 1975, Canale 1976, Hock 1985, Kenenc 1984, 1985, Pintzuk and Kroch 1985) assume a verbal base, with fronting of the tensed verb to second position and postposition of verb complements and adjuncts to a post-verbal position. Using as a primary database the clauses of The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle with tensed verbs and intinitival complements, I show that this analysis cannot account for the fact that NPs and AdvP complements and adjuncts of the main infinitival verb can appear postposed only when the tensed verb has been fronted, while PP's and SF's can appear postposed regardless of whether the tensed verb is fronted. I argue that this fact constitutes evidence for the existence of two alternate base word orders, SOV and SVO. This analysis suggests a new explanation of the change in word order from Old English to Middle English, instead of a radical restructuring of the base from SOV to SVO at the end of the Old English period (Canale 1978, Lighthouse 1979), two competing base word orders that tolerate each other but not the parallelism with SOV order gradually increasing in frequency at the expense of SOV order and replacing it completely during the Middle English period.
Layering and Motivation in Deriving the Classical Japanese Predicate

The highly developed derivational morphology of predication in Classical Japanese (roughly, verbs and prepos from the 6th through 12th centuries) has never been examined in the light of what is known about similarly structured meaning in other languages. This paper does so, and presents an original interpretation of this language. The argument in this paper proceeds by deriving a lexical morphological layer (e.g. verbal, adjectival or nominal base) followed by as many as five optional layers of derivational suffixes (ideological, operators), in the order (1) directional, (2) valency conversions, (3) aspectual realization, (4) textually oriented syntactic modality, and (5) speech act oriented modality. These suffixes all inflect (although some have derivational paradigms) and they attach after their lexical base and to one another with varying degrees of bonding and in a highly predictable order. The ordering is iconic: proportionally relevant suffixes attach closer to the lexical base, while those relevant to the speech act occur in outer layers. The relationships obtaining among the operators and their lexical base are not simply linear or commutative, but hierarchical: different layers correspond to different logical types. It will be shown that sequential and modal suffixing is motivated evidentially, and that their distribution is iconically patterned.

ROBERT REDICK, University of Texas-Arlington

Focus in Early West Saxon

Early West Saxon (EWS), the earliest extant dialect of Old English, is not a Theme/Rheme language, a Topic/Comment language, or a Verb-Second language, all of which have been claimed or suggested for Old English (e.g. Stockwell 1977, Kohonen 1978, Bean 1984), but only the appearance. It is instead a language in which ordering is governed by focus: that is, by the composer's focus of attention at any particular point in the ongoing sequence of clauses. Using a mini-dialectal survey from Cura (CO 1976, 1978, 1981), we argue that focus governs what constituant (noun phrase or adverbial phrase) occupies clause-initial position (theme/topic position) in EWS. These constituents originate post-verbally (Redlick 1982) in clauses which do not have a verb phrase as a single maximal level of structure. Their preposing creates the appearance of a verb-second constraint, but only the appearance. Since focus governs the selection of theme/topic and no direct word order evidence, what follows the verb is neither theme nor comment, merely the remainder of the complement of the verb.

HEREN RICE, University of Toronto
PETER AVERY, University of Toronto

Under specification and Reduplication in Ponapean

Ponapean displays a complex interaction between gemination, epenthesis and a rule of nasal substitution. Ishik (1986) accounts for the facts using the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP), level ordering and under specification. We suggest a simpler analysis with greater empirical coverage. Given the (A)V3 and a revised reduplication iconic level ordering and the lexical assignment of default values can be eliminated.

In Ponapean, when two labials or velars create a cluster, a nasal + consonant cluster surfaces, e.g. adjoump-P: 'Adjoump'. When coronals normally an epenthetic vowel inserts the cluster, e.g. wedjia-wedjia. Ishik claims that when labials and velars come together under the influence (McCarthy 1986), the OCP operates to create a geminate. Because coronals are underspecified, they are invisible to the OCP, hence no geminate is created and epenthesis applies. Ishik adduces evidence for this analysis from cases of reduplication in which coronal clusters do appear to be subject to the OCP, e.g. adjoump-adjoump. The claim is that reduplication is ordered after the default rules have applied to coronals, thus making them visible to the OCP.

Our analysis maintains the role of the OCP but uses a bimorphic template that is prefixed to the root for reduplication (McCarthy and Prince 1986, 1987). Allowing us to eliminate reduplicating after default values have been filled. Where Ishik proposes a nasal substitution rule, we employ a rule of physching, with the valence I unassailed by a redundancy rule, allowing for a unified account of all applications of nasal substitution. In addition, we account for data that Ishik cannot handle. Nasal substitutions apply across word boundaries when labials and velars are involved, but not with coronals (Rehg and Sohn 1981). This is unexpected in Ishik's analysis. If default values are not filled in during the lexical phonology, the unexpected cross-word OCP applications can be accounted for.

JOHN R. RICKFORD, Stanford University

Vernacular Black English in East Palo Alto, CA: Intergenerational Comparisons

I will present evidence for the claim that vernacular Black English is characterized by shifts from older Black dialects, notably Saxon (EWS), into a more modern, simplified, and more phonologically structured dialect, allowing for an analysis based on features of language change. The results of this study suggest that the vernacular Black English of East Palo Alto, CA, is the result of a process of language change, not simply a stable system of linguistic variation. The data presented here support the hypothesis that the vernacular Black English of East Palo Alto is a result of an ongoing process of language change, and that the linguistic systems of this dialect are influenced by both local and regional factors. This study also suggests that the vernacular Black English of East Palo Alto is a result of an ongoing process of language change, and that the linguistic systems of this dialect are influenced by both local and regional factors. This study also suggests that the vernacular Black English of East Palo Alto is a result of an ongoing process of language change, and that the linguistic systems of this dialect are influenced by both local and regional factors.

Catherine O. Rineg, University of Iowa

Hungarian Neutral Vowels

Much recent work on vowel harmony has involved reanalysis of familiar data within a framework that assumes autosegmental and underspecified phonological representations. Analysis of neutral vowels in a language like Hungarian has proved to be particularly challenging. These data are surprising. This paper reports on recent empirical investigations of Hungarian which show that much of the often repeated "data" on Hungarian vowel harmony is inaccurate. In particular, subjects do not treat all so-called neutral vowels in the same way. The vowel [i] does not do, as has been widely claimed, have the value [i] and []. The result vowel is e.g. [ei] and [e:]; in fact, the vowels [e] and [e:] are predominantly back [i] and [']. The result vowel is e.g. [e:] and [e:].

Finally, examples with vowel harmony have been claimed or suggested for Old English (e.g. Stockwell 1977, Kohonen 1978, Bean 1984), but only the appearance. It is instead a language in which ordering is governed by focus: that is, by the composer's focus of attention at any particular point in the ongoing sequence of clauses. Using a mini-dialectal survey from Cura (CO 1976, 1978, 1981), we argue that focus governs what constituent (noun phrase or adverbial phrase) occupies clause-initial position (theme/topic position) in EWS. These constituents originate post-verbally (Redlick 1982) in clauses which do not have a verb phrase as a single maximal level of structure. Their preposing creates the appearance of a verb-second constraint, but only the appearance. Since focus governs the selection of theme/topic and no direct word order evidence, what follows the verb is neither theme nor comment, merely the remainder of the complement of the verb.

CRANGE ROBERTS, Center for the Study of Language and Information

Plural Quantification

I will explore a phenomenon which Godbeard Link (1969) calls "plural quantification", illustrated by (1) and (2):

(1) All twins resemble each other.
(2) No competing companies have common interests.

On the most prominent reading of these examples, the property denoted by the VP can only be said to hold of a group. Link argues that in such examples, quantification is over all i-sents (in his lattice-theoretic treatment of groups as individuals) in the denotation of the CN, and not only over individuals which are members of the group. This is the reading that seems to be the most natural, and is the reading that is intended by (1) and (2). However, (1) and (2) are not the only possible readings of these examples. For example, the property denoted by the VP can only be said to hold of a group.

In this paper, I will argue that the natural reading of these examples is the one that is intended by (1) and (2). I will show that the natural reading of these examples is the one that is intended by (1) and (2). I will show that the natural reading of these examples is the one that is intended by (1) and (2). I will show that the natural reading of these examples is the one that is intended by (1) and (2).
IAN G. ROBERTS, University of Geneva

Predication Within VP

A predicative AP is generally assumed to be predicable only of an NP that it mutually c-commands (cf. Chomsky 1980). It is thus predicted that subject-predicated APs are VP-external while object-predicated APs are VP-internal. While object-predicated APs can be modified with selected material, verb movement is shown to depend on constituent binding and scope. This is shown in the example below:

(1) "Predication" is an instance of 0-role assignment by AP (cf. Chomsky, 1980), and as such is determined at 0-structure.
(2) Subsequent to the extraposed phrase to be interpreted is determined as a subject-predicate relation that closely resembles predication in our nonmovement account, hence the evidence for the VP-constituency of subject-predicate APs argues in favor of the projection for the structure proposed here.

I answer these questions in terms of the following ideas:

1. "Predication" is an instance of 0-role assignment by AP (cf. Chomsky, 1980), and as such is determined at 0-structure.
2. Subsequent to the extraposed phrase to be interpreted is determined as a subject-predicate relation that closely resembles predication in our nonmovement account, hence the evidence for the VP-constituency of subject-predicate APs argues in favor of the projection for the structure proposed here.

MICHAEL ROGENHOUT, University of British Columbia
PETER CULCOWER, Ohio State University

A Nonmovement Analysis of Extra-Position from NP

We argue that extraposition from NP constructions (EX) are base-generated and not derived by any applications of Move. A Move analysis is subject to substantial technical difficulties, and there exist cases of EX for which there is no plausible source in terms of Move. In particular, movement and ellipsis configurations show that phrases extraposed from both subject (SX) and object (OX) positions may be added to VP at 5-structure, a possibility that is not possible with the framework of assumptions and constraints needed for a movement analysis. On closer analysis, arguments that have appeared in the literature against base-generation in fact support the proposal. Thus, both the well-known failure of SX with VP Preposing and SX with VP Ellipsis and the boundedness of EX must be explained in terms of the relation between the extraposed phrase to its interpreted site within the antecedent NP, a relation that closely resembles predication.

The Acquisition of Long Distance Rules

The presence of a sentence like "what you think this gonna look like..." in the corpus of Adam at 3.5yrs indicates that long-distance movement (over two verbs) is possible. We exposed 17 children, ranging in age from 3.5 to 4.5 years, to stories (with pictures), followed by ambiguous questions or tasks which suggested a long-distance answer. What do you think this gonna look like...? There were 27 answers that assigned the who-element in the first clause and 26 to the last clause. Children broke into two groups: those who incorrectly answered the second word, allowing no long-distance movement, and those who allowed long-distance movement with constraints. Their understanding of the argument/adjunct distinction is revealed in the fact that they will allow an argument (what) to move long-distance in (a), but adjuncs are constrained: you must be from the first clause in (b) How did you know... What is that. Where no other wh-word is present, no adjunct does move long-distance in the older children: 0. (c) What did you have to do to bake the cake...? The fact that adjuncts are blocked in (b) suggests that several concepts appear at once when long-distance movement is possible. In such a case, constraints are nonobservable for the child, as stated in the example.

THERES ROEPER, University of Massachusetts
J. DEVILLIERS, University of Massachusetts

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DAVID E. ROYER, University of Wisconsin-Madison

The Lack of Passivization in Verb-Raising Constructions

The ungrammaticality of the passive counterparts of infinitival perception constructions in many languages has been a long-standing problem for linguistic theory. It will be argued that the ungrammaticality of (1) in Dutch and related constructions in other Germanic languages is a consequence of the reanalysis process that occurs in the verb-raising (or clause-union) constructions.

1. John was made bake seen

The reanalysis process affects the theta-marking relations in the constructions. In active sentences, the embedded subject is theta-marked with the verb and INFL in a passive construction cannot assign a theta-role to the subject, neither the matrix subject nor the embedded subject position receives a theta-role, resulting in a violation of the theta-criterion in (1).

The advantage of this analysis is that it relates the lack of passive in (1) to other side-effects of the reanalysis process that accompanies verb-raising, such as the substitution of particles by infinitives. This analysis moreover predicts that the same effect of reanalysis on the theta-marking relations should also exist in other verb-raising constructions such as control and raising sentences. The distribution of impersonal passives in these infinitival constructions confirms this prediction.

NAY V. LINDEN RYDER, University of Wisconsin-San Diego

The Compounding Problem: Predictability in Noun-Noun Compounds

Linguists such as Merchant (1969) and Sellirik (1982) have claimed that the meanings of established noun-noun (N-N) compounds (e.g., "doghouse", "horseshoe") do not follow characteristic patterns and that therefore novel N-N compounds require a context to be interpreted. Thus, speakers should produce a wide variety of meanings for new N-N compounds presented without a context. If the context is appropriate, it creates a problem for morphological theory, since productivity (and N-N compounding) is very productive. However, it is more difficult to predict the meanings of a novel N-N compound in the novel form (e.g., "cowman") strongly constrains a novel compound's probable range of meaning. (2) Certain semantic features of the nouns making up a compound (e.g., shape, animacy, color) strongly constrain a novel compound's probable range of meaning. (3) Thus, a novel N-N compound will be influenced by the meanings most commonly found in established N-N compounds whose element nouns are semantically related to the noun in the novel form (e.g., "cowman", "houseman"). Both hypotheses were supported; subjects showed complete agreement on the meaning of some compounds, and for most of the others, meanings were limited to the a or b found most commonly in the related established compounds.
Acquisition of Phonology: A Reanalysis

A commonly observed fact of child language is that the phonological output of the child is created as a 'simple' form from the adult form. The child is thought to have derived this 'simple' form from the adult form through a process of simplification rules (Chomsky, 1965). This approach views children's speech as the result of an inherent contradiction in that while the child's output is 'simpler,' the rules by which these forms are derived are complex. It is also the case that in many languages, phonological changes are the result of the child reaching the adult target by loss of in-between categories.

In this paper, I present a theory of acquisition which resolves this issue by using current notions like feature hierarchy and underspecification. Briefly, acquisition of phonology is seen as a mapping of features of adult language onto a canonical skeletal tree unspecified for feature values. The shape of the phonological tree at a particular point in development, together with physiological and processing constraints, determines the output of the child's speech.

The theory proposed captures formally our intuition that the child's output as well as its phonological system grow in complexity.

SUCHITRA SAMADANIAN, University of Southern California (NON AFF: 6)

Prepositions

This paper discusses the nature of categories in transition and presents a mechanism to account for them, using the Neutralization Hypothesis (NH) proposed by Van Riemsdijk (1981). In particular, I will look at a group of prepositions in Persian (P2) with a number of syntactic features which distinguish them from other prepositions (P3). The P2 type:

1. P2s cannot assign case directly and require the occurrence of a dummy case marker (2) evidenced by P2s in case positions (violation of the Case Resistance Principle (CRP))

2. P2s have a nominal on P2 configurations and on certain constraints involving the organization of short-term memory and the nature of the buffer in which preliminary syntactic processing is stored seem to be generally violated.

A further implication of this analysis is the notion of possible linguistic change. Thus, we can expect transitional categories to occur in natural classes of lexical categories A, N; A, V; P, V; P, N, and not in the number of languages where such in-between categories are found.

VIBA SAMIANI, California State University-Fresno (TUSS MORN: 4)

Multiple Determinants of Split Ergative Morphology

In many languages, case-marking and/or verb agreement morphology are split between ergative and accusative patterns. Such splits are governed by (a) the semantic content of the verb, (b) the tense or aspect of the verb, or (c) the semantic content of the verb's NP arguments. Dixon (1979) states that he knows of no language which exhibits a verb split (type a) as well as an NP split (type c), where both splits are realized through the same morphology. Trask (1979) claims that no language exhibits both a clear tense/aspect split (type b) and a clear NP split (type c).

Cherokee, an Iroquoian language, stands as a counterexample to Dixon's observation and Trask's claim, since its verb agreement morphology shows all three types of splits.

The pair looks 'they're going'/orgenrevv 'they went' illustrates the type (b) split.

The pair avena 'they're hitting (animate)'/hewiwa 'it is hitting them (animate)' illustrates the type (c) split.

Despite the degree of ambiguity and potential confusion which arises in such a system, the pattern appears to be quite stable: the distantly related northern Iroquoian languages show the same types of splits.

JANINE SCANGARELLI, University of Kentucky (NON AFF: 4)

The claim that turn-taking cues must be the product of analyzing an adequate database, rather than created as a priori "functional categories" through "analytic intuitions" (412). An interesting application of their approach may be to a large corpus of conversations which, while held before an audience, demonstrate characteristics of their own natural conversations. These are 4-6 minute interactions between the hosts of the turn showing, called co-ops, which a handful of TV stations broadcast in lieu of local news spots. 69 videotaped co-ops were examined (without pre-categorization) for devices used by participants to take turns, to shift floor or hold the floor in the face of behavior associated with successfully obtaining or holding the floor include repetition of turn beginnings, raised pitch, increased amplitude, and certain kinesic cues (e.g., arm and hand movements). In addition, a number of social factors also appear to influence how each participant gains or fails to gain the turn; among the candidates are sex of speaker, degree of involvement in the topic, and individual conversational style. These initial findings tend to support the sociolinguistic tenet that the regulation of conversation is inherently variable not just in how certain shared conversational cues interact (local et al., p.534), but also in how characteristics external to these actual conversational mechanisms influence their use and interpretation.

PETER A. SCHREIBER, University of Wisconsin-Madison (NROVF MORN: 4)
CAROL M. SCOTTON, University of South Carolina
CAROL N. EASTMAN, University of South Carolina

Swahili Evidence for Path as a Primary Thematic Role

Primarily using Swahili data, this paper argues for PATH as a cardinal thematic role in language, based on the premise that spatial organization is of central importance in cognition. The influence of spatial organization on the grammatical encoding of reality and the role of PATH are recognized by Jackendoff (1983), Talmy (1985), and the Lexington tradition of teaching Swahili. Previous descriptions (e.g. Ashton 1944) indicate no semantic or syntactic use of Swahili.

Most obviously in Swahili, Increasingly in informal narratives, PATH provides a unified explanation for apparently disparate uses of the concept of PERSON in Swahili. Previous descriptions (e.g. Ashton 1944) indicate no semantic evidence in the use of PATH. Further, it will be argued that, as a typological feature in Swahili, all thematic roles are recognized by Jackendoff (1983), Talmy (1985), and the Lexington tradition of teaching Swahili. PATH is a general thematic role of its own object whose role is individuated by specific context, as in these examples: Ali kwetu wa Juma. "He/she went to Juma's place." Wallowa kwetu wa Juma. "They were happy because they succeeded." Mpolo huyo alivunja ditsinga. "This child broke my window with a stone." Shilingi mia zinashoka zina gani? "100 shillings will provide what thing for a family such as this?"

SUSAN SHERMAN, State University of New York-Binghamton

Repetition and Control in Antiguan Creole Discourse

Antiguan Creole speakers make extensive use of repetition in both highly structured elicited narratives and spontaneous conversation. In this paper, the functions of repetition in discourse will be discussed, with particular reference to the role of repetition in conversation. The primary function of repetition in conversation is as a controlling device. The control exerted has to do with the establishment and maintenance of topic as well as with speaker selection. Repetition of this sort occurs in the speech of very young children and in the speech of adults. It can take the form of exact phrasal repetition or paraphrase, although there is a preference for use of paraphrase in cohesive functions and exact repetition in controlling note of discourse. Path phrasal repetition with the use of repetition in narratives, in which the major function of exact repetition seems to be cohesion. Presumably in narratives (especially elicited narratives) control has been established, leaving exact repetition free to serve other functions. These findings will be compared with studies of discourse repetition in other language varieties.

YING-YU SHEU, Ohio State University

Ordering of Syntax and Morphology: Evidence from Mandarin Chinese

The paper examines two prevalent hypotheses regarding the relationship between syntax and morphology (cf. Kiparsky1982) and Aronoff (1976), namely, (1) the output of morphological rules feeds syntactic rules but not vice versa and (2) the internal structure of words is not accessible to rules of syntax (the Principle of Lexical Integrity). Two sets of data from Mandarin Chinese, viz. (1) derivational affixes involving phrasal input, and (2) the phrase "nominalization" with the use of repetition in narratives, are presented to show that these two hypotheses, both following from the Modularity Thesis, are systematically falsified in Chinese. It seems that syntax and morphology are more intimately integrated than previously supposed. This view of the relationship between syntax and morphology is consistent with the findings of Bush (1983) and implies that the distinction between syntax and morphology is not as clear-cut as previously thought.

M. SMITH, Carleton University

Response Strategies in Adult and Child Order of Mention Studies

The Order of Mention Strategy (OOM) states that children around 3 years do not understand before and after fully, and assume that the first event in mention is the first event in reality. Inconsistent results of OOM studies suggest that attention and response strategies determine how these sentences are treated by adults and children. A set of five experiments were conducted, using a strategy reported "what happened first" adopted the opposite strategy (a recency effect); (2) 4- and 5-year olds with appropriate instructions do not make OOM errors; (3) adults use OOM when processing event sequences are treated by adults and children. A set of five experiments were conducted, using a strategy reported "what happened first." Adult memory shows no OOM effect when event sequences are presented in a discourse motivation but a clear effect when they are low in such motivation; and (5) fewer than 10% of 910 sentences from adult fiction contain no extra-syntactic cues to event order. Implications include the possibility that OOM effects in children are experimental artifacts and that listeners often ignore time sequences when they are not important to story structure, such that children's errors reflect normal adult comprehension processes.

MARTHA R. SORONSON, a.i.p. Systems, Inc.

A Blackboard Approach to Computational Arabic Morphology

Arabic presents formidable obstacles to a morphological analyzer, including undertoneinduced input (no short vowels), nonrecursive morphological structure, highly elaborated and productive derivational morphology, morphological ambiguity of morphological function, and the need to interface with a root-based dictionary. Past computational approaches to Arabic morphology have required fully vowelized input. They handle small data sets (e.g., regular morphemes), and fail to handle lexical phenomena (prefixes, particles, pronouns). They require huge, elaborated, specially constructed dictionaries. And they provide no notation or consistency with a facility for syntactic analysis. This paper takes a novel solution to the practical computational problem of doing morphological analysis of Arabic for a computer-aided translation system by use of a back-end where intermediate hypotheses are stored and compared. The blackboard approach is appropriate in cases where analysis decisions must be deferred, when attributes of lexicon are multifunctional, and multiple levels must be combined, or where there is no real-time or ambiguous information. Arabic imposes all of these requirements. This system includes pattern matching rules for generating morphological hypotheses, a complex data structure for recording and processing the hypothesis, re-write rules for combining morphemes into well-formed words, dictionary search functions for verifying hypotheses, and an interface with an existing syntactic analysis tool. The output of the system consists of an exhaustive list of the possible analyses, each in the form of an analysis tree, category assignment, and feature set.

IDONA STARKS, University of Western Ontario

Narrative Discourse: A Medium for Language Change

Sociolinguistic studies have demonstrated that there are differences in language according to sex in both western (Labov 1972, Wolfram 1974, Phillips 1985) and non-western societies (Trudgill 1983). There is no cross-linguistic consensus as to which of the two sexes initiates language change other than the realization that the initiation of language change is largely dependent on the social factors influencing the change (Milroy 1987). In this paper, I show how the oral literature in tradition among the Woods Cree, an Algonquian speaking people, provides an acceptable medium from which men initiate language change. In Woods Cree, older women retain many of the older linguistic and morphological features recorded in other Cree dialects, and are not generally used by other members of the community, most notably by older men. I illustrate, using frequency tables based on collected texts, that the grammatical and phonological innovations of the older men have become the norms for younger generations of both sexes and demonstrate how language change by older men is facilitated by the linguistic licence permitted by the speaking environment. In narrative discourse, a register where productive derivational patterns and lexical and phonological innovation are highly regarded.
The Prepositional Phrase in Classical Chinese

Many linguists incorrectly assume that the prepositional phrases in classical Chinese are predominantly postverbal (Li & Thompson 1974, Travis 1984, A. Li 1985). However, many others believe that PPs is in classical Chinese can be either preverbal or postverbal (Li 1958, Chou 1962, Y. Li 1980). Furthermore, He (1985) observes that an overwhelming number of prepositions are obligatorily preverbal in classical Chinese. However, I find that the postverbal PPs in classical Chinese are predominantly postverbal (Liu 1987). It is only expected that classical Chinese postverbal PPs (e.g., the preverbal PP's are equally distributed in the texts of Zuochuan (500 BC), the event, “the lake freezes”, unaccusative, “measure out” by a change of state in the lake; the event, “Diana talked” (unergative), does not have a terminus determined by a change of state in Diana. The aspectual requirements of linguistic argument structure through powerful constraints on the mapping of “meaning” into syntax. The special aspectual role of the direct argument also explains why “affected” arguments are objects, yet the arguments unaccusative are represented as Deep Structure objects as in GB theory. The initial 2 Arguments as in Relational Grammar, the existence of a strict correlation between argumental properties and syntactic structure is a valuable tool for linguistic investigations.

LEONE SUN, University of Calgary

Preference Theory and Syllable Structure Change in Portuguese

A framework of syllabic phonology (Vennemann 1987) is used to reconstruct Pre-Portuguese syllable structure on the basis of sound changes which occurred in the process of Portuguese. The framework provides a number of universal laws of linguistic preference including laws for syllable structure which make reference to the Compositional Strength Scale. On the basis of these laws, one can be established which indicate the relation of proposed syllable structures. A syllable structure motivated diachronic change can then be interpreted in terms of the change from a less preferred syllable structure to a more preferred one. The direction of changes is reconstructed which can be established as can the structures which are possible as the result of the finite and potential syllable structure improvements. In the case of early Portuguese, syllabification of intervocalic sequences is phonological (e.g., -p-AC- > -pC-), phonetic (e.g., -pGR- > -pGR-). The syllable structure and diachronic changes are closely integrated. This paper addresses the important question of whether heterosyllabic or tautosyllabic reconstructions are most appropriate for these sequences (e.g., -p-AC- > -pC-). Contrast to traditional analysis there is evidence for heterosyllabification in certain Pre-Portuguese sequences (e.g., deletion of p in weak syllable final position, -eAB> -eAB). Since these appear to be a limited set of cases that limit syllable structure improvement, syllabic phonology provides a means of determining whether heterosyllabic or tautosyllabic Pre-Portuguese syllable structures provide the best motivation for the sound changes which occurred in Portuguese.

EVE SMETSER, University of California-Berkeley

Metaphor and Directionality in Semantic Change

Various regular directions in semantic change have emerged from recent research: from concrete to abstract, propositional to personal, lexical to grammatical. Such general trends pose the question of how a particular new sense is connected to an older, less abstract one. It is not by chance that when English modal verbs took on epistemic senses, when English modals took on epistemic senses, when English modals took on epistemic senses, when English modals took on epistemic senses, when English modals took on epistemic senses.

The analysis of consonant incorporation adopted here parallels Steriade’s (1985) analysis of Chinese consonant incorporation (Chao 1984).
Halsey and Halle use the term 'neutralization' to refer to the fact that a phonological contrast may exist at one level of analysis but not at another. This is illustrated by the example of /s/ deletion in English, which Halle and Halle (1962) describe as a case of neutralization of the contrast between /s/ and /z/ in certain environments.

In his Foundations of Phonology, Jakobson (1957) described the concept of a phoneme as a bundle of distinctive properties. Jakobson's view was that a phoneme was defined by a set of distinctive features, and that two phonemes were considered to be distinct if they differed in at least one feature.

Jakobson also proposed the idea of phonemic contrast, which refers to the distinction between two phonemes. A phonemic contrast is said to be characterized by the presence of a difference between two phonemes in a given environment. For example, the difference between /s/ and /z/ in English is a phonemic contrast, since /s/ is deleted before a vowel, while /z/ is not.

The distinction between phonemic contrast and phonetic contrast is important, as it helps to explain why certain sounds may be perceived as similar in a given environment, even though they are actually distinct in a broader context. This is known as neutralization, and it occurs when a phoneme is realized in different ways in different environments.

In his work on phonology, Jakobson (1957) also introduced the concept of juncture, which refers to the point at which two segments of speech are joined together. Jakobson argued that the juncture point is a critical factor in determining the phonetic outcome of a sound, and that it is influenced by a variety of factors, including articulatory constraints and segmental properties.

Jakobson's views on phonology have been influential, and have been adopted by many scholars in the field. However, his ideas have also been subject to criticism, and there has been ongoing debate about the nature of phonology and its relationship to other areas of linguistics.

The concept of juncture has been particularly important in the study of phonology, and has been used to explain a wide range of phenomena, including the occurrence of features like glottal stop and aspirate in speech.

In conclusion, the work of Jakobson and other scholars in the field of phonology has provided a framework for understanding the nature of speech sounds and their relationship to other aspects of language. As our understanding of language continues to evolve, it is likely that our understanding of phonology will also continue to develop.
The "It is Not That..." Construction

Negative polarity items (NPI's) such as anyone (on an existential reading) or hold a candle are ungrammatical in sentences such as "I am not the kind of person who holds a candle to John" (Linzberger, 1980). Linzberger rules these out since the NPI does not obey her Immediate Scope Constraint at LF, i.e., the NPI is not in the immediate scope of the negator. However, NPI's are acceptable in the following: "I am not the kind of person who holds a candle to John and it is not that I'm expecting anyone." The negative implications of NPI's are thus acceptable in the following: "Bill doesn't hold a candle to John and I'm not expecting anyone follow from these two sentences. However, without an NPI the negative implications do not follow. So, it is not that I have too much work to do (it's that I'm not paid enough) can be paraphrased by the cleft sentence, it is not that I have too much work to do that bothers me, where the speaker is not committed to the truth or falsity of I have too much work to do. According to Williams (1983), the clefted constituent is a subject (type of Farace's (1985) analysis of pseudoclefts) and the that-clause is a predicate (ε,τ type). Adopting the unified analysis of be given by Farace (1985) leads us to analyze the above sentences as having an implicit second argument.

Synchrony and Diachrony in the Conception of Mikhail Kruszweski

Mikhail Kruszweski (1851-1887) has been considered a precursor of Ferdinand de Saussure, though it would be more accurate to say that he was Saussure's contemporary, who in his Oeuvres d'arabes (1883) arrived at a structuralist theory of language some years before the publication of Saussure's Cours de linguistique générale (1916). During recent years, following Roman Jakobson's studies, there has been a growing recognition of Kruszweski's role in the history of general linguistic theory. Kruszweski's theory deserves attention not just as an antecedent and possible influence for Saussure, but also on its own merit. This paper focuses on Kruszweski's treatment of the relationship between synchrony and diachrony, in contrast to Saussure's conception. Saussure's conception of the relationship between synchrony and diachrony has been regarded as having the status of absolute dichotomy. Although this conception has been frequently criticized, it implicitly underlies much of contemporary linguistic theory. Kruszweski's goal, on the other hand, was to show how language structure motivates language change. His conception of the relationship between synchrony and diachrony provides an alternative to Saussure, and therefore has continued theoretical relevance today.
DRAGA ZEK, Stanford University
SHARON INKELAS, Stanford University

Phonological Phrasing and the Reduction of Function Words

A long-standing problem in the literature has been accounting for syntactic constraints on auxiliary reduction in English, as in
(1) John is more persistent than he is* as creative.
This problem is more general than has been recognized, and extends also to prepositions:
(2) John argued down more bad ideas than he thought of* by good ones.

First, we assume that existing in parallel with surface phrase structure is a component of hierarchically organized prosodic constituents, and our reduction rule is simple: auxiliaries and prepositions never reduce at the end of a phonological phrase.

The next step is generating phonological phrases. We do this in part with an algorithm whose typical effect is to map maximal projections into phonological phrases. But to account for the above examples we need to posit a phrase break within a maximal projection, i.e. before the final constituent. This, we claim, is a result of the specific requirements coming from other components of the grammar. We show that comparatives along with other coordinate constructions such as gapping impose such requirements, and that the algorithm operates merely as an 'elsewhere condition'.

ARNOLD ZWICKY, Ohio State University & Stanford University
YONGKYOON NO, Ohio State University

In Favor of the Syntactic Feature (ROOT)

The traditional distinction of main-independent vs. subordinate-dependent clause plays a central role in transformational syntax, via the notion of S and E. But preposing on main types were cited, but subsequent criticism suggested very strongly that no syntactic feature was necessary in these cases, the restriction to main clauses following from the semantics/pragmatics of the constructions and of the various types of subordination.

We maintain that such a conclusion would be premature, citing facts about the distribution of the feature [NOU] in subject NPs in English (elliptical subjects being restricted to [-ROOT] clauses in certain registers) and the feature [FORM] on V in foreign (VFORM) verbs being restricted to [-ROOT] clauses. In English the syntactic constraint holds even though there would be no conflict in pragmatic values in dependent clauses irrevocably because last night I thought I'd dance. In Korean the syntactic constraint holds even though there are contexts where pragmatic values are determined by the forms restricted to dependent clauses, the subordinating construction being interpretationally transparent.

ARNOLD ZWICKY, Ohio State University & Stanford University

Systematic vs. Accidental Phonological Identity

Surface parallels reverting to 'phonological identity' between forms in a paradigm cite involve systematic identity (universal vs. critical, English vs. foreign), but sometimes accidental convergence (pasto modal and pronominal de clitics). We give two reasons:
(1) Systematic ambiguities provide 'neutral' forms, which always resolve feature conflicts in coordination, while tortuous ambiguities do so only under further conditions (Fuller & Jay 1992).
(2) In one algorithm, relating an English 'serial verb' construction, speakers split on whether tortuous identity counts. As is well known (Parlour 1973), the head verb must have a form phonologically identical to its SPE if after placement for the and its complement verb must also. Speakers differ on examples like (1) I love [CR put water on tree, though (2) I love put water on tree is generally acceptable. Put for SPE which for case and put is tortuously identical to SPE), while (2) has (for SPE which for all verbs except he in systematically identical to SPE).

ABSTRACTS

of the Linguistic Society of America

symposium
Some linguists feel that concern with methodological issues is unnecessary. Others of us would like to check linguistic theories against "reality" and develop and refine theorems based on the results of confronting ideas with data that have been gathered in some reasonably objective manner. The data base of grammars of the world's languages constitutes a largely unexploited resource for testing and developing a broad range of linguistic hypotheses. Developing systematic methods for accessing that data base is a non-trivial challenge.

Practical and theoretical constraints preclude using the total data base. One practical problem is the sheer number of adequately described languages; a second is how to determine the appropriate number of languages to meet particular research requirements. The size of the data base currently eliminates research strategies using the total data base due to constraints of time, money, and so on. A subset (or sample) of all available grammars is suggested. The theoretical constraints on sampling methods used in cross-linguistic research come from considerations developed in mathematical statistics. Basically, however, the constraints are pre-mathematical and do not require training in statistics to understand the general principles involved and their importance.

Jespersen (1946) introduced the approach of comparing a number of languages in order to draw universal inferences concerning the nature of language. Although he attempted to "obtain as wide a genetic and areal coverage as possible", he admitted that the languages that were chosen were done so on the basis of convenience and that the samples biases were obvious (1946:175). His findings have been the basis for such empirical and theoretical research in the past twenty years, and a growing number of linguists have chosen to follow his general method.

Bell (1978) discussed some of the principles to be taken into account when drawing language samples, reviewed the make-up of the language samples used up to that date, and made recommendations for future language samples. Since Bell's article appeared, several specific, distinct methods have been suggested and employed as means for drawing samples of languages that take into account Bell's recommendations.

A discussion of the objectives and procedures of some of those methods will be part of an attempt to reach a consensus on how language samples should be drawn in the future. If successful, this would make possible the comparison of results based on similar sampling procedures and make the methods more attractive to other researchers, who could be assured that they were using a generally agreed upon research technique. It also overcomes possibilities of shared samples among researchers for different purposes.

The achievement of such a consensus is not assured but the papers and particularly the discussion should be of general interest to linguists who have contemplated cross-language research and wonder what the issues are and how they might be resolved.

Each of the papers will represent the author's views on some of the basic problems in language sampling and his proposals for dealing with those issues. The problems are similar but the solutions are diverse so that discussion should help to clarify the reasoning and motivation for particular solutions. Toolin argues for the dependency of sampling methodology on research goals and purposes. The other three authors are primarily interested in developing methods that meet the requirements of statistical sampling theory by eliminating biases in language samples so that legitimate inferences can be drawn from samples to some larger linguistic universe.
A General Sampling Procedure to Reduce Genetic and Areal Bias

A moderately complex sampling procedure for typological comparisons designed primarily to reduce genetic and areal bias is described and exemplified. The sampling procedure is characterized by two main principles. The first principle, aimed at reducing genetic bias, is to choose genetic groups instead of individual languages as the sampling unit. The second principle, aimed at reducing areal bias, is to use the method of systematic sampling to choose the genetic groups after they have been listed in order so that genetic groups that are geographically next to each other are also (as far as possible) next to each other in the list. (In a systematic sample every nth item is chosen from a random starting point.)

Two particular samples are applied to representative typological characteristics. Both are drawn from 324 genetic groups for which at least one language description is believed to exist. The first sample consists of four overlapping subsamples of fifty odd groups each. The second consists of eight overlapping subsamples of about thirty groups each. The concluding discussion takes up two issues: What is the effect of the interplay of between the size of the genetic groups, the spacing of the systematic sample, and the sample size. Two, for what kinds of typological questions is the effort in drawing such samples justified. The use of the multiple subsamples to assess sampling precision directly is also discussed.

Large Linguistic Areas and Linguistic Sampling

Many statistical tests require that samples consist of independent cases. For language samples this means that the languages should be unrelated (or at worst remotely related) and that the sample should not contain two languages from a single linguistic area. I present evidence that suggests that it may not be possible to construct samples meeting these criteria containing more than 10 languages. More specifically, I present evidence from a sample of over 200 languages that suggests the possibility of large (though weak) linguistic areas, one covering much of Asia, another covering much of Africa. I propose an approach whereby the sample may contain non-independent languages if the hypothesis being tested can be shown to be true independently in each of five continental areas in the world. I illustrate the method with examples of hypotheses about word order.

Statistical Techniques for Determining Sample Size

Statisticians of all schools appear to agree on the importance of paying careful attention to sampling if reasonable inferences are to be drawn from studies of anything less than entire populations. Though not all requirements for mathematically pure samples are satisfied in the real world, linguists should take sampling procedures into account when devising strategies for cross-linguistic research. Two of the issues discussed are the independence of cases in samples and inferences about populations from samples. The first suggests using fewer languages while the second suggests care in reasoning from samples of languages to the populations they 'represent'. The use of a statistically based technique is suggested for determining a reasonable number of languages from language families and geographical areas to include in a sample. The technique depends on the similarity of languages within groups compared to their variation across groups on parameters of interest to the research, such as basic word order and phonological segment types. Preliminary results suggest that the appropriate number of languages to include in a 'reasonable' language sample may depend on the phenomena being studied, since there seems to be variation in the extent to which language parameters are inherited, preserved, or borrowed.
This paper has three main parts: The first is a brief review of recent research (including unpublished work by the author and others, as well as by Jackendoff, Rozwadowski & others) arguing that "traditional" thematic role-types (Agent, Theme, Experiencer, etc.) are inadequate for describing many of the syntactic and lexical generalizations that have been claimed to correlate with them. Rather, more "fine-grained" semantic distinctions than these traditional roles are needed for these purposes; "agent" and "theme" are discussed as examples of roles that need to be "fragmented" into finer classes, the latter case in some detail as it becomes relevant later in the paper to distinguish between A Theme (the argument which determines perfective vs. imperfective aspect), as in recent research by Wexler and Manfred Krifka, from other kinds of Themes. In addition, many well-known putative generalizations in terms of role-types from the literature have turned out instead to be either (a) purely syntactic generalizations (example: condition on subjects of English lexical passives, like usual), (b) purely pragmatic generalizations (example: control of null subjects of English transitive purpose clauses and infinitival relatives), or (c) consequences of general constraints between syntactic structure and discourse structure. Rather, it is argued that the most (cross-linguistically and intra-linguistically) pervasive effect of thematic roles in syntax is in what Fillmore called the subject selection principle (more recently called template matching by Pinker 1984 and others), i.e. the principle determining which argument of a multi-place verb is subject and which is object.

The second part of the paper proposes that these subject-selection generalizations are not best captured in terms of traditional discrete roles, however, but rather in terms of what I will call thematic proto-roles. The claims are (i) that there are only two such roles, Proto-Agent and Proto-Patient, and (ii) these are "cluster concepts", characterized not by any single criterial definition but by a list. Hence "agency" and "patienthood" are not discrete properties but continuous ones which arguments can possess to a greater or lesser degree, according to the number of properties from these lists that they possess.

Characteristics of the Proto-Agent role are:
A. volition
B. sentience (and/or perception)
C. causation
D. movement
E. referent exists independently of the event denoted by the verb

Characteristics of the Proto-Patient role are:
A. change of state (including coming-into-being, going-out-of-being
B. aspectual determinant (or Incremental Theme)
C. causally affected by an event involving the Proto-Agent
D. stationary (relative to movement of Proto-Agent)
E. referent may not exist independently of event denoted by verb

The Alignment Hypothesis (of roles with grammatical relations) under this...
Arguments with the greatest number of Proto-Agent properties will be lexicalized as subject arguments of verbs, while those with the greatest number of Proto-Patient properties will be lexicalized as direct objects.

Corollaries with three- or more-place verbs, arguments with fewer or no P-Agent nor P-Patient properties will be lexicalized as oblique non-subject, non-direct-object arguments.

One of the main advantages of the prototype view over the traditional discrete-role view is in explaining "non-standard" alignments on the prototype view, deviations from uniform alignment are to be expected where multiple arguments each possess some of the criterial Proto-Agent properties and hence "compete" with each other for right to subjecthood.

The best-known cases of this kind are the psychological and entailment predicates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type I mental verbs</th>
<th>Type II mental verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A liking B</td>
<td>B pleasing A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A fearing B</td>
<td>B frightened A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A was surprised at B</td>
<td>B surprised A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The point here is that argument A in each case has the P-Agent property of sentence/perception (but not volition or causation), while argument B has the P-Patient property of causation (but not sentience); hence they have equal claims to the status of subject, and either form can be lexicalized. (More on this below.) Under the traditional view, however, in which all roles are equal primitives, there is no inherent reason why the combination of Expectatives and Themes should be more susceptible to reversible alignment than any other pair of discrete roles. By contrast, verbs such as build, kill, etc., where both arguments are "strongly" Proto-Agentive and Proto-Patitive, respectively, are never found with their converses independently lexicalized.

Other kind of "non-standard alignment" discussed in the paper and shown to be consistent with the prototype alignment hypothesis are (1) verbs like receive or undergo, with "Beal" as subject and "Theme" as object, and (2) the familiar buy, sell pay cases.

Following Haarant, Fillier, Lebak, earlier work of mine, and parallelizing ideas of Andrzejewski, I propose that the alignment principle plays a role in the acquisition of the grammatical system by first-language learners.

The third part of the paper suggests an additional way that thematic prototype roles may function in language, the hypothesis of Protot-Patitive as semantic defaults:

Beyond their role in grammatical acquisition (and/or other functions in language) thematic proto-roles may serve as defaults for the acquisition of lexical meanings: that is, in conjunction with the alignment principle, they supply the language learner with an expectation of what the meaning of an arbitrary newly encountered verb will be like, unless and until the learner receives positive information about the verb's meaning that contradicts these defaults.  

The arguments for this position consist in cases of very subtle but highly systematic differences in lexical meaning across lexical argument manipulations (lexical "relation-changing" patterns) cases where (i) it seems impossible that such subtle differences could be learned individually by verb, yet consistently across verbs and in exactly the same way by all speakers, but (ii) the differences can be explained by supposing that speakers assume that the subject has all possible relevant Proto-Agent properties and the object the relevant Proto-Patient properties, as long as salient aspects of the learned lexical meaning do not contradict these defaults.

One such phenomenon is the familiar case of verbs of "possibly symmetric human interaction" (Filipore) in the alternation (a) vs. (b):

(a) Pin and Sandy hugged embrazed kissed etc.
(b) Pin unhugged unembrazed unkissed etc.

Such verbs systematically invite volition and/or causation to the subject for the symmetric relationship, but not to the object, hence the oddness of (b).

A second example is the one of mental verbs (cf. above). William Croft (1986) has observed that in at least six languages (English, Russian, Japanese, and classical Mallait), the Type I mental verbs are always stative, whereas the Type II verbs can be inchoative as well (e.g. "cause to become frightened", etc.). This correlates with the prototype hypothesis in that change of state is a Proto-Patient property, but only the sentient participant ("Experience") necessarily undergoes a change in such a psychological event, the other participant (which may be an inanimate object or an event) need not.

A third example is that of the English spray-liquid class. Some observers (Lewis, Reppen) have suggested that spray paint onto the wall differs from spray the wall with paint in that the latter, not the former entails that the wall is completely covered with paint; hence there is an aspectual difference between the two. I believe this statement is correct as far as it goes, but the description has been flawed by an inadequate understanding of the tests for action/event and perfective aspect. I will show by systematic application of the aspectual criteria in Dowty 1979 that the direct object in each kind of case is an incremental change in the sense of Krifka 1986 and Dowty 1987, which is a criterial property of Proto-Patients. Again, the "default" can be overridden by more specific lexical meanings, e.g. fill and cover do not participate in the argument alternation (lackendolf).
THE GRAMMATICALIZATION OF TENSE AND ASPECT ACROSS LANGUAGES
Golden Gate Ballroom A
Organized by: Joan Bybee, State University of New York-Buffalo
Sunday Evening, 27 December
8:30-11:00 PM

The meaning of grammatical morphemes is notoriously difficult
to pin down in a single language and even more difficult to compare
across languages. However, much progress has been made recently in
identifying the basic semantic properties and the discourse functions
involved in grammatical systems of tense and aspect (for instance in
the work of Comrie, Hopper and many others). In the past much has
been made of the differences among languages in the grammatical
categories that they express (e.g. by Whorf), but if we take a broad
view -- the perspective of a worldwide sample of languages -- we find
many similarities in the grammatical treatment of time.

Recently, two independent studies, using different
methodologies, came to very similar conclusions concerning the cross-
linguistic categories of tense and aspect. In the survey reported on
in Bybee 1985, I used a stratified probability sample of 50 languages
and studied the inflectional categories of verbs using reference
grammars. I identified major semantic domains such as tense, aspect
and mood, as well as specific meanings expressed by inflections, such as
past, future, etc., on the basis of the authors' descriptions and
the examples provided (not on the basis of the authors' labels, which
often confuse tense with aspect).

Another study published at the same time, Dahl 1985, used a
questionnaire of over 200 sentences designed to cover the major uses
of tense and aspect morphemes. The questionnaire was completed by
a native speaker or a linguist working with a native speaker, for 64
languages, covering all the continents of the globe. On the basis of the
distribution of the tense and aspect markers in the sentences of
the questionnaire, Dahl postulated a small number of commonly
occurring grammatical meanings, referred to below as categories.

Some differences in terminology aside, the categories that
Dahl found in the questionnaire and the ones that I found in reference
grammars are exactly the same. They are:

past: occurring before the moment of speech.
future: occurring after the moment of speech.
perfective: occurring before a reference point and
still relevant at that reference point.
continuous: occurring as bounded.

We both found that present tended to be unmarked, and Dahl treated it
as a default category, without a clear meaning of its own.

In addition to these findings, both studies noted certain
correlations between the meaning expressed by a category and the form
of expression that it takes. These correlations can be seen most
clearly in Dahl's study, since he did not restrict his study to affixes
(expression) but studied periphrastic expression as well. He found
that certain meanings tend to be expressed by affixes while others
need to be expressed periphrastically:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>affixal</th>
<th>periphrastic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>(33/45)</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>(7/7)</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>(23/50)</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The theory that explains this correlation is grammaticalization theory
(Whorf, Traugott, Lehmann, Hopper and many others), which
postulates that grammatical morphemes develop out of lexical ones by a
gradual process of generalization of meaning and reduction of form. I
propose that this development continues even after grammatical status
is reached, so that periphrastic expression often becomes affixal,
while semantic development is continuing.

The correlation of form to meaning is explained, then, by
proposing that the meanings listed on the left above are meanings that
occur earlier in the stages of grammaticalization, while the meanings on
the right are those that occur later. (The fact that futures are
split suggests that there may be more than one type of future).

Further evidence for the hypothesis that the meanings on the left are
early developments and those on the right later is the fact that there
are abundant examples of attested changes that involve the former
evolving into the latter. For instance, cases of a perfect becoming a
past or perfective, and of a progressive becoming an imperfective are
attested (Comrie 1976, Marchese 1986). Not all of these semantic
changes are accompanied by affixation; that is, affixation is not a
necessary accomplishment but only a prevalent tendency.

The universality of the diachronic paths of development for
tense and aspect does not just involve the grammatical stages of the
development, but also includes the earlier stages of development.
That is, there are certain commonly occurring lexical sources for
tense and aspect morphemes. For instance, I have found examples from
two or more unrelated languages of the following developments:
perfective, which may further develop into past or perfective, derived
from main verbs; progressive, which may further develop into
imperfective, derived from locational or postural constructions; futures
derived from main verbs signifying 'finish', 'throw away', or 'come from';
progressive, which may further develop into perfective, derived from
main verbs signifying 'desire', or movement towards a goal or from constructions with
meaning 'off' or 'out' of

The cross-linguistic data point to the convergence of
grammatical morphemes or periphrases from different sources into
abstract or general meanings that are very similar. This means that
the mechanisms of change that apply in the grammaticalization process
are applicable in all languages, probably at all times, and
furthermore that the semantic substance that evolves into grammatical
meaning is also universal. Language specific investigation, however,
reveals that the convergence is only partial; grammatical morphemes often retain nuances from their original lexical meaning, which often makes their distribution synchronically very difficult to explain. A good case in point are the three future morphemes of Modern English, will, shall and be going to, whose uses reflect their semantic origins, and whose distribution results from their interaction with one another (Bybee and Pagliuca 1987).

Perfective markers may also be derived from directional adpositions, as in Slavic languages, Georgian and a few others. Dahl argues that the meaning of this type of perfective is slightly different from that of the perfective found in most languages. The differences, however, may be attributed to the source of the markers and to their status as derivation rather than inflection. More remarkable than the differences, however, are the similarities: despite the fact that a Slavic-style perfective derives historically from an extremely different source than, say, the French passé composé, the strong similarities in the functions they have acquired points to powerful language universals.

The data discussed here suggest the following hypotheses about grammatical meaning: that individual grammatical morphemes have inherent semantic content, and that each one can be viewed as occupying a range along a continuous scale of historical development from lexical into grammatical. Similarities among particular morphemes in different languages may be attributed to the universality of the semantic material that is molded into grammatical, as well as the universality of the mechanisms of change which move this process along. Differences among the same morphemes may be attributed to different positions on the paths of development, differences in lexical source, or differences attributable to the interaction of other forms in the same semantic domain in the language.

References


Paul J. Angelis, Southern Illinois University

Applied Linguistics: Realities and Projections

Part of the impetus for saturating the field of applied linguistics via the formation of organizations such as AAAL was the need to synthesize activities which combined linguistics with other disciplines apart from those which dealt with language in a more restricted and formal sense. In the intervening years, linguistics itself has expanded its focus of attention to include a variety of new perspectives, based on the premise that regular assessment of the directions and scope of applied linguistics is both healthy and productive, this paper reports the results of a survey of activities and developments within applied linguistics at two levels. Relying on an examination of scholarly journals, professional papers, and organizational activities, a summary is provided illustrating "applied linguistics" as it has been formally labelled, and secondly, for similar items which have appeared within fields which carry other designations. The results of the survey, looking primarily at work from the U.S. and Great Britain, are compared with statements made about the nature and scope of applied linguistics by American advocates of the profession such as Ferguson and Kaplan and their British counterparts, two of the most prominent of whom are Crystal and Stevens. Some projections are made which give a view of applied linguistics in the years to come, arguing that it should become more comprehensive and more proactive as a profession.

Mervin R. Barnes, University of Oklahoma

On the Nature of Acquisition Rules

When Krashen distinguishes between conscious language learning and unconscious language learning, he essentially eliminates the acquisition rules as an area of research and thus provides no real guidelines for further research in this area of language acquisition. The major problem is Krashen's perception of the monitor as a dynamic model of acquisition, rather than as a model of language production. I perceive the monitor rules as syntax-based rules and acquisition rules as meaning-based production rules. This revised approach finds support in several areas. German has grammatical gender, in which some neuter nouns refer to persons. Such nouns require neuter pronouns and relative pronouns (... das Mädchen, die ...) but they are in reality sometimes replaced by feminine equivalents (... das Mädchen, die ...), suggesting association with the meaning rather than with the syntactic structure. The thesis also highlights the major problem with the standard pattern drill, which transforms grammar into grammar rather than meaning into grammar. I will provide more examples of support for my thesis and present some of the implications of the thesis for language acquisition theory and language teaching.

Sara H. Basson, NYNEX-Science and Technology

Pronunciation Errors in English: Interference and Simplification Processes

Adult second language learners often exhibit phonetic deviance in English. This research investigates pronunciation errors accounting for reduced intelligibility and perceived accent in Japanese and Hebrew ESL students. Native Japanese and Hebrew speakers recorded syllables and sentences in English and their native languages. The segments forming the English syllables were classified in terms of their contrastive status; that is, whether phonetically identical sounds occur in similar phonetic environments in the speakers' first languages. The recorded tokens were presented to 36 experienced listeners to transcribe and rate for degree of accentuatedness. Acoustic measures of formant frequencies were gathered for the vowels. The intelligibility scores and acoustic data were used to compare an interference model with a model predicting inherent difficulty of particular sounds, based on cross-linguistic data and findings from L1 acquisition.
A Role for Negative Evidence in Second-Language Acquisition

Formal models of second-language acquisition disagree on the utility of negative evidence as input for grammar construction. Schwartz (1987), for example, rules out negative input on theory-internal grounds, while Bley-Vroman (1986) allows empirical and theoretical arguments for its operation. The present paper attempts to resolve this debate by introducing a new variable of metalinguistic sensitivity (Bialystok & Ryan 1985, Olsen et al., 1985, inter alia). It is argued that learners, with undeveloped metalinguistic skills (e.g. the illiterate, unschooled bilinguals studied by Scriban & Cole 1981), can become conscious of first language acquisition post-infancy, and that the impact of such factors can be minimized in the future.

Robert S. Carlsile, California State College-Bakersfield

The Variability of Epenthesis in Interlanguage Phonology

This study examined the variability of epenthesis before the word-initial English onsets---/s, /m, and /n. The subjects were 14 native Spanish speakers who read a list of 435 topically unrelated sentences each containing one of the target onsets. The number of each word-final onset varied before each word-initial onset was tightly controlled.

Three correlations of the three onsets---/s between /s and /m, .500 between /s and /n, and .500 between /m and /n were significant, p<.0001. A two-way ANOVA for the three environments was significant, p<.01. Fairly consistent comparison of the three means revealed that the frequency of epenthesis after /s and /n was significantly higher than the frequency after /m. No other comparison was significant. The current results supported findings of a previous study which examined epenthesis before /s, /m, and /n, and confirmed that epenthesis is variable in Spanish/English interlanguage phonology.

Steven Cushing, Stonehill College & Boston University

Language and Communication-Related Problems of Aviation Safety

Aviation safety has emerged in the past year or so as an issue of major public concern in the U.S. and elsewhere. In this paper we report work in progress on the role played by linguistic factors in the causation of aircraft accidents and near-misses, as part of a long-term study of this problem sponsored by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Our data are drawn from National Transportation Safety Board accident reports and NASA's Aviation Safety Reporting System. We examine transcripts from cockpit voice recorders retrieved from aircraft that have been involved in accidents and self-reports of pilots, other crew-members, and controllers in near-misses. Among the cases examined are the Tenerife collision of March 1977, the worst in history in terms of fatalities; the John Wayne Orange County Airport accident of February 1981; and the Everglades crash of December 1972. Each of these incidents is found to be directly attributable to a language misunderstanding: the meaning of a prepositional phrase, the reference of an anaphor, and so on. The suggestions are made as to how the impact of such factors can be minimized in the future.

Steven Bursong, University of Florida

The Function of Temporal Support in Interpreting Unknown Lexical Meanings

When L2 students are encouraged to find meanings for unfamiliar words and expressions in a reading text by "guessing from the context," they are using both top-down or schematic reading strategies as well as bottom-up or data-driven strategies. In this paper, we examine the influence of top-down and bottom-up strategies in the nature of textual support for two broad groups of learners: skilled readers, on the one hand, engage relatively sophisticated metalinguistic knowledge to supply both positive and negative input to a problem-solving apparatus (Felis 1985), whereas learners, on the other hand, engage relatively sophisticated metalinguistic knowledge to supply both positive and negative input to a problem-solving apparatus (Felis 1985). Differences in end-product data (cf. the "logical problem") and in the representation of metalinguistic knowledge for these two broad groups of learners are discussed.

Robert S. Carlsile, California State College-Bakersfield

On the Question of Inversion in Language Acquisition

The issue of whether inversion of subject and verb is acquired first in yes/no questions or in wh-questions has been the source of some controversy in both first (L1) and second (L2) language acquisition. Thus, for example, Schwartz (1987) claims that inversion occurs first in yes/no questions, whereas Errech (1984) reports that her subjects evidence no such stage. In L2 acquisition, Kavan (1986) found that the inversion of the order of a, b, c occurs in the same red order as in L1 acquisition, whereas Canello et al. (1975) report that no such stage occurred in their subjects. At stake in this controversy are 1) the relationship between L1 and L2 acquisition, and 2) the question of whether stages of acquisition are constrained by typological universals. A stage like that reported by Bellugi would violate Greenberg's (1966) universal which states that yes/no inversion implies wh-inversion. This paper reports both longitudinal and cross-sectional data on L2 acquisition of English questions, and argues that the controversy hinges crucially on the fact that different criteria were used to determine acquisition. If uniform criteria are applied across all the studies cited, the discrepancy vanishes, and the claim that universals are upheld by stages of acquisition can be maintained, at least for inversion in questions.

Susan Fixdal, The Evergreen State College

A Return to the Turn

Since Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) published their seminal paper on turn-taking, researchers in linguistics, psychology, and communication have focused on the insights and problems highlighted in that paper. How can we define a turn? How do speakers signal others that another turn can be taken? That the turn is a fundamental regulator of spoken discourse cannot be questioned. What this paper offers is a broad study of how spoken discourse is organized in ordinary conversation. Based on our work by Osgood (1981), this paper proposes the rapport system as equally fundamental to the organization of talk as the turn-taking system, and it argues for a redefinition of the turn which takes into account the rhetorical and organizational nature of talk. This paper is drawn from a 1986 study of cross-cultural face-saving interviews and presents evidence from NS-NS discourse as well as NS-NS discourse.
Story or No Story: Effects of Discourse Context on Elided Imitation of Sentences

Language teachers have long tested language proficiency through dictations of connected discourse. At the same time, the language acquisition process has been investigated extensively. This study is an attempt to join these two threads of research. Previous work with deaf students has shown that elided imitation of isolated sentences can give us insights into a child's developing grammar. In this study, the focus is on the impact of discourse context on elided imitation of isolated sentences.

The paper presents a categorization of English as a second language (ESL) learners using both recognition and production methods. The categorization is based on the identification of specific language errors and the creation of specific language structures by means of a visual analysis. It is hypothesized that the role of negative data might account for differences in the acquisition processes. This study contributes to the field of second language acquisition, specifically in the context of discourse analysis.

The paper suggests that while pragmatic principles play a significant role in language change, cognitive and sociolinguistic processes also influence language acquisition. The results of the study indicate that the use of discourse context is essential in predicting elided imitation of isolated sentences in future work for testing discourse specific structures.

MARCIA BABBITT GONSALVES, Brooklyn College
RENISON J. GONSALVES, Kingsborough Community College

Explaining Second language Lexical Errors

This paper presents preliminary results of a study of the lexical errors of ESL students using both recognition and production methods. The study was designed to investigate the possible parallels between historical changes, as described by Weinreich, in the lexicon of LI due to LI interference on the one hand, and the effects of LI on the acquisition of L2 by ESL students on the other. The paper presents evidence for the operation of the observed lexical errors of ESL students in written English compositions, over-generalization and semantic field errors constituting the major error categories. While there is a broad similarity between aspects of this categorization and Weinreich's three categories of simple lexical interference, many of the errors found, such as errors that come about through the inverted use of converse pairs like teach/learn and the creative use of non-causatives with causative meanings, do not fit into Weinreich's categories. Moreover, these errors are similar to those reported in studies of LI-L2 acquisition (Bowman, 1974 and 1982). This suggests that while pragmatic principles play a significant role in language change, cognitive and sociolinguistic processes also influence language acquisition. The results of the study indicate that the use of discourse context is essential in predicting elided imitation of isolated sentences in future work for testing discourse specific structures.

BEVERLY S. HARTFORD, Indiana University

Category Variability and Grammaticization in a Nonnative Dialect of English

This paper examines a synchronic case of grammaticization in the English used by a well-defined community of nonnative speakers in Kathmandu, Nepal. Specifically, it shows how the prepositions about and on are becoming grammaticized verb particles, functioning as lexicalized trajectories with certain transitive verbs and making such verbs less prototypically transitive. The data base is at printed sources such as newspapers, academic tests, etc. b) conversations, formal lectures, and elicited writing. The data include data from advanced speakers, and more sectional data, written and oral, from Nepali ESL classroom learners. While the primary data base is Nepali English, the procedures are supplemented with data from advanced speakers, including Malaysia and West Africa. The paper suggests that insights into diachronic processes such as grammaticization can be gained by linguistic synchronic language contact in such communities of second language speakers.

LILIANA LANDOLFI, University of Southern California

Native Speaker-Nonnative Speaker Interactions: Variation in Negative Data

This study investigates the variable nature of negative data (Schachter 1996) in native speaker-nonnative speaker (NS-NNS) interactions. Six NS-NNS interviews were analyzed using speaker-elicitation (Schachter 1984, 1986). The data were used to test hypotheses for types and quantities of negative data provided by the native speaker in exploratory work. The data in an ESL program. That is, NNS responses to negative data would vary, with more frequent responses to negative data and subsequent data modifications ranking progress and frequency of response to negative data. However, the data yielded an unexpected result: a positive relationship between progress and the amount of negotiation. This result suggests a "fine-tuning" of negative data type according to lexical proficiency level and type of negotiation. 

GRET A D. LITTLE, University of South Carolina
DENISE E. MURRAY, San Jose State University
YUKA OTANI, San Jose State University

Framing Conversations on College Campuses in Japan and the United States

This paper examines various types of speech patterns that govern the organization of opening and closing conversations among college students on campuses in Japan and the United States. Each of these patterns are found in two settings: the college library and in greetings and terminals; but rather open and close with a variety of speech acts. The significance of these speech acts are language and culture-specific, reflecting the different conversational habits of the Japanese and American speech communities. This paper demonstrates the choices made according to various conditions in these three components of a speech event participants, topic, and setting.

TINA RAPPAUDINI, DePaul University

Loss of Discourse, Sociolinguistic, and Grammatical Competence in French

This paper reports on a study examining L2 attrition in discourse, sociolinguistic, and grammatical competence in French. Subjects were sixty former year-long students who were tested at the beginning and end of the academic year after their return to the U.S. The test instrument used required subjects to produce oral discourse in response to twenty-eight scenarios that addressed the subjects' ability to interact with native French speakers. The test was presented as a variety of conversation settings where subjects were expected to react to a range of communicative functions for subjects to perform. Subjects responded to each item as if they were actually addressing the imagined interlocutor. The test is comprised of three components. Each item response received a separate component score reflecting: (1) grammatical and lexical accuracy, (2) sociolinguistic appropriateness, and (3) cohesion and coherence. The paper presents analyses of component scores changes in French conversations during the time interval. The paper argues that grammatical competence was the most unstable of the three competencies, since erosion was found for all groups of items involving common function- or interlocutor-types. These changes are analyzed in relation to the types of L1 input and opportunities for L2 use provided by subjects' French courses during the time interval. The paper argues that grammatical competence reflect, not loss, but learning of non-native norms of appropriateness in the classroom.

WILLIAM RUTHERFORD, University of Southern California

The Contribution of Second Language Acquisition to Learnability Theory

Of the two kinds of identifiable language acquisition theory—viz., theories of developing grammars and theories of learnability—it is the former that thus far has largely prevailed in child L1 acquisition research types of analysis and, to an even greater extent, in that of adult second language acquisition (SLA). The problem of learnability, or the accounting of how language can be learned via impoverished input data and without negative evidence, has until only relatively recently been addressed. We now have some work in learnability theory, however, that has given prominence to the Subset Principle (Bavelier 1989) and the Uniqueness Principle (Gumperz 1986), with the former figuring in a tiny portion of recent SLA experimental research (White 1997, Toch 1997). Both of these subset and Uniqueness are strong in SLA. It is clear, however, that the principles apply in L2 at all; identification of the domain in which application occurs; and refinement of the principles themselves in the light of SLA data. Any one of these will be a significant contribution to learnability theory in general.

CHAI S. SIROKY, DePaul University

Factors Affecting Colonial Language Maintenance in Independent Africa

The continuing importance of colonial languages in independent Africa (e.g., French in Algeria, Morocco, Senegal, and Zaire or English in Kenya, Tanzania, the Sudan, and Nigeria) poses problems to language planning (LP) specialists and to the cognitive and linguistic maintenance of indigenous languages to functional priority within the polity. In many regions of colonial languages have retained their functional importance in the community because they could serve as a bridge between and among linguistically heterogeneous speaking groups. In other areas these imported languages persist because indigenous codes lacked sufficient codification to signal them as official languages of education and the bureaucracy. In these factors alone do not account for the continued importance of French and English in independent Africa today; nor do they explain why colonial languages continue to flourish in many countries today. Traditional sociolinguistic profiles provide only a partial explanation for the resiliency and even functional expansion of colonial languages in a number of African nations. This paper proposes an analytical checklist of factors believed responsible for the growth, decline, or maintenance (planned or otherwise) of French and English within Africa today. The list includes psychological, sociocultural, and ideological aspects of LP in addition to the more widely discussed linguistic factors. It is argued that this checklist provides planners with a useful tool for gauging LP effectiveness at both the implementation and evaluation stages.

KOTTAI K. RAY, San Jose State University

The Impact of Domain-Specific Instruction on Language Use: The Case of a Long-Term Resident

The present study investigated the training/learning process of a "fossilized" second language learner from two perspectives: (1) the destabilization of the interlanguage toward a target-like variety of English and, (2) the differential impact of two kinds of instructional strategies: metalinguistic and relevance-explaining instruction, on the learner's ability to produce a traditional variety of English. The subject was a female who had lived in an urban setting in the United States for over twenty years. She worked in Pediatrics in an urban hospital. A sequence of six instructional sessions were offered: (1) a traditional U.S. program, based on an analysis of grammatical and lexical features of written and spoken productions; and (2) a subsequent domain-specific program based on an analysis of social and linguistic needs for interacting with patients in the hospital environment. The results of the study showed that participation in the two programs affected the subject's language use in distinctive ways. The former approach yielded greater interlanguage destabilization and growth toward a target "American" English norm.

ANDREA TYLER, University of Florida

Sources of the Perception of Incoherence in Non-Native Spoken Discourse

Communication problems surrounding the spoken academic discourse of non-native English speakers are a growing concern in U.S. universities. Using a discourse analytic framework, i.e., one which considers the interrelatedness of prosody, syntactic structure, lexical markers, and rhetorical patterning (Bazerman, 1983, 1984), this paper addresses some of the sources of communication problems of 18 Korean and Chinese teaching assistants whose spoken English discourse had been perceived by native speakers of English as disorganized and unfocused. Kaplan's (1980) analysis of cultural variation in rhetorical patterns in written discourse suggests that the primary source of listener perceptions of discursive performance is likely to be the overall order in which information is presented. An examination of this dimension of the talk's discourse revealed, however, that they employed the favored American academic patterns. Research on native speakers' discourse (Bazerman, 1978; Bavelier, 1989; Meisel, 1991) indicates that effective communicators use a number of prosodic, syntactic, and lexical devices to orient their listeners to the relative importance among ideas in the discourse, and simultaneously to convey the interpersonal relationships among these ideas. Use of these devices provides native listeners with a set of cues which allow them to construct coherence. Analysis of the spoken discourse of the Chinese and Korean speakers revealed an absence of these cues. It is concluded that the perception of disorganization stems from the absence of cues at the syntactic, lexical and prosodic levels.
Investigating the Discourse of Reading Lessons: Topic Development

This paper presents one stage in an investigation of the discourse of reading lessons where stories were read and/or discussed. One purpose of this study was to develop a system for analyzing topic during discourse and to describe topic development during one type of instructional discourse. Eight reading lessons were audio-taped in two second grade and two sixth grade classes in an elementary school in the Southwest. From transcriptions of the audio-tapes, a system of analysis was developed which identified different types of topical relationships between utterances and between exchanges, termed topical moves and topical sequences, respectively. Data were analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively. From the quantitative analysis, topical organization of discourse across reading lessons was described. From the qualitative analysis, the forms and functions of topical moves and topical sequences were described. In addition, both analyses revealed similarities and differences in topical development among reading lessons with respect to grade level, type of reading text, and teacher. This research has important implications for the study of classroom language as well as the study of topic in discourse.
RESEARCH ON CLASSROOM LANGUAGE LEARNING
Pacific N N O Room

Organized by: Bill VanPatten, University of Illinois-Urbana
Discussant: Craig Charadron, University of Hawaii-Nanau

Sunday Evening, 27 December
7:30-10:00 PM

STEPHEN J. GALES, University of Northern Iowa
LEO VAN LIER, Monterey Institute of International Studies

Classroom Research on Communicative Language Teaching: A Review

One of the assumptions underlying the investigation of classroom second/foreign language teaching and learning is that research will follow—e.g. if not in altogether linear fashion—the traditional pattern of development of empirical research: that is, descriptive and correlational investigations of classroom phenomena and processes will lead to the development of hypotheses to be tested experimentally and will guide the selection of instrumentation and procedures for experimental research. This paper reviews attempts to characterize, either descriptively or though controlled investiga­tion the effectiveness of principles, practices, activities, and behaviors associated with the communicative approach to language teaching. Data-based studies of communica­tive language teaching will be examined with regard to a number of features—sample size, context, operationalization of concepts, instrumentation (including direct observation of the classroom), and procedures. The paper will assess whether and to what extent research to date provides a foundation for further controlled investiga­tion and whether a coherent collective research agenda can be discerned.

NINA GARETT, University of Illinois-Urbana

Extracting Process from Product: Problems and Possibilities

This paper will discuss the theoretical and empirical difficulties inherent in using classroom second-language learners' target language production as evidence of their language acquisition—i.e. in using linguistic analysis of inter-lang­uage as evidence of their psycholinguistic processing. I will discuss a research project undertaken at the University of Illinois with second-semester learners of German, French, and Spanish which attempted to uncover patterns of IL processing by contrasting production on a variety of tasks. An alternative research methodology, using the computer to interact with learners in the course of language production, will be suggested as both theoretically and empirically more suited to process-oriented SLA research.

JAMES F. LEE, University of Illinois-Urbana

A Critical Examination of the Data Base for Non-Native Reading

It has been pointed out, the distinction between SL and FL reading can be traced to three sources: research design, research objectives, and target populations. The purpose of this paper is to explore each of these with the intent of reconciling differences by drawing together the data bases. A preliminary assessment of the data base reveals that the research lies along a language proficiency continuum. FL at the less proficient end and SL at the more proficient end. Moreover, the research appears to be torn out of separate pedagogical concerns. FL research is motivated by how to make reading input comprehensible. SL research, on the other hand, is motivated by how to improve non-native reading for the purpose of academic success within the target language academic system. The differences are tied to the purpose for which the subjects have undertaken their study of the target language, a question of internal motivation but is it an issue worthy of dichotomizing a field? All empirical research is subject to the following caveats. The findings are directly applicable to: 1) the sample population; 2) the general population from which the sample is drawn; and 3) other populations having the same characteristics as the sample studied. In the area of non-native reading, are SL learners a sample of the same population represented by FL learners? Are they different populations but with the same or similar characteristics? Is there a general population of non-native readers that research ought to be investigating? With some exceptions, SL and FL research studies share three fundamental characteristics: 1) the cognitive maturity associated with adult age groups; 2) first language literacy; 3) certain prerequisites for academic success. The paper argues that these cognitive factors are primary in modelling and assessing non-native reading.
TRACY D. TERRELL, University of California-San Diego

The Effects of Speaking Practice on Acquisition

Krashen has argued that the primary factor in language acquisition is comprehensible input and that speaking plays a secondary role in the acquisition process. In this paper I will present evidence that speaking practice, while not theoretically necessary for acquisition to take place, is extremely important and cannot be ignored in the language classroom. I will present evidence from two experiments to show that (1) reduced opportunities for speech practice will raise affective filters effectively slowing down acquisition and (2) speech practice lowers access time resulting in increased fluency.

LILY WONG FILLMORE, University of California-Berkeley

Commentary on "Classroom Treatment Studies"

Several studies were undertaken to examine the relationship between instructional practices and the development of proficiency in a second language. A major focus was on the development and validation of a classroom observation instrument designed to capture the essential features of communication in the L2 classroom. This instrument was subsequently used in a process-product study examining the impact on L2 proficiency of different instructional practices observed in core French classes. A second study involved the analysis of specific aspects of language use and learning activities observed in French immersion classrooms, with a view to interpreting some earlier proficiency findings. A third study consisted of a classroom experiment in the French immersion setting, designed to enhance grammatical proficiency in the use of past tenses. These studies are commented upon, and suggestions for further research are presented.

FRED GENESSEE, McGill University

Commentary on Social Context and Age

The relationship between individual and social-environmental factors and the development of bilingual proficiency was examined in several minority and majority language learning contexts. In one large-scale study of Portuguese-Canadian students, the relationship between language use patterns, language attitudes, and bilingual proficiency was investigated by means of correlational and regression analyses, while in a small sample of beginning school-aged children of Portuguese home background, a detailed study of language interaction at home and at school was carried out with a view to relating interactional variables to later academic achievement. In another minority context, an ethnographic study focused on students attending a French language elementary school in Toronto. Finally, two studies examined the relationship between age and language learning: one among Japanese immigrant students of different ages and the other among Anglophone majority students learning French in three different school programs. These will be commented on and their implications for other communities considered.

CRISTINA BRATT PAULSTON, University of Pittsburgh

Commentary on "The Nature of Language Proficiency"

The primary purpose of the large-scale proficiency study conducted during the 'Development of Bilingual Proficiency' Project was to determine whether three hypothesized traits - grammatical, discourse, and sociolinguistic, and discourse - would emerge as distinct components of second language proficiency which may be differentially manifested under different task conditions. A secondary purpose was to develop a set of test items and scoring procedures to be used in further studies. A final purpose was to provide a broadly based description of the target language proficiency of second language learners tested, in relation to that of native speakers. The extent to which these goals were achieved will be discussed, and suggestions will be made for future research.
MERRILL SWAIN, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

Overview of "The Development of Bilingual Proficiency"

The purpose of this five-year research project has been to investigate issues concerning language proficiency and its development in educational contexts for children learning a second language in immersion programs in Canada. The research has concentrated on the following major issues: the nature of language proficiency; the impact of instructional practices on language learning; the relationship between social-environmental factors and bilingual proficiency; and the relationship between age and proficiency. In this overview of the project, studies focusing on each of these issues are summarized.

ABSTRACTS
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SCOTTY RAEHU, Trinity University

LAGS and the Southwest Dialect of Texas English

Bagby Atwood predicted (1956) that a 'Southwest' dialect of Texas English could be isolated in the southernmost part of the State. That Southwest dialect was one of three English dialects I was able to isolate in San Antonio—and reported in earlier research (1985). I am now ready to report on the existence of the Southwest dialect south of San Antonio. I draw upon the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States (LAGS). The data obtained in interviews with ten "L" (lower-middle/upper-lower social status) informants provide sufficient evidence. Seven communities (including San Antonio) are represented by seven female and three male English speakers (four are Black, three monolingual Caucasians, and three bilingual Caucasians). Eight distinctively Southwest phonological variables exist in the speech of all ten informants. The distinctively Southwest vocabulary discussed in the Atwood research also exist. However the LAGS data insert a new ingredient into our South Texas poppouli—the obvious usage of maritime vocabulary (shrimp, hurricane, gargo, etc.). These maritime vocabulary separate the coastal cities from the inland cities, even within the Southwest dialect itself.

GAELAN NODIS DE MOLF, University of Victoria

Phonological Variability in Canadian English

It has been stated that a uniform dialect of Canadian English, a recognized regional variety of World English, is more widespread than any other. Nevertheless, areal distinctions appear to exist with respect to variation in two widely geographically separated urban centres. In examining a few of the salient phonological variables, this paper will consider certain aspects of sound change and points of divergence in Canadian English, while suggesting possible relationships in usage.

MIRIAY NEYERS, Metropolitan State University

Adult Writers' Generic Pronoun Choices

Writing of adult college students on the topic "The Educated Person" was examined to determine what approach was taken to describing a person of unspecified sex and whether or not consistency obtained in pronoun treatment. Almost half the writers in the sample used other than singular generic pronoun approaches to discussing the hypothetical person. Of those who did choose a singular approach, over twice as many were consistent in their application as were not. In the consistent group, singular they was found to be almost as common as the generic masculine, 32% and 34%, respectively, with he or she-type choices representing a significant alternative (22%). Chi square tests indicated that sex of writer was related to approach, but not to consistency. Of writers employing any third person singular approach, whether consistently or inconsistently, 39% used singular they at least once, and 34% used a feminine pronoun at least once.
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