MEETING HANDBOOK

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY
NORTH AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGE SCIENCES
SOCIETY FOR PIDGIN AND CREOLE LINGUISTICS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
3-6 JANUARY, 1991
Introductory Note

The LSA Secretariat has prepared this Meeting Handbook to serve as the official program for the 65th Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America (LSA). In addition, this handbook is the official program for a meeting of the American Dialect Society (ADS) and for the Annual Meetings of the North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences (NAAHoLS) and of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (SPCL).

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance provided by the LSA Program Committee (David Dowty, Chair; John Goldsmith; Jay Jasanoff; Lise Menn; Salikoko Mufwene; Peter Sells; and Donca Steriade). We are also grateful to Francis Byrne (SPCL); Talbot Taylor (NAAHoLS); and Allen Metcalf (ADS) for their cooperation. We especially appreciate the help which has been given by the Chicago Local Arrangements Committee (John Goldsmith, Chair; Gary Bevington, Amy Dahlstrom; Kyoko Inoue; Elisa Steinberg; and Gregory Ward).

We hope this Meeting Handbook is a useful guide for those attending, as well as a permanent record of the 1990-91 Annual Meeting in Chicago, Illinois.

November 1990
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General Meeting Information

Book Exhibit

There will be an exhibit of linguistic publications in Williford A-B. The exhibit is scheduled to be open during the following hours:

- **Fri, 4 January**: 10:00 AM - 2:00 PM
- **Sun, 6 January**: 8:30 AM - 11:30 AM

The display copies in the LSA Joint Book Exhibit will be sold beginning at 8:30 AM on 6 January, the proceeds to be donated to fellowships for the Linguistic Institute. (These display copies have been generously donated by the publishers exhibiting in the LSA Joint Book Exhibit.) Advance orders for display copies, at a discount of 5% greater than that given by the publisher, will be taken prior to 6 January if accompanied by payment. All books must be picked up on 6 January between 8:30 and 10:00 AM. Unclaimed books will be resold and the advance payment donated to the Linguistic Institute fellowships.

Brittle Book Display

The Commission on Preservation and Access has prepared a Giant Brittle Book Display for the Book Exhibit to call attention to the enormous problem of deteriorating scholarly resources due to the acidic paper used for printing since the mid-1800s. A typical leather and gilded book with yellowed, crumbling "brittle" pages opens to display a series of quotations about the value of preserving information. Also available at this "hands-on" booth are more normal-sized books in various stages of brittleness, special pens for testing the acidic/alkaline content of paper, and examples of new and old preservation techniques, such as encapsulation and alkaline-paper publications. Visitors are encouraged to crumple a brittle page and use a "testing pen" on their own books. Complimentary brochures and publications offer suggestions for action by Linguistic Society members.

Paper Copy Service

As a service to those attending this meeting, each author on the program is invited to provide the Paper Copy Service with a reproducible copy of his or her paper. Submission of such a copy should be accompanied by authorization to reproduce it upon request for anyone at the meeting. Orders may be placed for copies in P.D.R. 5 during the following hours:

- **Fri, 4 January**: 8:00 AM - 4:00 PM
- **Sat, 5 January**: 8:00 AM - 2:00 PM

Only orders placed before 2:00 PM on Saturday, 5 January, will be accepted. To allow members to pick up orders placed earlier, the Service will be open on Sunday, 8:00 - 10:00 AM.

Job Placement Center

A Job Placement Center will be set up in the Joliet Room during the Annual Meeting. On 4 and 5 January, the Center will be open 8:30 AM - 6:00 PM. It will also be open 9:00 - 11:30 AM on 6 January. Lists of openings will be available, and the staff will arrange interviews between applicants and employers. Interviewers are asked to list openings and check in with the Center so that an interview schedule can be arranged. Applicants should bring an adequate supply of curricula vitae -- enough to submit one copy to each interviewer. The Center will have no duplication facilities available.

S.N.A.P.

P.D.R. 7 has been set aside for the use of students attending the meeting. Designated as Students Need a Place -- S.N.A.P. -- the room will be open on 4 and 5 January, 9:00 AM - 6:00 PM and in the morning on 6 January until 11:30 AM.

Language Editor

Sarah Thomason, Editor of Language, will be in P.D.R. 3 at the following times:

- **Fri, 4 January**: 1:00 - 2:00 PM
- **Sat, 5 January**: 12:00 - 1:00 PM
National Science Foundation

Paul Chapin, Program Director for Linguistics at the National Science Foundation, will meet with interested members in P.D.R. 5 at the following times:

- Fri, 4 January: 10:00 - 11:00 AM, 4:00 - 5:00 PM
- Sat, 5 January: 10:00 - 11:00 AM, 4:00 - 5:00 PM
- Sun, 6 January: 10:00 - 11:00 AM

Concurrent Meetings

The following organizations are meeting concurrently with the Linguistic Society of America. Their programs and the abstracts for papers may be found on the pages indicated.

- American Dialect Society (program, page xxi; abstracts, pages 73-74)
- North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences (program, p. xxii; abstracts, pp. 77-78).
- Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (program, pp. xxiii-xxiv; abstracts, pp. 81-94).

Highlights

Thursday, 3 January

• LSA Executive Committee Meeting

The Officers and Executive Committee (Robert Austerlitz, President; Charles Fillmore, Vice President-President Elect; William Bright, Past President; Frederick J. Newmeyer, Secretary-Treasurer; Sarah Thomason, Editor; Chris Barker; Joan Bybee; David Dowty; Ann Farmer; John Goldsmith; Paul Hopper; Robert King; Ivan Sag; and G. Richard Tucker) will meet beginning at 9:00 AM.

• Endangered Languages Symposium

An invited symposium on "Endangered Languages and Their Preservation," organized and chaired by Kenneth Hale, will open the Annual Meeting. The symposium will be in Waldorf, 7:00 - 9:00 PM.

Friday, 4 January

• NAAHoLS Business Meeting

The NAAHoLS business meeting will be at 4:00 PM in Boulevard C, immediately following the close of Session 3, and will be chaired by Douglas Kibbee.

• LSA Business Meeting

The business meeting has been scheduled in Waldorf, 5:00 - 7:00 PM. This meeting will be chaired by Robert Austerlitz, LSA President. The members of the Resolutions Committee include: Eric Hamp, Chair; Paul Hopper; and Ivan Sag. The rules for motions and resolutions appear on page xv.

• SPCL Business Meeting

The SPCL business meeting will be at 8:00 PM in P.D.R. 4 and will be chaired by Francis Byrne.

Saturday, 5 January

• Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics

The Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics will host a continental breakfast, 7:30 - 9:00 AM, in Boulevard A. Only those who made reservations by 21 December can be accommodated.
• **1990 Presidential Address**

Robert Austerlitz, the 1990 LSA President, will deliver his presidential address at 1:30 PM in the Grand Ballroom. The address is entitled "External Reconstruction."

• **Intensive Language Program**

Members are invited to gather in the Normandy Lounge at 3:00 PM following the presidential address for a reception to recognize the 50th anniversary of the Intensive Language Program and the program's unique contribution to our discipline.

• **Poster Session**

The poster session will be in Boulevard A, 4:00 - 6:30 PM. The LSA Program Committee is experimenting with a new presentation format to see if it will provide an additional way to foster interaction among colleagues. For those who have never attended one: In a poster session, research results are presented in visual rather than in auditory form. This means that a number of colleagues can simultaneously present in the same room where attendees can circulate among them, browsing and talking to presenters as desired. Since posters are usually grouped by topic (this year they are all on psycholinguistics), a poster session is also a good place to go to find and interact with colleagues interested in the topic of the session. Presenters will be available to talk about their projects from 4:00 - 5:30. The posters will remain in the room until 6:30 PM.

• **Southeast Asian Linguistics Society**

The organizational meeting for the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society will be at 4:00 PM in P.D.R. 1.
Exhibit Hall Floor Plan
Williford A-B

Exhibitors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Booth</th>
<th>Exhibitors</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ablex Publishing Corp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Academic Press, Inc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Association of American University Presses</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Basil Blackwell, Inc.</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Cambridge University Press</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>University of Chicago Press</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Commission on Preservation &amp; Access</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Foris Publications Holland/USA</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Gunter Narr Publishers</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>John Benjamins North America, Inc.</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Kay Elemetrics</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Kluwer Academic Publishers</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Linguistic Society of America</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Longman Publishing Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>The MIT Press</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Mouton de Gruyter</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Norman Ross Publishing, Inc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Oxford University Press</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Routledge, Chapman &amp; Hall</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>Walter de Gruyter</td>
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Joint Book Exhibit

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<tr>
<td>Abecadarian Book Co.</td>
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<td>Chandler &amp; Sharp Publishers</td>
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<td>Garland Publishing</td>
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<td>Greenwood Publishing Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.</td>
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<td>Les Presses de l’Université de Montréal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Linguistic Society of America</td>
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<tr>
<td>University of Pennsylvania Press</td>
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<td>Philosophy</td>
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<td>Plenum Publishing Corp.</td>
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<td>Prentice Hall Regents</td>
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<td>Slavica Publishers</td>
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<td>Summer Institute of Linguistics</td>
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<td>University of Texas Press</td>
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Working Papers

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<th>Universities</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University of Arizona</td>
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<tr>
<td>University of California-Santa Barbara</td>
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<tr>
<td>University of Connecticut</td>
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<td>Ohio State University</td>
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<td>University of Pittsburgh</td>
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Meeting Rooms Floor Plan

2nd Floor

3rd Floor
### Meeting at a Glance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Session</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 January</td>
<td>7 PM</td>
<td>Waldorf</td>
<td>Symposium: Endangered Languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 January</td>
<td>Morning</td>
<td>Williford C</td>
<td>Syntax I, Syntax II, Semantics, Morphology &amp; Lexicon</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Marquette</td>
<td>Organization of Phonology Vowels, Phonetics, Historical Linguistics</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Afternoon</td>
<td></td>
<td>Syntax III, Phonology: Consonants, Pragmatics &amp; Syntax</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5-7 PM</td>
<td>P.D.R. 2</td>
<td>LSA Business Meeting</td>
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<td>8 PM</td>
<td>Astoria</td>
<td>Workshop: Linguists and School Curriculum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 January</td>
<td>Morning</td>
<td>Boulevard A</td>
<td>Syntax: Germanic, Semantics &amp; Syntax</td>
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<td>Boulevard C</td>
<td>Phonology: Syllable Structure, Morphology I, Discourse Analysis</td>
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<td>Presidential Address</td>
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<td>1:30-3:00 PM</td>
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<td>Posters: Psycholinguistics</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2-5 PM</td>
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<td>LSA Symposium: Morphological Classes</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Late Afternoon</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pragmatics, Phonology: Prosodic Structure, Typology</td>
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<td>8 PM</td>
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<td>Computational Linguistics</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 January</td>
<td>Morning</td>
<td></td>
<td>Syntax IV, Phonology: Tone &amp; Stress, Sociology, Morphology II</td>
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<td>Psycholinguistics/Neurolinguistics</td>
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Linguistic Society of America

Thursday, 3 January
Evening

Symposium: Endangered Languages and Their Preservation
Organizer: Kenneth Hale (MIT)
Chair: Kenneth Hale (MIT)
Room: Waldorf Room
7:00-9:00 PM

Michael Krauss (U AK): The Reality of Language Endangerment
Lucille Watathomie (Peach Springs, AZ, Schools) & Akira Yamamoto (U KS): Community Responses to Perceived Language Decline
Colette Craig (U OR): A Constitutional Response to Language Endangerment: The Case of Nicaragua
LaVerne Masayesva-Jeane (U NV-Reno): Language Centers as a Response to Language Endangerment

Friday, 4 January
Morning

* = 30-minute paper

Syntax I
Chair: Beth Levin (Northwestern U)
Room: Waldorf

9:00 Jayashree Nadahalli: LF Movement: Counter-Evidence from Kannada
9:20 Alec Marantz (MIT): Icelandic Quirky Case and the Theory of Double Object
9:40 Victoria Walker Massey (U NC-Chapel Hill/MIT): Dative Subjects and Dative Objects in Albanian
10:00 Tina Kraskow (U PA): Multiple Wh-Movement in Slavic
10:20 Gilbert C. Rappaport (U TX-Austin): Wh-Movement in Comp in Syntax and Logical Form
10:40 Sabine Istridou (MIT): Clitics and Island Effects
11:00 Katharine Hunt (U BC/CA SU-Fresno): Wh-Movement and Case Assignment in Gitksan
11:20 Kari A. Swingle (U MN-Minneapolis/U CA-Santa Cruz): INFL as Focus Assigner: Evidence from Ojibwe
11:40 Janice Jake (U SC-Columbia): Empty Categories in Fur

Syntax II
Chair: James Yoon (U IL-Urbana)
Room: Williford C

9:00 Mineharu Nakayama (OH SU): Two Types of Direct Passives in Japanese Sentence Processing
10:00 Mineharu Nakayama (OH SU), Masatoshi Koizumi (OH SU), & Megumi Ogino (OH SU): Against a VP Internal Subject Hypothesis in Japanese
10:20 Peter Sells (Stanford U): Raising from Nominal Complements in Japanese
10:40 Ki-Sun Hong (Stanford U): An Analysis of Case Alternation in Korean in Terms of Control
11:00 William D. Davies (U IA): Agents, Themes, and 1-Chomeurs in Eastern Javanese
11:20 *Paul R. Kroeger (Stanford U/SIL): Non-Subject Controllees in Tagalog
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantics, Morphology and Lexicon</th>
<th>Organization of Phonology</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chair: Barbara Abbott (MI SU)</td>
<td>Chair: Jennifer Cole (U IL-Urbana)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Room: Marquette</td>
<td>Room: P.D.R. 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:00 Michele Emanuel (U CA-Berkeley): Shifting Perspective and the Development of Tense-Aspect: Chagga 'Come' and 'Go'</td>
<td>9:00 Chris Golston (U CA-Los Angeles): Level-Ordered Lexical Insertion in Ancient Greek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20 Susan F. Schmerling: The Meaning of We</td>
<td>9:20 S.J. Hannahs (U DE/Swarthmore C): Strict Cyclicity and Level Ordering in French</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00 Frederike C. van der Leek (U Amsterdam): Two-Form Reflexive Systems: Independent and Clitic Reflexive Markers</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:40 Rebecca S. Wheeler (UT SU): SENSE and SUBSENSE: The Meanings of the English Verb 'Understand'</td>
<td>10:40 Eun-Ji Lee (U CT): Vowel Harmony and Diphthongs in Middle Korean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00 Shigeki Okamoto (CA SU-Fresno): The Semantics and Pragmatics of Nominal 'Tautologies' in Japanese</td>
<td>11:00 Christine K. Kamprath (Lexpertise Linguistic Software): Toward a Restrictive Model of Unstressed Vowel Reduction</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:20 Michael Inman (Stanford U): Vowel Coalescence: Assimilation or Fusion?</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetics</th>
<th>Vocoids</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chair: Janet Pierrehumbert (Northwestern U)</td>
<td>Chair: Gregory Iverson (U IA)</td>
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<td>Room: Astoria</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:00 Christiane Lauefer (OH SU): Reverse Interference in the Timing Patterns of Stops</td>
<td>10:20 Eung-Do Cook (U Calgary): Is [y] Coronal?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20 Cheney Crow (U TX-Austin): Variability in Speech Production Planning: Effects of Language and Bilingualism</td>
<td>10:40 Eun-Ji Lee (U CT): Vowel Harmony and Diphthongs in Middle Korean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40 Rena A. Krakow (Temple U/Haskins Labs) &amp; Ignatius G. Mastingly (U CT/Haskins Labs): Conflict between Jaw and Lips in Vowel Production</td>
<td>11:00 Christine K. Kamprath (Lexpertise Linguistic Software): Toward a Restrictive Model of Unstressed Vowel Reduction</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00 Alice Faber (Haskins Labs): Evidence for Three-Way Lip Position Contrast in English Consonants</td>
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<td>10:20 Yetunde Laniran (Cornell U): Patterns of Phonetic Realizations in Yoruba Tones</td>
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<td>10:40 Xiaonan Susan Shen (Texas A&amp;M U): Perceptual Cues for Mandarin Tones 2 and 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00 Timothy J. Vance (U HI): Final Accent vs. No Accent: Utterance-Final Neutralization in Tokyo Japanese</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:20 Michael Inman (Stanford U): Vowel Coalescence: Assimilation or Fusion?</td>
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*Ian Maddison (U CA-Los Angeles) & Peter Ladefoged (U CA-Los Angeles): The Sounds of the World's Languages
### Friday, 4 January

#### Afternoon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntax III</th>
<th>Phonology: Consonants</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Luigi Burzio (Johns Hopkins U)</td>
<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Catherine Ringen (U IA)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Room:</strong> Waldorf</td>
<td><strong>Room:</strong> Williford C</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Presenter/Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Eloise Jelinek (U AZ): Noun and Verb in Yaqi Possessive Sentences</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:20</td>
<td>Karen Wallace (U CA-Los Angeles): X-binding Verb Incorporation, and Agreement in Crow</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:40</td>
<td>Jose Hualde (U IL): Negation Lowering and Clause Reduction in Catalan</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Merce Gonzalez i Calderon (U IA): The Lexical Clause Hypothesis: Evidence from Catalan and Spanish</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:20</td>
<td>John Moore (U CA-Santa Cruz): Faire-par and Faux-Faire-par in Spanish</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:40</td>
<td>Josep M. Fontana (U PA) &amp; John Moore (U CA-Santa Cruz): VP-Subjects and re-Reflexivization in Spanish</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
<td>Julie Auger (U PA): Verbal Agreement-Marking in Colloquial French Subordinate Clauses</td>
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<td>4:20</td>
<td>J. Marc Authier (U Ottawa): Arbitrary Null Objects Are Not Implicit Arguments</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:40</td>
<td>Thomas Ernst (U DE): The Phrase Structure of English Negation</td>
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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Presenter/Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Susan Banner Inouye (U CA-Los Angeles): R&amp;R: The Trill/Tap Contrast</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:20</td>
<td>Young-mee Yu Cho (Stanford U): 'Voiceless' Sonorants Are Aspirates</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:40</td>
<td>Linda Lombardi (U MA-Amherst): Private Laryngeal Features and Neutralization</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Abigail C. Cohn (Cornell U): The Consequences of Dissimilation in Sundanese</td>
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<td>3:20</td>
<td>*Beverley Goodman (Cornell U): Dissimilation and the Form of the OCP</td>
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<td>4:05</td>
<td>Alison Taub (U MA-Amherst): Against the Transparency Argument for Understerecification</td>
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<td>4:25</td>
<td>Appi Tumstavitkul (U TX-Austin): Perhaps the Tones Are in the Consonants?</td>
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### Pragmatics and Syntax

**Chair:** Judith Levi (Northwestern U)  
**Room:** Marquette

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Presenter/Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Yoko Collier-Sanuki (U CA-Los Angeles): On the Use of Relative Clauses in Japanese and English Discourse</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:20</td>
<td>Neal R. Norrick (N IL U): Wh-Questions with Guesses in Tag Position</td>
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<td>2:40</td>
<td>Yo Matsumoto (Stanford U): A Quantity-Implicature Account of the 'Invited Inference' of Conditional Sentences</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>James D. McCawley (U Chicago): Comparative-Conditions in Mandarin and Cantonese</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
<td>Catherine N. Ball (U PA): The Origins of the Informative-Presupposition it-Cleft</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:20</td>
<td>Betty J. Birner (Northwestern U): Discourse Entities and the Referential/Attributive Distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:40</td>
<td>Ellen F. Prince (U PA): Relative Clauses, Resumptive Pronouns, and Kind-Sentences</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Historical Linguistics

**Chair:** Paul Hopper (Carnegie-Mellon U)  
**Room:** P.D.R. 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Presenter/Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Nancy L. Condon (U GA) &amp; Jared S. Klein (U GA): Gothic ZE: A Synchronic and Comparative Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:20</td>
<td>Mary Niepokuj (U CA-Berkeley): Indo-European Intensives and -yé/-yo; the Anatolian Data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:40</td>
<td>Brian D. Joseph (OH SU): Hittite andzru 'inside,indoors' and the Indo-Hittite Hypothesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Robert W. Murray (U Calgary): Phonological Drift in Early English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
<td>Karl Krippes (IN U): Archaism and Innovation in Mongolian Dialects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:40</td>
<td>John U. Harkness (Harvard U): An Explanation for the Change of Indo-Iranian *a to Avestan ah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
First Language Acquisition
Chair: Karen Landahl (U Chicago)
Room: Astoria

2:00  Cecile McKee (U AZ), Janet Nicol (U AZ),
& Dana McDaniel (U S ME): Children's
Application of Binding during Sentence
Processing

2:20  *Guy Carden (U ID/U BC) & Lynn Gordon
(WA SU): Acquisition of Binding: A
Longitudinal Case Study

3:05  Susan M. Wilcoxon (U TX-Austin): Acqui-
tion of Syntactic and Discourse Constraints
on Anaphora in Mandarin

3:25  Susan M. Suzman (U Witwatersrand): Learn-
ability, Overgeneralization and Acquisition
in Zulu

3:45  Qian Hu (Boston U): Semantic and Pragmatic
Factors in the Acquisition of Wh- Questions

4:05  Jean Berko Gleason (Boston U) & Rivka Y.
Perlman (Boston U): Diminutives in
Parents' Speech to Children

Business Meeting
Chair: Robert Austerlitz
Room: Waldorf Room
5:00 - 7:00 PM

Resolutions Committee: Eric Hamp, Chair; Paul Hopper; and Ivan Sag

Rules for Motions and Resolutions may be found on p. xv.

Friday, 4 January
Evening

Workshop: Linguists and the School Curriculum
Organizers: Penelope Eckert (Inst Res Learn/U IL-Chicago)
Geoffrey Nunberg (Xerox PARC/Stanford U)
Room: Waldorf Room
8:00-11:00 PM

Panel 1: Linguistics and Educational Practice
Penelope Eckert (Inst Res Learn/U IL-Chicago)
Kenji Hakuta (Stanford U)
Aida Walqui (Alisal Union High Sch Dist, Salinas, CA)
G. Richard Tucker (Cir App Ling)

Discussant: Walt Wolfram (U DC/Cir App Ling)

Panel 2: Building a Linguistics Curriculum
Geoffrey Nunberg (Xerox PARC/Stanford U)
Wayne O'Neill (M IT)
Maya Honda (Wheelock C)
Mark Aronoff (SUNY-Stony Brook)
Richard Larson (SUNY-Stony Brook)

Discussants: D. Terence Langendoen (U AZ)
Jerrold Sadock (U Chicago)
Rules for Motions and Resolutions

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

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, and b) that the total 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 at the business meeting as a motion initiated by the Executive Committee (see 2b above).

3. Procedure Regarding Resolutions.

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

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

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

3d. If at least ten members present at the meeting so desire, a resolution may be broadened to express "the sense of the majority of the membership," regardless of whether or not it has passed the procedure in 3c above, by the following steps: the resolution is forwarded to the Executive Committee for submission to the membership by mail ballot (in the next issue of the LSA Bulletin). Passage of such a "sense of the majority of the membership" resolution requires the affirmative vote (more than 50%) of the membership responding.
### Saturday, 5 January

#### Morning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntax: Germanic</th>
<th>Semantics and Syntax</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Edwin Battistella (U AL)</td>
<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Arnold Zwicky (OH SU)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Room:</strong> Waldorf</td>
<td><strong>Room:</strong> Willford C</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**A**

- 9:00 Hartmut Czesch (U Hanover/U Gottingen): Nonconfigurational Properties in English
- 9:45 F.R. Higgins (U MA-Amherst): The Fronting of Non-Finite Verbs in Old English
- 10:05 Molly Diesing (U AZ): Indefinite Object Interpretations and Extraction from NP
- 10:25 Beatrice Santorini (U PA) & Young-Suk Lee (U PA): Long-Distance Scrambling and Anaphor Binding
- 10:45 Annie Zaenen (Xerox PARC) & Mary Dalrymple (Xerox PARC): On 'Subject' Antecedents for Anaphors
- 11:05 Henry Smith (Stanford U): Grammaticalization and Argument Structure

**B**

- 9:00 Karina Wilkinson (McGill U): Plural Pronouns and the Partitive Constraint
- 9:20 William A. Ladusaw (U CA-Santa Cruz): Interpreting Negative Concord Structures
- 10:05 Chris Barker (U CA-Santa Cruz): Separating the Domain of Quantification from the Restriction
- 10:25 Peter Lasersohn (U CA-Santa Cruz): Generalized Conjunction and Temporal Modification
- 10:45 Caroline Heycock (U PA): Specificalional Pseudoclefts and Predication
- 11:05 Pauline Jacobson (Brown U): Antecedent Contained Deletion without Logical Form

#### Phonology: Syllable Structure

**Chair:** Prathima Christdas (U CA-Santa Cruz)

- 9:00 Henry Churchyard (U TX-Austin): Compensatory Lengthening and 'Gemination Throwback' in Trukese and Puluwat as Evidence for Rime and Onset in Moraic Theory
- 9:40 Dawn Bates (AZ SU) & Barry F. Carlson (U Victoria): Spokane Supports Salish Simple Syllables
- 10:00 Masahide Ishihara (U AZ): Prosodic Domain and Syllabification in Japanese
- 10:20 Diane Brentari (U CA-Davis): Simultaneity in Syllable Structure: Co-Extensive Moras in American Sign Language
- 10:40 Donald G. Churma (SUNY-Buffalo): At the Phonetics-Phonology Interface: (Re) syllabication and English Stop Allophony
- 11:05 Daniel Silverman (U CA-Los Angeles): English Loanwords in Cantonese: The Rites of Passage
- 11:25 Ian Maddieson (U CA-Los Angeles): Syllable Structure and Phonetic Models

**C**

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

- 9:00 Richard D. Janda (U PA) & Brian D. Joseph (OH SU): Morphological Constellations, Hyperanalysis, and 'Elsewhere' Violations in Modern Greek
- 10:05 Henry Bochner: A Word Based Generalization in Passamaquoddy
- 10:25 Fabiola Varjolo-Garcia (U PA): El buen hada — Or, on Variation in the Use of 'Feminine' g in Spanish
- 10:45 Rosanne Pelletier (Yale U): The Role of Underspecified Representations in Dravidian Gender Agreement
- 11:05 Cynthia Robb Clamons (U MN): Gender Assignment in Oromo
- 11:25 David J. Kathman: The Categorial Status of the Welsh Verbal Noun
- 11:45 Matsuko Tsujimura (IN U): A Prosodic Constraint on the Formation of Nominal Clauses in Japanese
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Topic</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Ryoko Suzuki (U CA-Santa Barbara) &amp; Tsuyoshi Ono (U CA-Santa Barbara)</td>
<td>Japanese ga, Spotlighting, and Intransitives in Spoken Narratives</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Jeff Connor-Linton (Georgetown U)</td>
<td>Questions, Power and Crosstalk in Soviet-American Spacebridges</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Anita K. Barry (U MI-Flint)</td>
<td>Constructing a Courtroom Narrative: A Lawyer-Witness Debate</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Karen L. Adams (AZ SU)</td>
<td>Male and Female Violations of a Preallocated Turn-Taking System</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>Kathleen Ferrara (Texas A&amp;M U) &amp; Barbara Bell (Texas A&amp;M U)</td>
<td>Variation and Innovation in Constructed Dialogue Introducers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Yael Maschler (U UT)</td>
<td>Metalanguage and Discourse Markers in Bilingual Conversation</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Charlotte Linde (Inst for Research on Learning)</td>
<td>The Open State of Talk: Social, Physical and Technological Factors in Discourse Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>Cynthia McLemore (U TX-Austin)</td>
<td>Getting to the Intonational Point: Discourse Structure and Interpretation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Saturday, 5 January**

**Afternoon**

**LSA Presidential Address**

Room: Grand Ballroom  
1:30 - 3:00 PM  
"External Reconstruction"  
Robert Austerlitz (Columbia U)

**Intensive Language Program Reception**

Room: Normandy Lounge  
3:00 - 4:00 PM
### Pragmatics

**Chair:** Laurence Horn (Yale U)  
**Room:** Waldorf

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
<td>Maria G. Swora (U Rochester) &amp; Mary E. Beckman (OH SU)</td>
<td>The Intonation of Cue Words in Task-Oriented Dialogues</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:20</td>
<td>Robert S. Kirchner (U CA-Los Angeles): News Value, Face and Dutch How?: A Questionnaire Experiment</td>
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<td>4:40</td>
<td>Yunhee Lee (Boston U): The Social Function of Korean Topic Change Discourse Markers</td>
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<tr>
<td>5:00</td>
<td>Midilesh K. Mishra (U IL-Urbana): Agreement and Deixis: The Case of Maithili</td>
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### Phonology: Prosodic Structure

**Chair:** Zhi-Ming Bao (U Wisconsin-Madison)  
**Room:** Williford C

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
<td>Irene Vogel (U DE): Focus and the Phonological Phrase in Italian</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:20</td>
<td>Elizabeth C. Zaiga (Yale U): Prosodic Domains and Igbo Compounds: Evidence from Two Rules</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:40</td>
<td>Cari Spring (U AZ/OH SU): Implications of the ‘Prosodic Base’ for Reduplication</td>
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<td>5:00</td>
<td>Stuart Davis (IN U) &amp; Setsuko Kiyomi (IN U): On Comparing Two Theories of Reduplication</td>
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<td>5:20</td>
<td>Wen-ya Chiang: A Survey of Reduplication in Chinese</td>
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<td>5:40</td>
<td>Fiona McLaughlin (U TX-Austin): The Interaction of Consonant Gradation and Reduplication in Seseere</td>
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### Typology

**Chair:** Gene Grau (U Chicago)  
**Room:** Marquette

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
<td>*William Croft (U MI): Toward a New Typology of Complex Sentences</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4:45</td>
<td>Matthew S. Dyer (SUNY-Buffalo): SVO Languages and the OV:VO Typology</td>
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<td>5:05</td>
<td>Anne Martinson Utschig (U WI-Eau Claire): Word Order Variation in Relative Clauses</td>
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<tr>
<td>5:25</td>
<td>Ann Cooreman (Catholic U-Brabant): A Functional Typology of Antipassives</td>
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<td>5:45</td>
<td>Anthony Rodrigues Aristar (U W Australia): Case-Marking and the Generation of Case-Systems</td>
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<tr>
<td>6:05</td>
<td>Linda Manney (U CA-San Diego): States, Results, and the Active/Passive/Middle Continuum in Modern Greek</td>
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### Computational Linguistics

**Chair:** D. Terence Langendoen (U AZ)  
**Room:** P.D.R. 2

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
<td>Leona F. Pass: A Minimal Deterministic Acceptor for Any (Structured) Context-Free Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:20</td>
<td>Tsuneko Nakazawa (U IL): Unification with Disjunctive and Negative Values</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:40</td>
<td>Thomas L. Cornell (U CA Los Angeles): A Logic of Descriptions and the Foundations of Principle-Based Grammars and Parsers</td>
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<td>5:00</td>
<td>Diane Meador (U AZ): Phoneme Detection and Word Recognition with Artificial Neural Networks</td>
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<td>5:20</td>
<td>Robert Kluender (U CA-San Diego) &amp; Muta Kutas (U CA-San Diego): The Influence of Family History of Handedness on Syntactic Processing: Evidence from ERPs</td>
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<tr>
<td>5:40</td>
<td>Qi Wang (U CT/Haskins Labs), Diane C. Lillo-Martin (U CT/Haskins Labs) &amp; Andrea G. Levitt (Wellesley C/Haskins Labs): Use of Null Arguments by Chinese- and English-Speaking Children</td>
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### Poster Session

**Room:** Boulevard A  
**Time:** 4:00-6:30 PM

- Nigel Duffield (USC): Processing Transitivity Alternations: Context Effects across Sentence Boundaries
- Sotaro Kita (U Chicago): Universal and Language-Specific Characteristics of Gesture-Speech Relationship
- Reiko Mauzuka (Duke U): Processing of Center-Embedded Sentences in Japanese
- Karen Emmorey (The Salk Institute) & Ursula Bellugi (The Salk Institute): Effects of Age of Acquisition on Grammatical Sensitivity
- Robert Kluender (U CA-San Diego) & Marta Kutas (U CA-San Diego): The Influence of Family History of Handedness on Syntactic Processing: Evidence from ERPs
- Qi Wang (U CT/Haskins Labs), Diane C. Lillo-Martin (U CT/Haskins Labs) & Andrea G. Levitt (Wellesley C/Haskins Labs): Use of Null Arguments by Chinese- and English-Speaking Children
Saturday, 5 January

Evening

Symposium: Morphological Classes
Organizer: Mark Aronoff (SUNY-Stony Brook)
Chair: Joan Bybee (U NM)
Room: Waldorf Room
8:00-11:00 PM

Morris Halle (MIT): Nominal Declension in Latvian
James W. Harris (MIT): Inflectional Classes
Robert Hoogman (SUNY-Stony Brook): Formal Properties of the Conjugations in Modern Aramaic
Stephen R. Anderson (Johns Hopkins U): Syntactically Arbitrary Inflectional Morphology
Mark Aronoff (SUNY-Stony Brook): Syntactic vs. Morphological Noun Classes in Arapesh

Respondents: Mark Baker (McGill U): Morphology and Syntax
Jorge Hankamer (U CA-Santa Cruz): General Morphology

Sunday, 6 January

Morning

Syntax IV
Chair: Jerrold Sadock (U Chicago)
Room: Waldorf

9:00  Dingxu Shi (USC): Topic or Adverbial
9:20  Vida Samian (CA SU-Fresno) & Jeannine Heny (IN U of PA): Restructuring in Modern Persian
9:40  Christopher Culy (U NC Chapel Hill): Reliability and the Distribution of Logophoric Pronouns
10:00 *Jaklin Komniki (Syracuse U): Turkish (Non-) Comitatives
10:45 *Lynn Gordon (WA SU): Nez Perce Relative Clauses
11:30 *Ivan A. Sag (Stanford U): UDC’s in HPSG

Phonology: Tone and Stress
Chair: Ellen Kaisse (U WA)
Room: Williford C

9:00  Martha Ratliff (Wayne SU): Tone Function as the Focus of a Tone Language Typology
9:20  Deborah S. Davison (U CA-Los Angeles): Tonal Targets in Mandarin
9:40  Brian D. McHugh (Temple U): Restricted Underspecification and Tonal Nodes in KiVunjo Chaga
10:00  Marjorie K.M. Chan (OH SU): Singing in Mandarin Chinese: Language and Music Interface
10:20  San Duanmu (MIT): Three Pitch Levels per Tone Language?
10:40  Juliette Blevins (U TX-Austin): A Tonal Analysis of Lithuanian Accentual Phonology
11:00  Megan J. Crowhurst (U AZ): The Uniform Foot Constraint: Evidence from Metrical Structure
11:20  Michael Hammond (U AZ): Derived Tractarity and the Domino Condition in Winnebago Stress
11:40  Keiko Kaminashi (Tsuda C): Old English Stress and High Vowel Deletion
<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Peter L. Patrick (U PA)</td>
<td>Phonological Rule Variation in Jamaican Creole: Constraints on /ky/</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Keith Walters (OH SU)</td>
<td>Analyzing Variation in Contact Situations and Relic Areas</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Miriam Isaacs (Rockland CC)</td>
<td>From Regional to Social Variants: Yiddish among Hassidim</td>
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<td>10:00</td>
<td>Robert Bayley (Stanford U)</td>
<td>Variation in Interslanguage Tense Marking</td>
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<td>10:20</td>
<td>Birch Moonwomon (U CA-Berkeley)</td>
<td>Incomplete Merger in the Third Dialect of English</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Judy Kegl (Rutgers U) &amp; Ann Senghas (MIT)</td>
<td>Cross-Linguistic Comparison via the Elicitation of Controlled Narratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Suellen Rundquist (U MN/Macalester C)</td>
<td>Indirectness: A Gender Study of Flouting Grice's Maxims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>Mark L. Loudan (U TX-Austin)</td>
<td>Covert Prestige and the Role in English in Plain Pennsylvania German Sociolinguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:40</td>
<td>John C. Paolillo (Stanford U)</td>
<td>Sinhala Diglossia and AGR</td>
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**Psycholinguistics/Neurolinguistics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Joan A. Sereno (Max Planck Inst) &amp; Allard Jongman (Max Planck Inst)</td>
<td>Inflectional Morphology in the Mental Lexicon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Rachelle Waksler (San Francisco SU) &amp; William Marslen-Wilson (U London)</td>
<td>Morphological Structure in the Access and Representation of Derived Forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Shoji Azuma (U TX-Austin/U UT)</td>
<td>Phoneme Monitoring on Intra-Sentential Code-Switching</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Julie A. Christiansen (Boston U)</td>
<td>Familial Handedness and Running Memory Span</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>Weiija Ni (U CT/Haskins Labs) &amp; Stephen Crain (U CT/Haskins Labs)</td>
<td>With Reference to Context: How Ambiguities Are Resolved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Mary Jack (U PA)</td>
<td>A Phonological Deficit in Agrammatism</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Jack Gandour (Purdue U)</td>
<td>Nature of Spelling Errors in Conduction Aphasia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
American Dialect Society
Saturday, 5 January
Morning

Panel: Linguistics and Legal Issues
Room: Boulevard C
9:00 - 12:00

Chair: Ronald R. Butters (Duke U)

Roger W. Shuy (Georgetown U): Conversational Distancing in an Illegal Substance Case

William M. O'Barr (Duke U) & John M. Conley (U NC-Chapel Hill): Heard on the Street: Constructions of Law in the Investment World

Lawrence M. Solans (Orans, Eilen & Lupert): Linguistic Issues in the Fifth Amendment

Edward Finegan (USC): Linguists as Expert Witnesses in an Adversarial System

Bethany K. Dumas (U TN): Conspiracy and Solicitation: Linguistic and Legal Issues

Discussant: John Barkai (U HI)
North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences
Friday, 4 January

**Morning**

**Session 1**  
Chair: Douglas Kibbee (U IL-Urbana)  
Room: Boulevard C

- **9:00** Dan Taylor (Lawrence U): Latin Declensions and Conjugations: Varro to Priscian
- **9:30** Michael Ward (Trinity U): Cittadini’s Sound Change Rules: ‘vere’ or ‘ben trovate’?
- **10:00** Lucia Binotti (U NC): Two Seventeenth Century Spanish Grammarians and the Apology for the National Language
- **10:30** Break

**Session 2**  
Chair: John Joseph (U MD-College Park)

- **11:00** Joseph Subbiondo (U Pacific): John Wilkins’ Theory of Rhetoric: A Study of *Ecclesiastes*
- **11:30** Maria Tsiapera (U NC) & Garon Wheeler (U NC): The Intellectual Climate of Seventeenth-Century France and Its Reflection in Grammatical Theory
- **12:00** Lunch Break

**Afternoon**

**Session 3**  
Chair: Mark Amzler (U DE)  
Room: Boulevard C

- **2:00** Michael Mackert (U DE): In Search of the Inner Form of Language: The Roots of Franz Boas’ View of Linguistic Categories as a Window to the Human Mind
- **2:30** Julie Andresen (Duke U): The ‘FAX’ Theory of Communication in the History of Linguistics
- **3:00** Konrad Kerner (U Ottawa): The Problem of Metalanguage in Linguistic Historiography
- **3:30** Jan-Eric Widell (Uppsala U): An Interpretation of the Social Characterization of Language in a Saussurian *Textus Receptus*
- **4:00** Business Meeting  
Chair: Douglas Kibbee (U IL-Urbana)
Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics
Friday, 4 January

**Morning**

**Social Dimensions**  
Chair: Glenn Gilbert (S IL U)  
Room: P.D.R. 4

- 9:00 Flore Zéphir (U DE): Social Dimensions of Bilingualism in Haiti
- 9:20 Kenneth M. Sumbuk (Oxford U): Is Tok Pisin a Threat to Sare?
- 10:00 Charlene J. Sato (U HI-Manoa): Applying Sociolinguistics: Hawai`i Creole English on Trial

**Lexicon**  
Chair: Janet Donnelly (C Bahamas)

- 10:40 Satoshi Stanly Koike (CUNY): Semantic Change in Hawaiian Creole English Lexicon from Japanese
- 11:00 David M. Jeuda (U NV-Las Vegas): The Portuguese Lexical Element in Papiamentu

**Pidgin**

- 11:20 J.P. Williams (U Sydney): A Preliminary Survey of Papuan-Based Pidgins
- 11:40 Carol Blackshire-Belay (OH SU): Does Foreign Workers' German Have Its Own Grammar?
- 12:00 Dingxu Shi (USC): Pidian, Pigeon or Business

**Evening**

**Business Meeting**  
Chair: Francis Byrne (Shawnee SU)  
Room: P.D.R. 4  
8:00 PM
Saturday, 6 January

**Morning**

**Morphology/Syntax**
Chair: Alexander Caskey (Lincoln Res Assoc)
Room: P.D.R. 4

9:00 Anna Kwan-Terry (Nanyang Tech Inst, Singapore): The Use of Modal Particles in Colloquial Singapore English

9:20 Glenn Gilbert (S IL U): The Future Tense in the English and Dutch Based Caribbean Creoles

9:40 Charles Mann (U Edinburgh): Polysemic Functionality of Ps in PCs: fo in Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin

10:00 Arthur K. Spears (CUNY): Haitian Stem Verb Forms

10:20 Nicholas Paracas (U Papua New Guinea): Where Have All the Adjectives Gone? Not to Pidgins, Any One!

10:40 Break

Chair: Morris Goodman (Northwestern U)

11:00 Alexander F. Caskey (Lincoln Res Assoc): Portuguese -du: Synchrony, Diachrony, and Markedness

11:20 Silvia Kouwenberg (U Amsterdam): Reduplication in Berbice Dutch Creole

11:40 Charles Gilman (Rainbow Bridge Consulting): A Bantu Model for Seselwa padir

12:00 Gerardo A. Lorenzino (CUNY): A Structural Comparison of the Spanish-Based Creoles

11:40 Nicholas Paracas (U Papua New Guinea): Where Have All the Adjectives Gone? Not to Pidgins, Any One!

**Afternoon**

**Phonology**
Chair: John Holm (CUNY)
Room: P.D.R. 4

2:00 William J. Samarin (U Toronto): Sango Phonology of Urban Young People

2:20 Robin Sabino (U PA/Drexel U): On Onsets: Explaining Negerhollands Initial Clusters

**Serialization**

2:40 Eric Schiller (Wayne SU): Why Serial Verb Constructions? Neither Bioprogram nor Substrate!

3:00 Donald Winford (OH SU): Directional Serial Verb Constructions in CEC

3:20 Break

**Diachrony**
Chair: Salikoko S. Mufwene (U GA)

3:40 Hildo H. do Couto (U Brasilia): The Genesis of Portuguese Creole in Africa

4:00 Guy Carden (UID/U BC), Morris Goodman (Northwestern U), Rebecca Posner (Oxford U) & William A. Stewart (CUNY): A 1671 French Creole Text from Martinique

4:20 Katherine Wyly Mille (U SC): A Historical Analysis of Tense in Gullah

4:40 Peter A. Slomanson (CUNY): Views of Two Early Twentieth Century Linguists on Language Variation and Change

**Sunday, 6 January**

**Morning**

**Creole Processes**
Chair: John McWharter (Staunford U)
Room: P.D.R. 4

9:00 Eduardo B. Faingold (Tel Aviv U): Creolization and Child Language


9:40 Lise Winer (S IL U): Persistence in Decreolization

10:00 Mwamba T. Kapanga (U NE-Lincoln): Shaba Swahili and the Processes of Linguistic Contact

10:20 Frederick C V. Jones (St. Augustine's C): A Look at the Potential for Expressiveness in Krio

10:40 Maureen Healy (CUNY): Preliminary Study for a Sranan Creole Continuum Model
Statement from the Program Committee

The abstracts which appear in this Meeting Handbook are photocopies of the originals submitted to the LSA Program Committee. Infelicities of style, grammar, punctuation, and spelling are the responsibility of the authors.
Karen Adams (Arizona State University) (SAT MORN: E)
Male and Female Violations of a Preallocated Turn-Taking System

This study reports on public displays of disagreement in 35 televised political debates and identifies differences in turn manipulation by male and female candidates. In the debates between male only, female only and male and female candidates for office, violations of preallocated topics and turns are tokens in the contest for determining a winner. In theory, all candidates can employ the same violations and often they do. But in practice, individual male and female candidates do not enter the debate with the same range of strategies for manipulating these tokens, nor do they employ the same strategy for the same reasons. Developing suggestions from Eckert (1990), Goodwin (1980) and Philips (1987), this study demonstrates that differences in turn-taking strategies typically attributed to male and female gender-roles can only be fully understood in the context of specific speech events. Factors such as the experience or incumbency of the candidate, the role of the moderator, and the effect of the prior turn-taking strategies will demonstrate the complexity involved in identifying behaviors as 'male' or 'female'.

Anthony Rodrigues Arista (University of Western Australia) (SAT AFT: C)
Case-Marking and the Generation of Case-Systems

Silverstein (1978) established the importance of hierarchical organization for grammatical cases, e.g. nominative, ergative and accusative. This paper points out that hierarchical organization characterizes non-grammatical case-systems as well. Furthermore, in both case-systems, hierarchical organization figures in the synchronic generation of distinct case-functions and of distinctive case-markers.

Data from Australian, Amerindian, European and Asian languages suggest that non-grammatical case-functions are hierarchically organized, in that:

(i) certain non-grammatical case-functions (i.e. locative, ablative, instrumental, allative) are bound to low-hierarchy nominals, and are either disallowed or heavily marked on high-hierarchy nominals.

(ii) non-grammatical case-functions (i.e. the dative, the past possessive and the causal) are high-hierarchy case-functions, and are either disallowed or heavily marked for low-hierarchy nominals.

Distinctive case functions, as well as distinctive forms of the case-marker, may result from a heavily marked conjunction of case-function and nominal (e.g., in Yidiny and Ojibal, a locative case bound to a high-hierarchy nominal produces a distinct dative case and dative case marker).

Julie Auger (University of Pennsylvania) (FRI AFT: A)
Verbal Agreement-Marking in Colloquial French Subordinate Clauses

Based on structures such as "Marc il l'aime sa maison" ('Mark he likes it his house' = 'Mark likes his house'), it is now more and more widely accepted that Colloquial French (CF) differs substantially from Standard French and shares with other Romance languages the property of having null-arguments (or at least null-subjects). That is, given an approach where the so-called pronominal clitics of CF are (re)analyzed as prefixal agreement-markers on the verb (cf. Suñer 1988 and Ossipov 1990), such elements play the same role as verbal suffixes in languages like Italian and Spanish do in marking and assuring the recoverability of missing arguments (Roberge 1990). Although this analysis is well supported for simple independent clauses, not much has been said so far about embedded clauses. The existence of non-standard subject relative clauses introduced by que (like "C'est moi qui le parle" = 'It's me that I speak' = 'It's me who's speaking') actually provides further support for the agreement-marker analysis argued for in this paper. Even though such structures are traditionally analyzed as involving resumptive pronouns, a number of arguments (e.g., their obligatory use in subject relatives) make the agreement-marker analysis more plausible. When we add these new arguments to those of the type proposed by Zveicky & Pullum 1983 for distinguishing clitics and affixes, it is clear that analyzing verbs as having agreement prefixes is the best way to account in a unified way for several seemingly unrelated facts about clitics and resumptive elements in CF.
J. Marc Authier (University of Ottawa)

Arbitrary Null Objects Are Not Implicit Arguments

Rizzi (1986) was the first to argue, based on a number of tests including object control and anaphora, that the null argument with arbitrary interpretation in Italian sentences such as (1) is an empty category which fills a syntactic V-governed position.

(1) Il bel tempo invoglia [e] a PRO restare.
"The nice weather induces arb to stay."

Similar arguments are taken up in Roberge (1987) to argue for the structural presence of arbitrary null objects in French. Such arguments have been challenged, however, by e.g., Bouchard (1987), Condoravdi (1987) and Williams (1986), who claim that arbitrary null objects are "implicit arguments," a term to be understood as referring to thematic roles which are in the thematic array at D-structure but which are not mapped onto a structural position.

This latter claim has, as I will argue, an undesirable consequence: that of collapsing arbitrary null objects and the external argument in passives without a by-phrase under the label "implicit argument." I will show this by devising three novel tests which discriminate between implicit arguments and empty categories occupying a structural position and which allow us to establish that arbitrary null objects are of the latter kind. These tests are based on constraints pertaining to "thematic control" (cf. Jaeggli (1986)), donkey anaphora, and the cliticization of predicates to le in French.

Shoji Azuma (University of Texas-Austin)

Phoneme Monitoring on Intra-Sentential Code-Switching

This experimental study on Spanish/English code-switching presents support for the two-stage processing model proposed in Hyers-Scotton and Azuma (1990). The model builds on the concept, originally due to Garrett (1975), that there are two distinct stages, a frame-building stage and a content word insertion stage in speech production and locates the latter stage as the relevant stage for code-switching. By using the phoneme monitoring technique (Foss 1969), this study tests the model's prediction that content words can be code-switched, but function words, which are essential members of the frame-building stage, cannot. Further, by including stress factor in its design, the experiment will determine if there is any open vs. closed word class effect independent of confounding stress effect (Cutler and Foss 1977, Swinney, Zurif and Cutler 1980). The present study, by eliminating overt grammatical judgment from subjects, offers an innovative approach to the field of code-switching study. The results of this study will be of general interest to speech production researchers.

Philip Baldi (Pennsylvania State University)

Latin r-Form Verbs and the PIE "Inactive" Class

It is frequently argued that the mediopassive voice attested in such languages as Greek and Sanskrit has its origins in the PIE "inactive" class. Part of the evidence for this claim lies in the fact that both mediopassive and inactive are often characterized by the non-agentive role of the syntactic subject; that is, roles such as experiencer or patient (cf. Gk. φιλων 'I know', Lat. vide 'I have seen'; Lat. vertor 'I turn', mutor 'I change'). But the derivation of the mediopassive from the IE inactive rests on several questionable assumptions and analyses, not the least of which is the large number and type of Latin r-form verbs which cannot be motivated from the inactive. Latin r-form verbs mark passive with expressed or unexpressed agent (amor (ab aliauo) 'I am loved (by someone)'), deponent (sequor 'I follow'), direct reflexive (lavor 'I wash myself'), reciprocal (altercor 'to quarrel'), impersonal reflexive (mutor 'I make use of'), and impersonal passive (lux 'one goes'). It is to be noted that many of these have subjects which are thematically agentive. In this paper it will be shown that the Latin r-form verbs must be derived directly from an independent IE mediopassive inflectional category. It will also be shown that the traditional view of Latin as a language lacking a productive middle voice is in error.
Catherine N. Ball (University of Pennsylvania)  
_The Origins of the Informative-Presupposition ı-cleft_

Prince 1978 identified two functionally distinct classes of ı-cleft: the stressed-focus (SF) and the informative-presupposition (IP) ı-cleft. While the SF ı-cleft marks an open proposition as CHAFE-GIVEN (Who did it? It was John who did it), the clause of the IP cleft conveys information which is NEW in the discourse and possibly unknown to the reader (The leaders of the homophile movement in America generally have been young people, It was they who fought back during a violent police raid on a Greenwich Village bar in 1962...). The origins of this distinction have not previously been investigated and offer an interesting problem in diachronic pragmatics. In this paper, I bring to bear facts gathered from work in progress on the historical development of the ı-cleft. The NP-focus IP ı-cleft is shown to be a Late Middle English innovation, arising some 200 years after the first attested SF ı-cleft. Four other copular constructions are identified in which the clause-final complement conveys NEW information, and it is argued that it was primarily the inverted pseudo-cleft and the AdvP/PP impersonal (both extant since Old English) that supported this change in the functions of the NP-focus ı-cleft.

Chris Barker (University of California-Santa Cruz)  
_Separating the Domain of Quantification from the Restriction_

It is generally assumed that natural language quantifiers take two arguments, a restriction and a nuclear scope, and that the domain of quantification coincides with the restriction.

(1)  
(a) Most dogs bark.
(b) Most students' dogs bark.

In (1a), _most_ denotes a quantifier that takes the set of dogs for its restriction and the set of things that bark for its nuclear scope, and quantification ranges over the set of dogs. But in (1b), quantification ranges over students, not dogs.

Evidence from the licensing of donkey anaphora as well as the licensing of negative polarity items establishes the restriction and the nuclear scope of quantificational determiners embedded in possessive specifiers. Arguments from truth conditions and presuppositions show that the domain of quantification diverges from the restriction. Thus at least when prenominal possessives are involved, the domain of quantification and the restriction are potentially independent.

This paper argues that in the general case quantifiers must take three arguments, not just two: a domain of quantification, a restriction, and a nuclear scope.

Anita K. Barry (University of Michigan-Flint)  
_Constructing a Courtroom Narrative: A Lawyer-Witness Duet_

Much work in discourse analysis has focused on the tasks facing a speaker constructing a coherent narrative, among which are: distinguishing given from new information; signalling foregrounded and backgrounded information; tracing the identity of referents and distinguishing among multiple referents; and signalling relationships among events, temporal, causal, or otherwise. The present paper examines what happens during courtroom testimony, where the task of constructing the narrative must be shared by two people, a lawyer and a witness, who may not necessarily employ the same strategies or make the same choices for telling a story. The paper seeks to identify the points of difficulty in narrative construction which lead to frustration and miscommunication on the part of both the lawyer and the witness. The data is drawn from written transcripts of approximately fifteen hours of testimony in criminal trials.
Dawn Bates (Arizona State University)
Barry F. Carlson (University of Victoria)
Spokane Supports Salish Simple Syllables

Salish languages are notorious for their unusual surface syllable structures, long strings of consonants and even vowelless words. Bagemihl (1989) argues against Hoard's (1978) complex syllable types for Salish, claiming that Bella Coola has very simple syllable structure at the phonological level. The surface facts result from the language allowing unsyllabified segments to persist through the derivation under revised Prosodic Licensing (Ito (1986)). Spokane supports Bagemihl's claims in at least two ways. First, the 'repetitive' morpheme in Spokane has two surface allomorphs: an infix -e-: *we-emt-aS 'he is having hallucinations', and this -e- preceded by a copy of the first root consonant: *he-r-0 'something is made over and over'. The distribution of the allomorphs is explained if Spokane syllables are of the form CVC.

Robert Bayley (Stanford University)
Variation In Interlanguage Tense Marking

Interlanguage grammars are characterized by great internal variability. In learner varieties of English, for example, verbs referring to past time may or may not be marked for tense, e.g.,

1a. At that time we have just one room.
   b. Then we ask for her and she said ....
   c. I called him yesterday.

Is a learner's choice between marked and unmarked verb forms variably constrained in a systematic way by developmental, linguistic, and stylistic factors, or does it represent "free variation"? Using theories and methods of quantitative analysis drawn from current sociolinguistic approaches to variation, this paper, based on approximately 6,000 tokens extracted from interviews with twenty Chinese adult learners of English, shows that variation in interlanguage tense marking is in fact highly systematic and subject to multiple intersecting constraints.

Betty J. Birner (Northwestern University)
Discourse Entities and the Referential/Attributive Distinction

In this paper we argue that 'referential' definite NPs are not qualitatively different from 'attributive' definite NPs (Donnellan 1966, 1968). Donnellan states that for 'successful reference', an attributive NP must accurately describe some entity, while a referential NP may be inaccurate yet successfully refer. Thus, Donnellan claims, if Smith committed suicide but is believed murdered, I used referentially may predicate insanity of some individual; I used attributively may not.

1. Smith's murderer is insane.

However, suppose Smith has been injured and is wrongly believed dead; the inaccurate NP, used attributively, still successfully picks out the assailant. Furthermore, Donnellan holds that if I is used to predicate insanity of Jones, who is falsely believed to have murdered Smith, the sentence is true if Jones is insane. This view, however, conflates semantic and pragmatic issues, with the referent of the NP being fixed by the speaker's beliefs, while the applicability of the predicate is fixed by its semantics. We argue that the referential/attributive distinction corresponds to the interlocutors' sense of whether they know the 'identity' of the referent; however, this intuition is not fixed, but rather is sensitive to a variety of factors. Moreover, it has no linguistic manifestation: for example, Smith's murderer in I may be freely pronounialized under either reading:

2a. He was released from Bellevue last week due to overcrowding.
   b. ... If we ever learn who he is, he'll get the death penalty.

We claim that all so-called 'attributive' and 'referential' NPs have discourse-model referents (Karttunen 1971, Webber 1979, inter alia); thus all are equally referential.
Juliette Blevins (University of Texas - Austin)

A Tonal Analysis of Lithuanian Accentual Phonology

In this paper we argue that the four accentual syllable types described in the traditional literature for modern literary Lithuanian are represented as shown in (1) (R a sonorant, H a high tone):

(1)

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
 & V & V & V & V \\
\text{accented} & H & H & H & H \\
\text{accented} & H & H & H & H \\
\text{unaccented} & V & V & V & V \\
\text{unaccented} & V & V & V & V \\
\end{array} \]

Stress in Lithuanian falls on the leftmost accented syllable, or, in the absence of accent, on the leftmost syllable. If one of the syllable types in (1) is stressed, accent surfaces. Otherwise, accent is neutralized by a dialect-specific rule (2) which deletes all H-tones in unstressed syllables. Three basic arguments are provided for the tonal analysis in (1). First, Saussure's Law which moves word stress from a grave (short) syllable or a long circumflex syllable to the following syllable if it is acute can be viewed as a simple result of the Obligatory Contour Principle as shown in (3).

Second, additional alternations within the four nominal accentual classes viewed by Saussure and others as idiosyncratic are accounted for by (3) as well. Finally, the tonal representations in (1) are supported by dialetcs of Lithuanian where words may surface with multiple accents. In these dialects, rule (2) of H-tone deletion simply does not apply.

Harry Bochner (SATMORN: D)

A Word Based Generalization in Passamaquoddy

In a Word Based (WB) theory of Morphology, parallelisms among derivatives of a stem are often best handled by relating the derivatives directly, rather than deriving each of them from the basic stem. So, for instance, Aronoff(76) suggests that -ive adjectives are derived from -ion nouns, a proposal that allows us to capture the parallelism between the variants of the two suffixes: -ion/-ive, -ation/-ive, -ation/-ive. The predictions of this approach are often difficult to distinguish from those of the Morpheme Based (MB) approach, but a particularly clear argument in favor of the WB approach can be seen in the morphology of possessed noun forms in Passamaquoddy. The need to relate the possessed forms to each other in a WB analysis is indicated by two phenomena. First, some nouns form their possessed forms using only the possessive prefixes /il/ and /ly/, while others arbitrarily require a suffix /-e/ as well. Secondly, there are so-called 'dependent' nouns that have no nonpossessed forms.

The argument comes from the phenomenon of t-insertion: nouns whose nonpossess form begins with a vowel require a /l/ between the prefixes and the stem, e.g. /at/ 'fish net', /at/ 'my fish net'. Notice that when stated this way, t-insertion makes no prediction about dependent nouns, since they have no nonpossessed forms, and in fact, t-insertion does not apply to dependent nouns with vowel-initial stems: /at/ 'my belly', /at/. Crucially, there are no exceptions to t-insertion among independent nouns. In a MB analysis we would have to regard /at/ as an exception to t-insertion, since it is a vowel-initial stem like /ahp/. In the WB analysis /at/ is not an exception: t-insertion, as a rule affecting the relationship between possessed and nonpossessed forms, has no chance to apply to a noun that lacks a nonpossessed form. Thus the WB analysis automatically makes the right predictions.

Diane Brentari (University of California - Davis)

Simultaneity in Syllable Structure: Co-Extensive Moras in American Sign Language

The mora has proved to be a useful construct as a syllable constituent in quantity-sensitive languages. This paper takes up two particular questions concerning this aspect of syllable structure: 1) Must moras occur linearly in time?, and 2) If moras can occur simultaneously (i.e., they are co-extensive), how can we define such a mora? Using evidence from ASL, this paper argues that the traditional sequential arrangement of mora structure is a consequence of the organs used for speech and hearing, rather than an aspect of cognitive structure, and that ASL syllables may consist of co-extensive moras. The following is an illustration of this: Many signs in ASL contain both a handshape change and a path movement (e.g., BAWL-OUT [multiple], INFORM [multiple], LAST-YEAR. While there is consensus that these signs are monosyllabic, there is, at present, no way to express the difference in the quantity of information contained in the signs above, and signs such as GIVE, SHOW, HELP, which contain no handshape change.

I argue that the mora is the appropriate unit for expressing these facts, based on the following arguments:

1) A path movement, orientation change or handshape change can occupy a syllable peak.
2) A well-formed ASL syllable must consist of at least one of these parameters and no more than three.
3) Sequentiality is not a necessary consequence of language-specific syllable well-formedness conditions.
4) If the mora is a unit of phonological weight and timing, then each of these parameters can be employed independently.
Eugene Buckley (University of California-Berkeley)

Kashaya Laryngeal Increments: Evidence for the Skeletal Tier

Moraic phonology (Hyman 1985, McCarthy and Prince 1986, Hayes 1989) and the two-root theory of length (Selkirk 1988) challenge the existence of a skeletal (X or CV) tier. In this paper I present evidence from Kashaya for a skeletal tier distinct from the moraic and root tiers, and for a two-root representation that does not encode length. Like several other native languages of northern California, Kashaya has LARYNGEAL INCREMENTS: a [ʔ] or [h] which sometimes precedes a consonant. If the consonant itself has laryngeal features, they must agree with the increment: -h'ku-u- 'burn' (*-h'ku-u-), -h'ku- 'finish' (*-h'ku-). When the consonant is underspecified for laryngeal features (i.e. a plain voiceless obstruent or a voiced sonorant), either increment is possible: -ce- 'obstruct', -coq- 'shoot'. The increment and the following consonant syllabify together as an onset, as seen in final CV-reduplication: compare the increase in su.h'mi.h'mi 'glimmerer' (*su.h'mi.h'mi) with the cluster in mid'ilu.sii 'wrenet' (*mid'ilu.sii) and the nonincremental [h] in nah.m'o.m'o 'armpit' (*na.h'm'o.h'mo). Increments are also found word-initially (*h'ku 'one'). Since there are no onset clusters in Kashaya, the increment and consonant must count as one segment.

These two facts—featural dependence and single-segment status—can be captured as shown in the right. In (a) the two root nodes share Laryngeal features (-h'ke-), while in (b) no features are shared (-h'em-).

Guar Roar Roar Roar Roar

These two facts—featural dependence and single-segment status—can be captured as shown in the right. In (a) the two root nodes share Laryngeal features (-h'ke-), while in (b) no features are shared (-h'em-). Crucially, since the complex consonant must be treated as a single segment, the two root nodes cannot count as long; and since the consonant occurs in onset position, no appeal to the mora is possible.

Luigi Burzio (Johns Hopkins University)

Principles in Phonology

We argue that the alternations in (1)-(5) (upper case = long) result from the simple interaction of two mechanisms: i) shortening of stem vowels under suffixation, which we call "Generalized Shortening" (GS); ii) preservation of stem stress under suffixation, or "Stress Preservation" (SP). We will show that the two mechanisms are in conflict in (1)-(3), whence the essentially idiosyncratic variation, while they are not in (4)-(5), whence the consistent results there.

(1) blasphme -> blasphmous / desire -> desirable
(2) generste -> generative / legislate -> legislative
(3) articulste -> articulatory (Am.) / articulate -> articulatory (Br.)
(4) defame -> defamation (5) diviine -> divinity

We argue that SP is independently established and in fact underlies both the phenomenon of napoleon->napoleon/napoleonic, and the phenomenon of stress "neutralilty", as in e.g. amieerican->americanist, of which we propose a radically new interpretation. The single GS, interacting with independent principles of metrical structure, thus supplants the five different provisions required by past analyses for each of (1)-(5) -- a unification which we argue is not achievable by means of standard-type phonological rules.

Guy Carden (University of Idaho/University of British Columbia)

Lynn Gordon (Washington State University)

Acquisition of Binding: A Longitudinal Case Study

Grimshaw & Rosen 1990 attempts to explain away the experimental data which suggests that children acquire Principle A before Principle B by claiming "children do know Principle B" (G&R:187), but fail to obey it. Two lines of argument imply that G&R's approach is misguided. First, languages with pronouns which are unmarked for reflexity ([r]) exist (e.g. early English, Bauan Fijian, a number of creoles). Second, contrary to G&R's claims (p188, 210) the spontaneous productions of at least one child show a period where [r] plain pronouns are frequent. Our analysis is based primarily on a longitudinal study of one child, from the first appearance of a proform in a reflexive environment (1:11) to age 3. Our data about the child's input and production suggests that he has gone through four stages. At stage I, the -self reflexive has not been acquired. At stage II, it appears optionally in the prototype locally-bound DO environment. At stage III, it is optional in both DO and OP. At stage IV, it appears obligatory (in production) in DO, but remains optional for OP. We expect development to continue sorting out the differing behavior of the various FP structures. This gradual development is exactly what we would expect if the child made use of both positive and indirect negative evidence from the input, with the indirect negative evidence taking longer to show an effect on the output, but not if he already "knew" the Binding Principles of the adult English system.
Singing in Mandarin Chinese: Language and Music Interface

Marjorie K.M. Chan (Ohio State University)

In studying the interface between language and music in a tonal language, the natural inclination is to examine the correspondence between lexical tone and melody. In Mandarin Chinese, this correspondence is relatively poor, even though lexical tones are well preserved in popular Cantonese songs (Chan 1987). It may be that the crucial correspondence between language and music in Mandarin lies elsewhere. Mandarin has a full-fledged tonal system of sound and stress, even though the focus is typically on the latter. The aim of the paper is to explore the interface between linguistic stress and melody in that dialect. Examinations will be made of which stress is reflected in the melody of Mandarin songs, with the former treated as the primary acoustical correlate of stress. An acoustic study is conducted using six modern Mandarin television and movie songs. The lyrics of the six songs are recorded by native Beijing Mandarin speakers, recorded and digitized. The FO contours are obtained and compared with the melodies in these songs, which are included in a published collection of similar television and movie songs from the People’s Republic of China. The study is an exploratory one, since no similar investigation, to the author’s knowledge, has been conducted on this topic. The paper is preliminary report in an on-going exploration of the interface between language and music in Mandarin, and of the role that linguistic stress plays in that dialect.

Wen-yu Chiang (University of Delaware)

Reduplication in Chinese

Prosodic constituents such as word, foot, and syllable not only serve as targets in reduplication but also as possible bases of reduplication (McCloskey & Prince, 1986). Several types of reduplication exist in various Chinese languages: (X and Y are variables representing monosyllabic morphemes and XY is an independent morphological word; Chinese languages differ in which sub-types of reduplication they possess): (1) X -> XX (2) X -> XXX (3) X -> XXXX (4) XY -> XYXY (5) XY -> XYY (6) XY -> XXY (7) XY -> XYYX (8) XYZ... -> XYZXYZ.... Using phonological, morphological, and semantic arguments, I will show that (1)-(6) involve suffixation to a prosodic base (i.e., syllable). For example, the correct derivation for (4) is X Y, rather than XY. I will also show that (a) suffixation to a prosodic constituent can apply more than once (e.g., two cycles of suffixation in (2) and (3): X_ Y -> XX -> X X_ Y -> XXX; X_ Y -> XX -> X X_ Y -> XXX); and (b) each cycle can provide an environment for phonological rules (cf. strict cycle condition (Kiparsky, 1985)) (e.g., the interface of prosodic suffixation with Mandarin third tone sandhi and with onomatopoeic words in Mandarin and Chaoyang).

Young-mee Cho (Stanford University)

‘Voiceless’ Sonorants Are Aspirates

This paper argues that distinctively “voiceless” sonorants found in some languages have to be represented as aspirated universally, as has been proposed by Mester and Itô (1989), who analyze Burmese voiceless aspirated resonants as aspirates on the basis of the fact that they pattern with the aspirated consonants in the language in several processes. The voiceless laterals in Klamath have been analyzed as underlyingly aspirated by Clements (1985) on the basis of the phonemic patterning of the language. In addition, the fact that the voiceless /h/ patterns with /hi/ (/hl/ -> [hi]) is accounted for by a simple debuccalization rule. A similar case can be made for Icelandic (Thráinsson 1978) where devoicing of sonorants takes place in an exactly parallel fashion to prenasalization in stop clusters, as exemplified in /ulpa/ -> [u] [p], or [u][p] (but *[u][p] or *[u][p]). There is no dialect that has devoicing without concomitant debuccalization of the stop.

Another piece of evidence for the position that [+sg.], rather than [voice] is marked for sonorants comes from the literature on the correlation of voicing with tones (Brown 1975, Kingston and Sohnit 1988). Whereas voiced obstructions consistently lower tones, sonorants do not. Crucially, voiced consonants raise tones only if the consonant system conditioning the tone split includes a voicing constraint for sonorants as in Min dialects of Chinese. Again, an apparent paradox finds a natural explanation by representing “voiceless” sonorants as aspirates.
Julie A. Christiansen (Boston University)
Familial Handledness and Running Memory Span

Bever et al. (1989) have found that variations in cognitive styles exist not only between right-handers and lefthanders, but also between right-handers with left-handed family members (LHr) and right-handers with no left-handed family members (LHR), regarding sensitivity to syntactic structure in language processing. The current study looks at the effects of sentential boundaries on the running memory spans of left-handers, (LHR) right-handers, and (LHR) right-handers, using an interruption technique similar to Jarvelle's (1970). Preliminary data indicate that sentential boundaries reduce running memory spans in (LHR) right-handers much more than in left- or (LHR) right-handers. These results underscore the relation of handedness and familial handedness to differential sensitivity to syntactic structure, supporting Bever et al. 's (1989) theory.

Henry Churchyard (University of Texas - Austin)
Compensatory Lengthening and 'Gemination Throwback' in Trukese and Puluwat as Evidence for Rime and Onset in Moraic Theory

In moraic theories (Hayes, 1989, McCarthy and Prince 1986) the syllable is "flat", without rime or onset constituents. In Trukese and Puluwat, final vowel loss can lead to compensatory lengthening: inflected *so'un* vs. uninflected *so*; also there are word-initial geminates: *kk?n*. The phonology of geminates here, and their interaction with compensatory lengthening, will show the need for rime and onset. In Trukese, geminates are simplified word-finally: *aasse-n* vs. *aas*. But simplification can result in non-local compensatory gemination: *pekki-n* vs. *ppek*. Initial geminates are moraic, and the process prevents nouns from having the monomoraic shape CVC. The problem is that conventional moraic theory needs undesirable multiple "flapping", even delinking the vowel, to get a mora to the beginning: 

\[ [pek_{\mu}k_{1}(a)_{1}a_{1}] \rightarrow [p]_{1}\mu_{1}[e]_{1}k_{1}a_{1}] \]  

In Puluwat, geminates simplify only phrase-finally: *hakka-n* vs. *haakk* vs. phrase-final *haakk 'piece of coconut shell'. How do we "remember" that *k* is geminate during the chain reaction of moraic reassociation: 

\[ [h(a)_{1}a(k)_{1}a_{1}] \rightarrow [h(a)_{1}a_{1}a(k)_{1}a_{1}] \]  

The answer is that geminates are moraic onsets; that geminates are the only allowed medial clusters then follows from the fact that they are the only initial clusters. Separation of consonants and vowels onto separate planes, as in Semitic, can be extended to separation of C morphs (in the onset) and V morphs (in the rime) onto separate planes; Puluwat \[ [h(a)_{1}a_{1}a(k)_{1}a_{1}] \rightarrow [h(a)_{1}a_{1}a_{2}(k)_{1}a_{1}] \]  

and Trukese \[ [p(e)_{1}k_{1}(a)_{1}] \rightarrow [p(p)_{1}e_{1}o_{1}k_{1}] \]  

where in both cases the \( \mu \) is on a different plane.

Donald G. Churma (State University of New York-Buffalo)
At the Phonetics-Phonology Interface: (Re)syllabication and English Stop Allophony

This paper will be a (re-)examination of three phenomena found in many varieties of English: aspiration and glottalization of voiceless stops and flapping of alveolar stops. It will be argued that they are all due to rules of 'phonetic implementation' which must make reference to features which are never present in underlying representations. In particular, glottalization affects unreleased voiceless stops (Selkirk 1982), aspiration applies to long (released) stops, and flapping applies to short released alveolar stops. This account thus explains the existence of two phenomena which are problematic for all previously proposed accounts: utterance-final voiceless stops may be aspirated in hyperarticulate speech styles (if they are long enough), and /d/ and /n/ are flappable even in (absolutely) syllable-initial position in rapid speech (cf. productive, a name), because they are shortened sufficiently in such styles, whereas inherently long /t/ is flappable only in syllable-final position, where it is shortened.
Cynthia Robb Clamons (University of Minnesota)  

Gender Assignment in Oromo

In Oromo, an important East Cushitic language of Ethiopia and Kenya, nouns are classified lexically as masculine or feminine. However, it is also possible to move a noun from one gender to the other in speech in order to express speaker evaluation or attitude in a particular domain of discourse.

In the eastern varieties of Oromo, for example, demonstratives and adjectives modifying the noun ableen 'knife' are feminine in neutral contexts, as in (1), but may be marked as masculine, as in (2), if a speaker wishes to indicate that the referent is large with respect to a particular domain.

(1) ableen tun doom-uu. 'this sharp knife'  
(2) ableen xun doom-a. 'this large knife is dull.'

I identify the other factors that are relevant to gender assignment, in an eastern variety of Oromo, including sex of referent, number and collectivity, and propose an analysis that defines the logical relationships among them.

Abigail C. Cohn (Cornell University)  

The Consequences of Dissimilation in Sundanese

In this paper, I discuss dissimilation in Sundanese, a case which raises several important issues regarding the appropriate description and formal account of dissimilation. Sundanese (an Austronesian language, spoken in South Java, Indonesia) has a productive process of infixation, marking the plural form of a verb or adjective (see Robins 1959), e.g. iririm "send, active", p=iririm "send, pl.", where = marks infixation. There is a regular morphophonemic alternation in the shape of the plural marker: =ar= =al=. The allomorph =ar= is the more general form, with =al= being triggered by both assimilation and dissimilation. The =al= occurs if the initial consonant of the stem is /l/ (lega "wide", i=lega "wide, pl.").
Yoko Collier-Sanuki (University of California-Los Angeles) (FRI AFT: C)

On the Use of Relative Clauses in Japanese and English Discourse

This paper compares the characteristics and functions of Japanese and English relative clauses (RCs) in discourse. Consider this Japanese RC example of a heavily-modified personal pronoun in the subject position: 1850 jii no toyo kanji da wa ampu tori no bunsho ga kakenai to suri watashî wa itsurno itanshi o ukenakerebanaranakatta (I, who insist that we cannot write freely with the 1850 official Chinese characters, was always ostracized). Such modification of personal names and pronouns by RCs occurred 59 times in Japanese vs 14 times in English (200-pages each of written data). I will show that this drastic difference is due to the functional differences of RCs in the two languages, governed by information flow (Chafe 1976, 1987, Prince 1981, et al.). Following Fox and Thompson's study of English RCs (1990), I speculate that Japanese RCs provide crucial background information, or "frames," for comprehending their head NPs. In fact, many Japanese RCs which modify personal names and pronouns are better translated into English by separate adverbial clauses, indicating that they set up situational frames. Consider this modified translation of the previous example: Because I insist that we cannot write freely with the 1850 official Chinese characters. . . . This hypothesis also gives a cognitive account for Matsumoto's claim that the understanding of Japanese RCs involves semantic "frames" evoked by linguistic clues given in noun modifier constructions and the construer's expectations based on their knowledge (1988).

Nancy L. Condon (University of Georgia) (FRI AFT: D)

Jared S. Klein (University of Georgia)

Gothic -(uih): A Synchronic and Comparative Analysis

The Gothic enclitic conjunctive particle -(uih) to this day lacks an illuminating syntactic treatment. This paper reports the results of a syntactic study of -(uih) in the Gospel of John. When occurring by itself, -(uih) shows three basic values: (1) simple sentential conjunctive (9.16-17 missaqiss warp mib im. gebunuh du bamma ... blindin 'A schism arose among them. And they said to the ... blind man'); (2) anaphoric-conjunctive (10.2-3 sa inngaggands bairn daur hairdeis i stlembe. bamma daurwards usluk 'The one entering through the door of the sheep. And to him the doorkeeper opens'); (3) anaphoric-correlative (15.9 swase frijoda mik atta, swah ik frijoda izwis 'As [my] father has loved me, so [also] have I loved you'). The second of these employments is generally considered to be emphatic.

These facts unambiguously support the etymological derivation of -(uih) from PIE *u k'we (Brugmann, 1913-14). Cf. Skt. u ca, Hispano-Celtic auCu (Hamp, ms.), and Greek aúte (Hamp, ibid.). The presence of the particle *u in the etymon helps explain the syntax of Gothic -(uih), which closely parallels that of Skt. u and Gk. au, both of which show anaphoric/conjunctive/resumptive functions (Klein, 1988). The occurrence of -(uih) following forms of the sa/ba-pronoun (as in 10.3) is therefore better interpreted as explicitly anaphoric-conjunctive than as emphatic.

Jeff Connor-Linton (Georgetown University) (SAT MORN: E)

Questions, Power and CrossTalk in Soviet-American Spacebridges

Much research on crosstalk assumes that misinterpretations occur because speakers from different cultures use different contextualization codes to mark a shared construction of the context, and that this communicative failure could be avoided if speakers were made aware and more tolerant of each other's codes. Analysis of differences between Soviet and American speakers' uses of Yes-No questions in two "spacebridge" meetings indicates that participants in crosscultural interactions often do not construct the same context for their talk and that crosstalk can be used strategically to create misinterpretation in order to communicate and maintain an in-group member's higher status and power over an out-group member.

Yes-NO questions play an important role in the negotiation of power, in large part because their illocutionary force is co-constructed by speaker and addressee. This also makes them fertile ground for crosstalk. In contrast to Soviet speakers, American speakers asked more Yes-No questions, in a higher proportion of floor turns, and in very salient positions within floor turns. American speakers used Yes-No questions to create self-fulfilling prophecies, fitting the elicited information into the questioner's pre-existing schema and heightening the likelihood and salience of dispute.
Eung-Do Cook (University of Calgary)

Is [+] Coronal?

In Athapaskan, the alternation between y and ɪ is part of a productive process involving all pairs of voiced/voiceless continuants, while there is no systematic alternation between y and i (either as [+syllabic] vs. [-syllabic] or as nucleus vs. margin). In some Slave and Dogrib dialects, y and ɪ freely alternate. In Eskimo, y alternates not only with ɪ, but also with ɨ in well-defined phonological contexts within and across dialect boundaries. The phonological feature that characterizes this set of segments both in Athapaskan and Eskimo is [+coronal]. While it remains to be seen to what extent the treatment of i (and other front vowels) as [+coronal] has universal appeal (e.g. Clements 1976, 1989 vs. Gorecka 1989), y in Athapaskan and Eskimo, which is not an alternate phonetic realization of i, is clearly [+coronal] as ɪ, ɪ, and ɗ are. This interpretation of y is not surprising in view of the fact that [o] is a high vowel in Cree, a mid vowel in English, and a low vowel in Turkish. This is also consistent with Sapir's view (1925) that what counts are not absolute values (physical reality), but relative differences (psychological reality) among segments whose functional relationship is determined within a self-contained system.

Ann Cooreman (Catholic University of Brabant)

A Functional Typology of Antipasses

A typological comparison of the antipassive construction in a sample of 19 ergative languages suggests that this particular syntactic structure is used first and foremost to signal the detransitivization of a transitive state-of-affairs along a certain set of parameters previously suggested in Hopper and Thompson's Transitivity Hypothesis (1980). In this paper, I propose that the different functions correlating with the use of an antipassive can be combined into one general function: the antipassive correlates with a relatively high degree of difficulty in identifying a recognizable effect on a uniquely identifiable O, stemming from the activity described in the proposition. The absence of languages with only "structural" antipasses, i.e. those which have been taken as evidence for "deep" or "syntactic" ergativity in languages like Dyirbal, leads me to assume that the antipassive's primary reason for existence is to signal first and foremost an identifiable deviation from a prototypical transitive state-of-affairs, but that it can be put to work to fulfill other functions in the ergative language. I will call this principle Co-opting. Two examples are explored: 1. there is suggestive evidence that antipasses are often used to ensure unambiguous reference in discourse; 2. antipasses are sometimes used to fill in a gap which may arise when certain discourse pragmatic tendencies have been syntacticized.

Thomas L. Cornell (University of California-Los Angeles)

A Logic of Descriptions and the Foundations of Principle-Based Grammars and Parsers

In this paper I will look at a problem which will appear at first to be of quite limited interest: the design of an efficient parser based on a principles-and-parameters grammar. However, such an endeavor cannot be carried out properly without a detailed analysis of the logical foundations of the Principles and Parameters Theory of grammars, and it is this topic which is of interest here. The parsing problem for grammars of well-formedness conditions is a constraint-satisfaction problem (CSP). The standard solution for CSP's is to use a "generate-and-test" algorithm, but even very sophisticated implementations of this technique are inefficient. I propose a parsing model which can extract structure directly from the constraints of the grammar, in effect completely collapsing the generate and test steps, and assuring that the structure-building operations of the parser are responsive to the grammar at every point. This can be accomplished by treating the parser as computing a description of a phrase marker, rather than the phrase marker itself. The relation between descriptions and the phrase markers they describe is formally very similar to the satisfaction relation between logical formulae and assignments of truth-values, so in essence what I will demonstrate is a description logic. Recast in terms of the formal description language which I will present, licensing conditions turn out to express relations between 'licensees' and 'licensors' which are formally similar to the rewrites-as relation of rewrite grammars. The description logic allows a principle-based grammar to be at once a licensing grammar (for theoretical studies) and a rewrite grammar (for parsing purposes).
William Croft (University of Michigan) (SAT AFT: C)
*Toward a New Typology of Complex Sentences*

The coordinate-subordinate distinction has been notoriously difficult to define, and some linguists (e.g. Haiman & Thompson 1984) have argued that it does not exist. Typological data suggests that a different distinction is the correct one. Type A constructions include coordinate structures, switch-reference constructions, most complements and serial constructions: these are characterized (prototypically) by “tense” iconicity (Haiman 1985) and differ in degree of binding (Givón 1980) and grammaticalization. Type B constructions include adverbial clauses: these are characterized by reversibility of clause order and figure-ground asymmetries (Talmy 1978). Conditionals are an intermediate case. This distinction appears to be grounded in discourse: constructions denoting two events that are both foregrounded (Type A) vs. those denoting a foregrounded and a backgrounded event (Type B); thus, Type B also includes relative clauses and focus constructions (Schachter 1973).

Cheney Crow (University of Texas-Austin) (FRI MORN: E)
*Variability in Speech Production Planning: Effects of Language and Bilingualism*

Analysis of over 2,000 elicited speech errors by monolingual and late bilingual speakers of French and English showed that certain speech error characteristics were consistent in all four experimental groups (10 French monolinguals; 10 English monolinguals; 10 French/English late bilinguals; 10 English/French late bilinguals), while other characteristics occurred with different frequency among the different groups. Monolingual French and English speakers showed significant differences for within-word error position (p < .01), yet no significant differences were observed between the bilingual native speakers of English and either the bilingual or monolingual native speakers of French. Error-position of both late bilingual groups differed from those of monolingual speakers of their native languages. Errors involving second-language segments were significantly different first language, or first-language related segment errors. As speech errors are considered evidence of events in the phonological organization of speech production planning, these results indicate that certain speech production characteristics may be invariant, or language-universal, while others may be variable, and may be determined by language-specific characteristics. It is evident that late bilingualism influences speech production in both first and second languages at this level.

Megan J. Crowhurst (University of Arizona) (SUN MORN: B)
*The Uniform Foot Constraint: Evidence from Metrical Structure*

This paper claims that in any lexical stratum where foot structure is introduced into representations, a single prosodic “shape” is available to foot-dependent rules. I refer to this universal requirement as the Uniform Foot Constraint, or UFC. This claim has clear consequences for rules assigning metrical structure: First, if two metrical rules in a language apply at the same level, the feet they construct must have identical structures. Metrical rules applying at different levels, on the other hand, may yield feet with distinct structures. Finally, the UFC does not entail that settings for parameters such as iterativity and directionality are also fixed within a level. I show that these predictions are supported by the stress facts of Winnebago, Cahuilla, and Spanish. The UFC has theoretical consequences for prosodic operations in addition to stress. For example, it makes the strong claim that all foot-based rules applying within levels (e.g. reduplication, truncation) must refer to the same foot structure. Thus, the UFC provides a principled means of curtailling the proliferation of prosodic foot structures within the lexicon.
Christopher Culy (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill) (SUN MORN: A)
'Reliability' and the Distribution of Logophoric Pronouns

Logophoric pronouns, pronouns whose antecedent is the person whose words, thoughts, or emotions are being reported, have been widely attested (Hagege 1974, Clements 1975, Sells 1987), but the cross-linguistic variation in the contexts in which these pronouns occur has received but little theoretical attention (Wiesemann 1986).

I propose that this variation can be accounted for by referring to notions of "reliability", of the report on the one hand, and of the idea being reported on the other. In particular, the more reliable the report is, the more logophoric the context is, while the less reliable the reported idea is, the less logophoric the context is.

Degrees of reliability can be determined by various tests, leading to a hierarchy of predicates more or less likely to give rise to a logophoric domain. Logophoric pronouns are then used in contexts ranging over a continuous portion of the hierarchy, with those contexts that are most logophoric always being included.

Hartmut Czepluch (University of Hannover/University of Göttingen) (SAT MORN: A)
Nonconfigurational Properties of English

The comparison of German and English V(erb)P(hrase) structures will show that, while German is strictly configurational, English may well have a flat VP, with both complements and adjuncts as VP-sisters, at least in neutral contexts. Arguments are drawn from a GB analysis of Case- and Theta-marking for unmarked constituent orderings of double objects and adjuncts, of adjunct (pseudo)-passives, and of anaphoric relations between complements and adjuncts. The differences in linear and hierarchical VP structures in the two languages are shown to follow from three parameters: HEAD POSITION (G: right/E: left), CASE-/THETA-MARKING (G/E: left) and MORPHOLOGICAL CASE (G: yes/E: no). Since syntactic realization principles relate only to lexical arguments, adjuncts occur in places not needed for argument realization.

The analysis relates to the configurationality debate: If German is configurational and English may have a flat VP, the inverse correlation between richness of morphology and rigidity of word order does not yield valid criteria for distinguishing configurational and flat languages.

William D. Davies (University of Iowa) (FRI MORN: B)
Agents, Themes, and 1-Chômeurs in Eastern Javanese

In Javanese, Agents of passives and Themes of "adversative passives" show similar characteristics.

(1) Buku-ñe di-kèknò Siti nang Amir.
    book-DEF PASS-give S to A 'The book was given by Siti to Amir.'

(2) Amir ke-patén-an arék-è nang rumah sakit.
    A AD-lose child-DEF hospital 'Amir's child died in the hospital.'

Among the commonalities of Siti (the volitional Agent in (1)) and arék-è 'the child' in (2) are (i) immediate postverbal position (no adverbial material may immediately precede the NPs) and (ii) the inability to control pro subjects in adverbial clauses. The common behavior can be captured in terms of 1-chômeur by analyzing the adversative construction as a Union (proposed in Dubinsky 1985 for Japanese and Kana 1986 for Indonesian). Under the Union analysis, arék-è in (2) is put en chômage by the 2-1 advancement of the Affected, Amir. The 2-1 advancement from a transitive stratum also accounts for the nonvolitional passive marker ke-", which is part of the ke-an adversative circumfix.
Stuart Davis (Indiana University)  
Setsuko Kiyomi (Indiana University)  
On Comparing Two Theories of Reduplication

In McCarthy & Prince's (1986) (henceforth MP) theory of (partial) reduplication the reduplicative affix should be expressible as a template analyzeable as a possible prosodic constituent (eg, foot, heavy syllable, etc.). Steriade (1988) has proposed that reduplication, whether total or partial, involves full copying of the base. Under Steriade's theory, in partial reduplication, after full copying of the base, a reduplicative template is imposed upon the full copy and then all phonemes that do not fit into the template delete. While MP have analyzed a wide variety of cases of partial reduplication in terms of their theory, some empirical problems for them, such as Sanskrit intensive reduplication, have been pointed out by Steriade who are not problematic under Steriade's theory. In this paper, though, we present the case of Swati verbal diminutive reduplication which is problematic for Steriade's theory but not for MP's theory. In Swati reduplication of this type, a bisyllabic sequence from the verbal stem reduplicates as a prefix (eg, *lingisa → lingisa lingisa 'resemble a little'). If the verbal stem is monosyllabic then in reduplication the syllable yi is inserted (eg, na → navina 'rain a little'). The analysis of navina is unproblematic under MP's theory with the reduplicative template being a bisyllabic foot and /y/ and /i/ being motivated as the default consonant and vowel in Swati. The problem for Steriade's theory with this form is it can't rule out *virana as a possibility.

Deborah S. Davison (University of California-Los Angeles)  
Tonal Targets in Mandarin

The target and interpolation model used in recent phonetic work has helped elucidate the empirical base of tone and intonation (Shih 1988) and underspecification (Keating 1988) in phonology. In this paper it helps clarify the relation between phonetic and phonological components and thus evaluate competing analyses. Tianjin Mandarin's four lexical tones are analyzed as high and low falling and high and low rising, hence with distinct contour & register features, by Shih 1988 (cf. Bao 1989 for Changting); the four tone sandhi rules change feature values. In contrast Yip 1989 (also Davison 1987 & 1988) use H and L elements only, giving H, L, H, IH respectively. Tone sandhi involves contour simplification or tone insertion, even though the rule application environment refers to contour tones as units. Accoustic data analyzed in a target and interpolation model show that several low-level structure-changing phonetic realization rules may refer to register as well as H and I tonal targets. A hybrid model is presented in which structure-preserving tone sandhi rules operate on abstract H and I elements in the lexical phonology, while register and scalar effects are introduced later as part of phonetic implementation to produce surface phonetic representations.

Molly Diesing (University of Arizona)  
Indefinite Object Interpretations and Extraction from NP

Indefinite object NPs in generic contexts are ambiguous between a "quantificational" reading, and an existential closure reading:  

(1) a. I usually read books about wombats.  
   b. Usually, [book(x)] I read x.  
   c. Usually, [time(t)] j, book(x) & I read x.  

This ambiguity correlates closely with the possibility of extraction from NP: extraction eliminates the quantificational reading:  

(4) a. What do you usually read books about?  
   b. Usually, [book(x)] I read x.  
   c. Usually, [time(t)] j, book(x) & I read x.

If the quantificational reading of the indefinite is derived by "WH-ing" the object to adjoin to IP (May 1977, 1985), the incompatibility of the quantificational reading with extraction from NP (as well as parallel facts from German) can be explained by a constraint against having a trace in an unguoverned position, in this case the WH-trace which has been moved to such a position by QR:  

(8) [cf. What j, i, books about t j], i, Otto usually [read t j] ]}
Within word order typology, two positions have been taken on the status of SVO languages. One position (Lehmann, Vennemann) is that SVO languages pattern like V-initial languages and that there is thus a fundamental split between OV and VO languages. The other position (Hawkins, Comrie, Mallinson & Blake) is that SVO languages are an inconsistent type, intermediate between V-final and V-initial languages, and that the OV:VO typology is thus inaccurate. Evidence is presented here, based on a database of over 600 languages, that, although there are a few respects in which SVO languages exhibit properties intermediate between those of V-final languages and V-initial languages, they in general pattern very much like V-initial languages, thus supporting the OV:VO typology. Evidence is presented here, based on a database of over 600 languages, that, although there are a few respects in which SVO languages exhibit properties intermediate between those of V-final languages and V-initial languages, they in general pattern very much like V-initial languages, thus supporting the OV:VO typology. For example, despite appearances to the contrary in Greenberg’s data, SVO languages tend to be prepositional almost as strongly as V-initial languages. Other characteristics for which SVO languages appear intermediate between V-initial and V-final languages in Greenberg’s data turn out not to correlate with the order of S, O, and V at all, such as adjective and noun (Dryer 1988). The order of genitive and noun is one of the few characteristics for which SVO languages are intermediate between V-initial and V-final: while V-initial languages tend to be N-gen and V-final languages Gen-N, the two orders of noun and genitive are about equally common in SVO languages.

San Duanmu (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

Three Pitch Levels per Tone Language?

This paper argues that not all tonal levels contrast by pitch alone. In particular, while the Tonal Node tier correlates with pitch, the Tonal Root Node tier (TRN), or tonal Register, primarily correlates with voice quality. This leaves the upper limit of pure pitch contrasts to three.

This analysis agrees with the fact that tone depends on relative pitch, not absolute pitch. It also explains why onsets do not bear tones.

Nigel Duffield (University of Southern California)

Processing Transitivity Alternations: Context Effects across Sentence Boundaries

This paper investigates the processing of thematically ambiguous English verbs, such as DROWN, which may have either a ‘causative’ or ‘unaccusative’ reading. Specifically, it examines the role played by pragmatic-contextual information in guiding, on-line, the selection of a particular (transitive or intransitive) thematic grid. Previous experimental work (Duffield 1990) suggests that the contextual information provided by a subject NP, as in (a) THE CRUEL MAN DROWNED HIS FRIEND’S CAT vs. (b) THE STRUGGLING SWIMMER DROWNED A MILE OUT TO SEA, is sufficient to determine thematic selection. This is evidenced by the significant ‘garden-path’ effect induced in inappropriate cases, such as (c) THE CRUEL MAN DROWNED A MILE OUT TO SEA, as revealed by an auditory word-monitoring experiment.

The present experiment, also an auditory monitoring task, investigates whether such context effects are sustained across sentence boundaries: instead of a subject NP, a prior (and pretested) sentence provides the biasing context for thematic selection: (d) ARTHUR SHOULD HAVE BEEN MORE CAREFUL WHEN HE WENT SWIMMING. A FEW DAYS AGO, HE DROWNED MILES OUT TO SEA. vs. (e) ARTHUR WAS A CRUEL, BRUTAL MAN, WHO HATED HIS WIFE’S CAT. A FEW DAYS AGO, HE DROWNED MILES OUT TO SEA. Sentence-pairs involving semantically ambiguous verbs, such as CHARGE, previously shown to induce garden-path effects (Carlson & Tanenhaus 1988) are here used as control conditions. The results will indicate the extent to which pragmatic information can influence syntactic processing, and address the continuing debate about the degree of ‘encapsulation’ or ‘modularity’ within the language parser.
Shifting Perspective and the Development of Tense-Aspect: Chagga 'come' and 'go'

The semantic changes that accompany the shift a morpheme undergoes from full lexical item to grammatical element are just beginning to be understood. This paper explores those changes for two cases of deictic motion verbs which are becoming markers of tense-aspect. In Chagga (Bantu; Tanzania) each of the motion verbs 'go' and 'come' has a meaning of purely physical motion, as well as a future-like meaning of 'motion' through time. It is argued that a) the basis for the polysemy of Chagga 'go' and 'come' is a metaphorical linking of spatial and temporal deixis; b) the future-like meanings of the two verbs are characteristic as "prospective aspect" (Fleischman 1982); c) the meaning anomaly of two verbs which are opposite in their deictic directedness both acquiring future-oriented semantics is explicable, given the shared property of allowing a shift in speaker-perspective; and d) the prospective-aspectual use of both 'go' and 'come' may be accounted for by a single, simple conceptualization of temporal relations. The Chagga picture is suggestive of some general characteristics of 'come' and 'go' verbs that make them viable sources of grammatical futures.

Effects of Age of Acquisition on Grammatical Sensitivity

American Sign Language provides a unique opportunity to investigate the effects of late exposure to a primary language on adult linguistic processing because deaf people tend to have varying onsets of exposure to ASL. Using a sign monitoring task and a grammaticality judgment task, we investigated the sensitivity of 30 deaf subjects to errors in verb agreement and aspect morphology. Sign monitoring taps automatic on-line processes and does not require overt awareness of grammatical errors. In contrast, grammaticality judgments are made off-line without time constraints and with metalinguistic awareness. In the monitoring task, subjects (10 native signers, 10 early signers (exposed to ASL between ages 4 - 7), and 10 late signers (exposed to ASL between ages 10 and 20) watched 70 videotaped sentences and monitored for a target sign, pushing a button as soon as the target sign was detected. Sentences were either structurally correct or contained an error in verb morphology. Target signs always followed the correct/incorrect verb. We hypothesized that if subjects were sensitive to a grammatical error, response times would be slower if the target followed an error. Our results were quite dramatic. Native signers reaction times indicated that they were sensitive to errors in both verb agreement and aspect, but early and late signers RTs indicated sensitivity only to errors in aspect morphology. Importantly, in the following off-line grammaticality test all three groups were equally able to consciously detect the grammatical errors. Our results suggest that late exposure to a primary language affects the recognition and/or integration of verb agreement information within a sentence but leaves intact the integration of aspectual information. Late exposure to language did not, however, affect grammatical knowledge of verb agreement or aspect morphology.

The Phrase Structure of English Negation

Pollock 1989 and others have analyzed English not as the head of NegP, taking VP or AgrP as its complement. I present evidence against this approach, and then propose that not is (usually) in Spec,VP position. There are at least four arguments against not as a head: (1) VP Deletion, possible after Infl+not, is impossible after a second Aux—thus not is not a head in the latter cases, so a unified analysis is possible only if not is an adverb; (2) if not is a head, the widely-asserted constraint that subcategorization is local is violated; (3) the relative scope of modals and negation cannot be treated straightforwardly if not is a head; (4) not must be an adverb in order to account for certain raising facts. I suggest that the adverb not may occur in Spec of the VP complement of Infl, permitting deletion (cf. Lobeck 1987) only in that position; it is elsewhere completely like an adverb, barring deletion (1 above). In Spec,VP it is not a head, correctly giving 2-4: Infl and VP are again local with respect to subcategorization (2), and both scope facts and raising facts (3-4) can be accommodated by head-movement over not without violating the HMC (which forbids movement of a head over another head).
Joseph F. Eska (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies)

On the Evolution of Celtic Word Order

The basic VSO word order of Insular Celtic is exceptional among the Indo-European languages. Watkins, Celtica 6, 1963, 1-49, ascribes the development of VSO order in Insular Celtic from the SOV reconstructed for Indo-European to a generalisation of marked Indo-European sentence patterns and a leftward univerbation of compound verbs, motivated to large extent by a Celtic restriction upon the possible hosts for enclitics occurring in Wackernagel's position. This is the commonly accepted view to-day.

Watkins based his proposal upon certain uncommon patterns attested in archaic Old Irish texts. Since 1963, a not insubstantial amount of Continental Celtic linguistic matter has come to light, close analysis of which suggests an alternative to Watkins' hypothesis.

I will demonstrate that we can see the development of basic word order from SOV to SVO in the linguistic records of Continental Celtic, and that at the SVO stage certain constructions, most notably that due to the restriction upon the possible hosts for enclitics occurring in Wackernagel's position noted above, motivate VSO order at S-structure. I will propose that this and other constructions that motivate VSO order at S-structure may have become so common as to cause a linguistic catastrophe whereby a generalised verb-fronting rule was implemented, resulting in the basic VSO order observed in Insular Celtic at S-structure.

Alice Faber (Haskins Laboratories)

Evidence for Three-Way Lip Position Contrast in English Consonants

Phonological systems, from SPE on, treat lip rounding as a binary phenomenon. Rounded vowels and consonants are [+round] or have a [LABIAL] tier, while non-rounded consonants and vowels are [-round] or have no [LABIAL] tier. This implies that two basic settings are available for lip position and that observed variation in lip position results from phonetic context. The results of the present study suggest that three feature values, encoded in two binary features or in one tri-valued feature, are necessary to characterize lip postures for English consonants. English-speaking subjects produced ten tokens each of pseudo-words of the form aCSa, aScSa, aCaSa, aCaCa, aSa, with C ranging over {k m r} and S over {s s}. Lip position for all utterances was monitored with a modified Selspot opto-electronic tracking system. Preliminary analysis for one subject showed no difference among /s s r m/ in maximum upper lip protrusion in the single-consonant utterances; each had c. 2.5 mm more protrusion than did /s/, which in turn had c. 1 mm more protrusion than /k/. More significantly, lip position for /k/ in the biconsonantal utterances was comparably affected by immediately preceding /s/ and /s/; in each case, the /k/ was only insignificantly less protruded than the adjacent sibilant. These facts suggest that each of the two sibilants has its own characteristic, phonologically distinctive lip posture and that both sibilants differ from /kl/ in characteristic lip posture; the latter may be specified for minimal lip protrusion or (more likely) underlyingly unspecified for lip position, receiving its surface realization either from an adjacent sound or by default.

Leona F. Fass

A Minimal Deterministic Acceptor for Any (Structured) Context-Free Language

Structural properties distinguishing the context-free languages (CFLs) from regular languages (RLs) preclude generalization of significant RL recognitive theory to the entire CFL class. But when a CFL is represented in a skeletal structured fashion S and non-traditional skeletal automata (SAσ), introduced by Levy and Joshi, are employed as syntactic analyzers, we find relevant RL theory indeed does generalize to the class of structured CFLs. With this approach we prove any structured CFL S has a unique, finite-state, minimal deterministic SA (DSA) acceptor. We show this DSA to be effectively obtainable from any known SA for S, from any CF grammar defining S, or, from a suitable structured language sample. Possible applications of these results, such as the design of efficient parsers, also will be described.
Kathleen Ferrara (Texas A&M University) (SAT MORN: E)
Barbara Bell (Texas A&M University)
Variation and Innovation in Constructed Dialogue Introducers

This paper focuses on the full range of discourse variation in dialogue introducers, with particular attention to an innovative grammatical feature (be + like) found in personal experience narratives (Example: He's like, "Why, what's wrong, why you still sitting up?''). The form was observed by Johnstone (1987) and discussed by Tannen (1989) as a means of introducing constructed dialogue, but use of the form has not yet been quantified in the literature, and its frequency relative to other discourse forms is not known. The study expands the work of Schiffrin (1981) and Wolfson (1982) which dealt with tense variation in verbs of quoting (e.g. said/says; goes/went) by examining the relative frequency of the three types say, go, and be + like in the past and Historical Present in 500 tape-recorded narratives from two generations of rural and urban Texans. The study finds that while say is the most common form (43%), be + like (33%) is more frequent than instances of go (24%) as a dialogue introducer. The form is, likewise, more common for urban than rural speakers, and slightly more common for females than males. The study shows that the form initiates constructed dialogue of several types, both representations of inner speech and apparently actual speech. The implications are that, contrary to Underhill (1988), who noted a decline in the use of like as a focus mechanism in California, there is diffusion of like into new geographical regions and new discourse functions.

Josep M. Fontana (University of Pennsylvania) (FRI AFT: A)
John Moore (University of California-Santa Cruz)
VP-Subjects and se-Reflexivization in Spanish

The VP-internal subject hypothesis (e.g. Koopman and Sportiche 1987) is gaining acceptance. However, this proposal conflicts with a constraint on VP-move and reflexive clitics in Romance languages. Rizzi (1986) invokes a chain-formation algorithm based on local binding to rule out sentences like the Spanish example in (1a); however, assuming VP-internal subjects, his account would also rule out (1b):

(1) a. Juan, *se ha sido presentado a sí mismo,
John, has been introduced to himself.

b. El hombre, se está mirando a sí mismo en el espejo.
The man, is looking at himself in the mirror.

Under Rizzi's account, se is an intervening binder in (1a), preventing proper chain formation. This should also rule out (1b). We propose an account that retains Rizzi's chain formation algorithm, but excludes A-elements such as se from being potential A-binders (in itself desirable). We propose that se-reflexives require local binding between a subject and the anaphor (an independently motivated constraint); this rules out (1a), while allowing (1b). Our account makes further predictions with respect to non-se-reflexives. We correctly predict these to be grammatical in conjunction with passive, but not with raising.

Lisa A. Frank (University of Pennsylvania) (SUN MORN: D)
Shared Elements in Modern Hebrew Free Pronouns and Past Tense

The pronominal and past-tense verbal systems in Modern Hebrew share remarkable phonological and semantic similarities. Several possible analyses of this situation exist, depending on whether one regards the two entities, pronouns and verbal suffixes, as identical or distinct but similar. Traditional descriptions of Modern Hebrew have described informally these shared elements, since they cannot be collapsed into any economical set of rules. Yet speakers are aware of such shared elements -- for example, in any 'I' and zaxarti, 'I remembered' -- and have preserved them from earlier forms of Hebrew. The current paper examines the possibility that rules compounding or criticizing the pronouns onto a bare verbal stem, but determines that the most economical set of rules neglects the aforementioned similarities. However, Janda and Joseph's 1988 notion of rule templates provides a framework for capturing these kinds of semantic and phonological similarities between distinct rules and/or items. J & J propose that a template can be viewed as a kind of (meta-)redundancy rule expressing formal unity across rules and representations. Adopting this approach, the current paper presents rule templates which capture the shared elements between and among numerous verb suffixation rules and pronominal items in the Modern Hebrew morphology.
A Thai conduction aphasic's performance on a written confrontation naming task is reported. Thai is a tone language, and tones are consistently marked in the Thai writing system. Spelling errors were classified as substitutions, additions, omissions, and reversals. A qualitative analysis of his spelling errors indicated that most errors were phonologically similar to the target stimuli, longer stimuli were more difficult, distribution of error types varied between segmental (consonants, vowels) and suprasegmental (tones) units, phonological constraints were rarely violated, errors tended to occur at or near the beginning of words, over a third of the words in error elicited multiple attempts at a target word (conduite d'approche) which almost always resulted in the correct spelling and error patterns were similar to those observed in oral reading and repetition. The co-occurrence of symptoms across tasks is discussed in relation to a current functional architecture for reading, repetition, and writing, and is hypothesized to reflect primarily a functional lesion to the Phonological Buffer.

Reconstructing a Word-Order Lock: Construct vs. Periphrastic *du in Proto-Semitic

I have argued that the key to any word-order (WO) change in Semitic (notably Ethiopic) lies in loosening the tight lock on VO-type WO found at the NP-level in Proto-Semitic (PS). That lock inheres in the PS "Construct" formation, whereby N(Head)-Dept embedding is achieved through a rigid, quasi-compound asyndetic Head-Dept bond. The Construct locks in not only N-Gen order but also Prep-N and N-RelCl order, thus freezing PS in a VO mold. The key to opening the lock is the competing strategy for embedding in Semitic: the ever-increasing use of a periphrastic subordinator *du (N*dudept), used both as an "of"-word and a RelCl particle. Here there is no lock blocking a possible WO reversal: Head [ *du Dept ] - Head [ *du Dept ] Head ... as in Ethiopic. But *du (with its by-form *du < *6u) itself clearly reconstructs to PS. How, then, can we claim that PS WO was "locked"? The answer emerges from a functional reconstruction of *du in PS. Drawing on data from attested Semitic languages, this paper proposes that:

a) With N-RelCl embedding, *du functioned in PS as a normal RelCl particle; but
b) With N-N embedding, [*du N] was only nascent in PS, was essentially headless, and was semantically distinct from "true" Possesses-Posse s sor embedding. Embedding involving two Nouns was done by Construct. Thus *du, though extant in PS, was largely irrelevant to N-Gen (and thus Prep-N) ordering; instead of competing with Construct, it fulfilled a different function. For these WO parameters, the lock was fully intact in PS.

Diminutives in Parents' Speech to Children

Diminutives in English are a common feature of baby talk (BT) or of Child Directed Speech (CDS). Whereas some languages (e.g. Latvian) have a rich repertoire of productive hypocoristic morphemes, English relies heavily on the hypocoristic ending -'ie. This ending is perhaps the first morphological marker noted and manipulated by children. Moreover, the use of the hypocoristic carries with it the parent's own world view, insofar as the ending implies both approval and affection. This paper examines all uses of diminutives in the speech of 16 mothers to their children at three points in time: 14 months, 20 months, and 32 months. Results indicate that diminutives are used with only a restricted class of the already small lexeme pool in CDS (with, for instance, proper nouns, some body parts, kinship terms, games, etc.). The use of diminutives is consistent across parents, although some use more than others, and girls hear a somewhat different set of diminutives than boys. This latter can be seen as differential gender role socialization through the medium of language.
The Lexical vs. Functional nature of INFL—explains the otherwise surprising and troublesome facts of constituent order in Catalan and Spanish.

The paper proposes that Lexical Insertion (Chomsky '65) into syntactic structure is level-ordered; evidence is taken from Ancient Greek. At the first level only content words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs) are inserted; function words are inserted at the second level. Sentence-level stress is assigned after the first level but before the second: this derives the fact that function words in AG are not stressed. The model is an extension of the familiar Level Ordering used for Class 1 (-ation, -able) and Class 2 (-ness, -ful) affixes in English (Siegel '74; Kiparsky '82, Mohanan '82). LOLI inserts function words into the derivation after prosodic structure has been created (as with Class 2 affixes) and adjoins them to it without altering it: this late insertion of function words explains both why they are not instrumental in creating prosodic structure above the word (Clitic Group, Phonological Phrase, etc.) and why they criticize to adjacent content words (Devine & Stephens 1978, 1983; Hayes 1989): function words undergo LI without a syllable-tier of their own and are adjoined to existing prosodic structure via stray adjunction (SA). SA associates moras to the syllable-tier, resulting in the loss of syllables that occur in slow speech (ho a nee 'the man' > huanee). LOLI thus treats the 'reduction' of function words not by structure-destroying rules of reduction, but by invoking independently needed autosegmental rules of association that license material stranded on the CV-tier.

A bipartite structure for deictic systems (as opposed to the traditional tripartite one) contrasts 'I' and 'thou' with 'he/she/'; likewise: 'this' and 'that' contrast with a remote demonstrative 'yon(der). This is the case in Yanam, where the personal and demonstrative pronouns fall together in a similar bipartite framework. What is even more striking is that the same framework can be seen in the kinship system. The feature of Yanam kinship terminology which reflects the bipartite deictic framework is the morphological irregularity of the kinship stems for a third person possessor (pi se e 'his/her father-in-law') in contrast to the stems which occur with first and second person possessive forms (sop-a ce 'my father-in-law' and sop-a ho 'your father-in-law'). Of the six sets of kinship stems referring to relatives of ascending generations, all have allomorphs for the third person singular which differ from those for the first and second person singular possessors.

It is commonly assumed that transitive subjects originate in [Spec, IP]. On the other hand, the Lexical Clause Hypothesis (Speas, in press) argues that at D structure all the arguments in a verb's 6-grid project to positions dominated by a projection of that verb. Under the LCH, the subject occupies a position within VP, assumed to be [Spec, VP]. We present evidence from Catalan and Spanish in support of the LCH versus the [Spec, IP] hypothesis. Data such as (1) are crucial to our argumentation:

1. ¿Quién trajo para mí una carta?  
   "Who brought for me a letter?"

The [Spec, IP] hypothesis requires either ad hoc and unconstrained adjunctions (of VP-internal arguments) or lowerings (of the subject) to account for this type of data, while the LCH together with the hypothesis that INFL is a Lexical category in Catalan (González 1990) and Spanish (Contreras, forthcoming) account straightforwardly for the facts. In these languages INFL governs into VP, assigning Nom Case to the [Spec, VP], and obviating the need for movement of the NP in [Spec, VP] into the [Spec, IP]. [Spec, IP] remains a Caseless, θ-less "landing site" for movement of any constituent. The interaction of the LCH with a single parameter -- the Lexical vs. Functional nature of INFL-- explains the otherwise surprising and troublesome facts of constituent order in Catalan and Spanish.
Dissimilation and the Form of the OCP

A rule of dissimilation in Takelma (Sapir 1909; 1921) can be expressed in the following form: \([a\ F] \rightarrow -[\alpha F]/-[a\ F]\). Yip (1988) proposes that such rules are triggered by the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP, McCarthy 1986). In this paper I will present evidence that the OCP does trigger both dissimilation of nasals and coronal sonorants in Takelma. However, the OCP as it stands is too strong and is not surface true. I propose that the correct statement of the OCP for Takelma is as follows: (i) OCP: \(*[+\text{place}] [+\text{place}]; [\alpha \text{ nasal}] [\alpha \text{ nasal}]; [\text{ sonorant}] [\text{ sonorant}].

A large class of Takelma noun stems occurs with a characteristic suffix consisting of an unspecified vowel slot and a coronal nasal, i.e., \([\gamma Vn]/[-Vn]\). The labial specification is supplied by default. The case of offending \([+\text{nasal}]\) non-nasal coronal sonorant (i.e., \([\gamma Vn]/[-Vn]\)) does receive the same analysis except that no default value is supplied and the segment surfaces as \([-Vn]\) following a coronal sonorant and as \([\gamma Vn]/[-Vn]\) following a nasal.

The OCP operates on the coronal tier and the nasal tier triggering the delinking of the place specification of the suffix consonant. The labial specification is supplied by default. The case of offending \([\gamma Vn]/[-Vn]\) specifications receives the same analysis except that no default value is supplied and the segment surfaces as \([-Vn]\) following a coronal sonorant and as \([\gamma Vn]/[-Vn]\) following a nasal.

The OCP in Takelma accounts for coronal dissimilation in noun stems and also applies to underlying forms. Thus forms such as \([\gamma Vn]/[\text{red}]\) are correctly allowed but forms such as \([\gamma Vn]/[\text{red}]\) are (correctly) disallowed. The OCP-triggered dissimilation of coronal sonorants, therefore, is not an isolated case of an OCP-triggered dissimilation rule but rather is the result of the OCP as it affects the grammar as a whole.

Lynn Gordon (Washington State University)

Nez Perce Relative Clauses

Nez Perce has both internally and externally headed relative clauses. Unlike other languages documented as having internally headed RCs (see Gorbet 1977, 1978; Cole 1987), Nez Perce has free order of major constituents: moreover, modifiers and heads do not necessarily form surface constituents. Evidence that the "head" can occur structurally within the RC is found in the case marking. Internal heads can only be marked for the appropriate syntactic role in the RC, not in the main clause (as in (1)), while external heads must be case-marked for their role in the main clause (as in (2)).

(1) Shila-nm pe-cutkup-e kax ?ini:t-kex ku:y-e
   Shila-TSJ 3/3-burn-PRF REL=1 house-to go-PRF
   'Shila burned down the house I went to.'

(2) Shila-nm ?ini:- ne pe-cutkup-e kax-kon-aa ku:y-e
   Shila-TSJ house-DO 3/3-burn-PRF REL=1 that-to go-PRF
   'Shila burned down the house I went to.'

RCs with internal heads form a constituent containing the head; RCs with external heads not only do not contain the head, but there is no evidence that they form a surface constituent with the head.

Michael Hammond (University of Arizona)

Derived Ternarity and the Domino Condition in Winnebago Stress

In this paper, it is argued that the stipulative Domino Condition (Halle and Vergnaud, 1987) can be done away with by analyzing Winnebago (Halle and White Eagle, 1980) as a case of derived ternary footing.

Main stress in Winnebago falls on the third syllable from the left. Secondary stresses fall on alternating syllables following the primary stress, lu:kiri:jiksha, 'he pulls it taut'. The facts of interest concern epenthetic vowels inserted to break up sequences of an obstruent followed by a sonorant consonant. In some examples, this epenthesis appears to apply after stress assignment, i.e., it does not alter the distribution of stress: hoshawazho, 'you are ill'. (Epenthetic vowels are bolded.) In other examples, epenthetic vowels do disrupt the distribution of stress, suggesting that epenthesis preceeds stress assignment, lu:kiri:jiksha, 'you dress, prepare'.

The proposal made here is that epenthesis applies before stress assignment, but that epenthized vowels are marked as "foot-extrametrical". This means that, if at all possible, epenthized vowels must occur at the left edge of a foot. In other respects, the analysis is straightforward. The initial syllable is extrametrical and iambic feet are built from left to right. Following Hayes (1987), iambics are minimally bimoraic. This requirement of bimoronicity will occasionally force the loss of foot-extrametrical marking to make up a minimal lamb. In contrast to the Domino Condition, foot-extrametrical marking can be shown to play a role in a number of other systems, e.g., Old English (Dresher & Lihiri, 1988). OE basically exhibits stress on the first syllable and on every second mora counting from the left. However, there is evidence from a rule of High Vowel Deletion that the first foot is followed by a foot-extrametrical syllable. (A foot-extrametrical high vowel is deleted in an open syllable.)
S.J. Hannahs (University of Delaware/Swarthmore College)  
*Strict Cyclicity and Level Ordering in French*

Certain facts of French phonology are argued in the literature to support a level-ordered view of lexical phonology. Thus, Johnson (1987) argues that the prefix *in-* is affixed at different lexical levels and Withgott (1982) that prefinal schwa deletion results from level ordering. In this paper it will be argued, following Kaye (1988), that level ordering is not required in these cases. Rather, it will be shown that the interaction of Strict Cyclicity (SC) with cyclic and noncyclic affixation accounts for the facts. Thus, *in-* nasalizes before a stem-initial sonorant if there is an internal cycle, but it assimilates if there is no internal cycle:

- a) cyclic [{in}mangeable] --- {inmangeable} 'in manageable';
- b) noncyclic [{in + moral}] --- {imoral} 'imoral'.

Relying on SC, this analysis provides support for eliminating unnecessary lexical levels. This account of two prefixes, cyclic and noncyclic *in-*, is also supported independently by semantic differences in compositionality between forms in which the prefix nasalizes and those in which it assimilates.

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John U. Harkness (Harvard University)  
*An Explanation for the Change of Indo-Iranian *s* to Avestan *gh*

In Avestan a new category of velar nasal consonants arises as one of the outcomes of Indo-Iranian *s*; compare Sanskrit sŚvār-, and Avestan xvāhār-. This is a quite unusual diachronic source for new nasals. In this paper I propose a new explanation for the unexpected nasality this segment acquires. This explanation revolves around the observation that the historical merger of two phonemes may yield the phonetically more marked member of the pair. In this case a stage of Indo-Iranian must be reconstructed in which there existed both a non-nasalized form of *s* (from Indo-European *gs* and *g*), and a nasalized form - Indo-Iranian *g* from Indo-European vocalic *g* and *g*. While Indic lost the nasality, Iranian seems to have generalized the marked, nasal *g*. With this new understanding of Iranian phonological history it is no longer a mystery that *s* should become *gh* (through the intermediary *h*) specifically in the proximity of *g*, which we now take to have been a nasal vowel at the appropriate point in pre-Avestan.

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Caroline Heycock (University of Pennsylvania)  
*Specificalional Pseudoclefts and Predication*

Specificalional pseudoclefts (1) are of interest because of the insights they offer into the syntactic reflexes of predication, and proposals explicating the syntactic distinction between them and predicational pseudoclefts (2) in terms of predication have been made in Williams (1983) and Baltin (1989).

1. What John is is proud of himself.
2. What John is important to him.

An analysis of pseudoclefts as involving raising of a constituent of a small clause to Spec of IP can account for some aspects of their behavior, but this paper argues that some striking distributional restrictions on specificalional pseudoclefts—e.g. their ungrammaticality in infinitival contexts and in inversion structures—require at least the additional hypothesis that in this construction the wh-clause obligatorily appears in the Spec of CP, rather than in the Spec of IP. Apparent counterexamples are shown to result from the ambiguity of sentences with wh-clauses as arguments.
The Fronting of Non-Finite Verbs in Old English

It is widely accepted that Old English, like the modern Continental West Germanic languages, exhibits the effects of a rule fronting a finite verb to some left-peripheral position in certain contexts. It is argued here that non-finite verbs, most clearly of these the bare infinitive and the passive participle, may optionally be fronted in similar fashion in certain contexts. This fronting does not affect to-dative infinitive, which provides striking distributional contrasts, and the passive participle, may optionally be fronted in similar contexts. Occurs only when the verb of the governing clause is itself fronted, and cannot be reduced to other processes known to affect non-finite verbs, such as the generalizations of West Germanic "verb raisers" required in Old English. Its characteristic form in passive participial clauses may provide further evidence of the optionality of the movement of the underlying object in passive clauses in West Germanic.

The main effects on word order here can be achieved by moving a VP-final non-finite verb form into the I position of a head-initial IP phrase. Such a configuration of the IP is found in finite subordinate clauses, and the only special feature of the current construction is therefore the requirement that the governing verb should also be in a head-initial IP. The Old English material does not yet provide arguments for a more detailed diagnosis of this property.

Gary Holland (University of California-Berkeley)

Transitivity, Causativity, and Surface Case in Old Norse

There exists in Old Norse a sizeable number of verbs which take dative objects, and whose congers in other Germanic languages occur with the accusative, e.g., (a) hestarinn drap i gras hē芬i (dat.) 'the horse drooped its head into the grass', Egill kasta芬 ni芬r horninu (dat.) 'Egill cast down the horn', (c) ƿau hafa flestum (dat.) 'they have brought most people to their knees', (d) verpa eggum (dat.) 'to lay eggs'. The traditional explanation maintains that the dative here can generally be translated by 'with' + the noun, and that this meaning derives from the Indo-European instrumental, which in Germanic merged with the dative. This explanation overlooks the crucial fact that the synchronic semantics of these verbs and their dative objects are not those of a verb plus instrument. It seems clear that collocations of verb and dative object are a 'construction' in Fillmore's sense of this term (1988, MS). The unifying semantic feature is that these verbs either impart some motion to, or control the motion of, their objects. When used with dative objects, intransitive verbs are transitivized. Transitive verbs, on the other hand, undergo a diminution of transitivity when they are used with dative objects. The construction spread through the lexicon, affecting verbs with the appropriate semantics.

Ki-Sun Hong (Stanford University)

An Analysis of Case Alternation in Korean in Terms of Control

The purpose of this paper is to isolate the primary semantic factor relevant for the nominative / accusative case alternation on objects in Korean. My basic assumption is that case marking cannot be solely accounted for in terms of a configurational structure, or grammatical functions. Instead, I claim that the case alternation is based on semantic information.

Korean has two kinds of dyadic predicates: one assigning accusative case to its object, and the other assigning nominative case (e.g., cohaha/-coh- 'like', kaci/-iss- 'have'). Kim's account (1990) in terms of lexical conceptual structure (Jackendoff 1986) is not viable, since the predicates share the same conceptual structure. I claim that the semantic notion of a controller (Givon 1975) is relevant, based on five semantic tests for controllerhood: the subject of the predicate which assigns accusative case has control over the situation denoted by the predicate. In contrast, nominative case is sanctioned by the non-controller subject. This analysis correctly predicts the nominative / accusative case alternation in the other pairs of predicates, which share the same lexical conceptual structure and grammatical functional structure: (i) involuntary bodily movement predicates; (ii) lexical passives; (iii) receive type verbs; (iv) causatives. Theoretically, this analysis implies that case selection in Korean directly refers to semantic information, which is not necessarily encodable in syntactic argument structure. In this sense, it supports the view that syntax can in fact be directly constrained by the semantic information (Bresnan 1982, Dowty 1986, T. Mohanan 1990, among others).
Qian Hu (Boston University)  

Semant ic and Pragmatic Fact o rs in the Acquisition o f Wh - Quest ions  

It has been widely reported and accepted that children acquire wh-questions in a similar sequence, i.e.: what, where, who, why, how, when (Ervin-Tripp, 1970). A lot of researches (Hootten, Merkin, Hood & Bloom, 1980, Tyack & Ingram, 1977) have been done on the syntactic complexity that contributes to this order of acquisition, but little has been done on the semantic and pragmatic factors, the relation between parental input of different types of wh-questions and children’s acquisition. Based on the analysis of 24 two-to-five year olds’ interactions with their parents in a 30-minute lab play-room situation, this study examined the semantic and pragmatic factors that contribute to the relative later acquisition of why and how-questions. The results suggest that why and how-questions embody a variety of semantic and pragmatic implications depending on the context. Accordingly, the input frequency of different types of why and how-questions with a certain semantic and pragmatic connotation is reduced. Both the semantic and pragmatic complexity and the comparatively infrequent parental input of different types of why and how-questions contribute to their relatively later acquisition in the sequence.

Jose Hualde (University of Illinois)  

Negative Lowering and Clause Reduction in Catalan  

Aissen and Perlmutter (1976) demonstrated that the phenomenon in Spanish by which an object of a subordinate verb cliticizes to a higher verb, as in la quiero ver 'I want to see her' must be analyzed as a process of clause reduction, and not simply as an independent rule of clitic climbing. Since then, a number of studies on the Romance languages have come to confirm the basic insights of this analysis. In this paper, confirming evidence of a type that has not been discussed before will be presented. In Catalan, there is a negative particle pas, which immediately follows a verb that is also preceded by no, as in no sé pas la resposta 'I don’t know the answer.’ Interestingly, with those verbs that allow clitic climbing pas may appear after the subordinate verb: no la vull veure pas 'I don’t want to see her.’ On the other hand, verbs that do not allow clitic climbing do not permit pas-lowering either. Since both phenomena of clitic climbing and pas-lowering are triggered by the same set of verbs, the conclusion is that these two phenomena are aspects of one single process, i.e. clause reduction.

Katharine Hunt (University of British Columbia/California State University-Fresno)  

Wh- Movement and Case Assignment in Gitksan  

Gitksan, a Tsimshianic language of northwestern British Columbia, has overt wh-movement, which applies in forming wh-questions, clefts and relative clauses. Two unusual features of the transformation are the appearance of an otherwise unattested morpheme close to the position of subject traces and the fact that fronted NPs surface with default case regardless of the morphological case which they would have received in their base generated position. I propose that the special subject trace morphology is supplied to case-license the trace, while the default case on fronted NPs is due to the absence of case chains in Gitksan (Koopman,1987).
Sabine Iatrnidou (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) (FRI MORN: A)

Clitics and Island Effects

It will be argued that while Modern Greek OSV word-order is the result of movement of the object out of the base-generated SVO order, the OScl-V order (Clitic Left Dislocation) is base-generated as such. However, as also noted by Cinque (1989), the relation between the object and the coreferent clitic is subject to islands, yielding a paradox for standard GB, where islands are supposed to constrain only movement, not base-generated relations. However, CLLD can be explained without abandoning the aforementioned standard hypothesis. Specifically, ton Kosta is moved out of the D-position and this movement obeys islands. Kosta is, therefore, moved out of the D-position, which means...
Miriam Isaacs (Rockland Community College)

From Regional to Social Variants: Yiddish among Hasidim

An exploration of the processes by which regional dialects are shifting to become socio-cultural variants across two generations of Yiddish speaking hasidim in Israel. To understand how such changes occur, social and attitudinal factors determining selection of variants by the target population are studied. Taped interviews provide insight into informants' perceptions, language loyalties and language policies. The tapes also provide phonological and morphological outcomes on the variants themselves to assess how closely the perceptions of variation on the part of the speakers conform to reality.

Masahide Ishihara (University of Arizona)

Prosodic Domain and Syllabification in Japanese

In this paper, I will argue that single morphological domain has one or two prosodic (or phonological) domains (see Inkelas (1989)). This distinction causes asymmetries in application of phonological rules. The argument comes from segmental rules related to syllabification in Japanese. The language has two suffixes which have an identical shape: ta "desiderative" and ta "past tense". The former triggers /i/-epenthesis upon concatenation but the latter does not. I will show that the asymmetry resides in representational differences: the stem and des. ta have two prosodic domains while the stem and pst. ta have only one prosodic domain. The present approach, if correct, has a few theoretical implications: i) Japanese has only one morphological level; ii) Vowel epenthesis is not automatic; iii) a segmental rule may refer to an absence of a prosodic unit as a condition of the rule. This approach is better than the Lexical Phonological approach, where Japanese has more than one morphological levels and is required to have a loop to explain ordering of morphological operations.

Mary Jack (University of Pennsylvania)

A Phonological Deficit in Agrammatism?

Agrammatism - in which it is usual for both morphology and syntax to be impaired in speech - can be one of the most linguistically revealing aphasias, especially when it involves a significant interaction with phonology. Given the intimate interaction between morphology and phonology in intact grammars, and the major role of morphology in agrammatism, it appears that phonological processes must be addressed before "higher level" phenomena can be accurately accounted for. Secondly, just as in morphosyntactic analyses, a hierarchical framework such as non-linear phonology is necessary to deal adequately with the data. Finally, based on comparison with slips of the tongue (cf. Shattuck-Hufnagel 1986), the present evidence supports the hypothesis that some aphasic deficits differ from normal slips of the tongue more in quantity than in quality.
Glide-Substitution in Northeastern Yiddish

All modern Yiddish \((\text{Western} = \text{WY}, \text{Central} = \text{CY}, \text{Northeastern} = \text{NEY}, \text{Southeastern} = \text{SEY})\) possess surface diphthongs. Generally, the westernmost dialects \((\text{WY}, \text{CY})\) have both the front off-glide \((\text{I})\) and the back off-glide \((\text{w})\), while the easternmost dialects \((\text{NEY}, \text{SEY})\) lack \(\text{w}\)-glide. The \(\text{w}\)-glide has disappeared from \(\text{NEY}, \text{SEY}\) as a result of a number of seemingly unrelated historical processes, described in Weinreich (1953) and Herzog (1965). The present paper shows that the loss of \(\text{w}\) is part of the general loss of long vowels in \(\text{NEY}, \text{SEY}\), in the vowel-length dialects \((\text{WY}, \text{CY}, \text{and the Courtland sub-region of NEY})\) \(\text{w}\) is maintained. The main sources of \(\text{w}\) elimination in \(\text{NEY}\) were: (a) intervocalic hardening to \(\text{y}\) \(\text{(zavar} < \text{“pawar” sour})\); (b) loss before labialized consonants \((\text{variants} \text{kam} < \text{“kaww” hardly}, \text{nol} < \text{“mawt” mouth})\); (c) hypercorrection based on \(\text{I}\) \(\text{(variant} \text{kari} < \text{“krowt” cabbage})\); (d) the putative rule of \(\text{w}\)-glide fronting / \(\text{C}\) \(\text{(variant} \text{kari} < \text{“krowt” cabbage})\) is shown not to be a conditioned sound change \(\text{(y-c} - \text{is an otherwise-acceptable cluster})\), but rather an instance of glide-substitution \((\text{GS})\) with the other available glide, \(\text{I}\) \((\text{cf. hypercorrect form} \text{dogen} < \text{“dogen” to pray})\). \(\text{I}\) is an independent phoneme in \(\text{Y}\), whereas \(\text{w}\) is not. \(\text{GS}\) creates surface diphthongs which may be reinterpreted \((\text{in non-length dialects})\) as short vowel + consonant; vowel + \(\text{w}\) could only be interpreted as long vowel or vowel sequence. These observations suggest a reappraisal of diphthongs generally in non-length varieties of \(\text{Y}\).

Antecedent Contained Deletion without Logical Form

Using recent accounts of extraction and quantifier scopes within the Categorial Grammar literature \(\text{(e.g., Steedman, 1988; Hendriks, 1987)}\), this paper provides an account of Antecedent Contained Deletion \((\text{ACD})\) under the view that surface sentences are directly assigned a model-theoretic interpretation rather than being mapped into a Logical Form. Sag (1976), Williams (1977), and Larson and May (1990) point out that if the "missing" material in \((1)\) is understood as \text{said he read} then the object \text{NP} has only a de re and not a de dicto reading, and this also follows under the analysis here:

1. His father said he read everything which his teacher also did.

I also show that \(\text{ACD}\) provides evidence for a wrap operation \((\text{as in, e.g., Bach, 1979})\), and show how the formalization of Wrap in Pollard (1984) can be incorporated into a Categorial Grammar with function composition. Given this formalization of wrap, the analysis here \((\text{but not the LF analysis of} \text{ACD})\) correctly predicts that the "missing" material in \((2)\) cannot be understood as \text{said Mary put on the shelf}:

2. John said that Mary put every book which Sam also did on the shelf.

This reading does emerge in \((3)\), which also follows under the present analysis:

3. John said that Mary put on the shelf every book which Sam also did.

Empty Categories in Fur

This paper examines problems encountered in the analysis of empty categories in sentential complements in Fur, spoken in western Sudan. In \((1)\) below there are two empty categories, \(\text{e}\), co-indexed with \(\text{elli-si}\), and \(\text{a}\), co-indexed with \(\text{kitab-a}\).

1. \text{elli-si kitab-a; munkin ge} \{\text{alan dat dogala-si e; inni}\}
   \text{Alli-dat book-pl; able be+3pl [comp e; children-dat e; give+3sg]}
   \text{‘For all it is possible to give the children books’}

One interesting aspect of examples like \((1)\) is the assignment of \(\text{O}\) roles to \text{elli-si} and \text{kitab-a}. The \(\text{O}\) role of \text{kitab-a} is determined by \(\text{a}\). This is true for any nominative case \text{NP} controlling subject-verb agreement of be possible. This suggests that in \((1)\) \(\text{a}\) is an \text{NP} trace resulting from the movement of \text{kitab-a} to to subject position in the matrix clause. This analysis is not unproblematic for a Government and Binding framework, in that there appears to be \text{NP} movement out of finite clauses and out of case-marked positions. Possible solutions to these and other problems will be proposed and evaluated. The \text{NP} \text{elli-si} is interpreted as bearing two \(\text{O}\) roles, that of beneficiary in the matrix clause and that of agent in the sentential complement. What is interesting about the interpretation of this \text{NP} is that it must bear two \(\text{O}\) roles; that is, the position occupied by \(\text{e}\) cannot be filled by an overt \text{NP}. The analysis of empty categories like \(\text{e}\) is also discussed in a Government and Binding framework.

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Richard D. Janda (University of Pennsylvania)  
Brian D. Joseph (Ohio State University)  
Morphological Constellations, Hyperanalysis, and 'Elsewhere' Violations in Modern Greek

Morphologists have generally imported from phonology the "paradigm" of factoring out recurring elements and accounting for them via independently motivated rules. Such an approach avoids positing for particular alternations unique rules whose parts are formally identical to those of rules required elsewhere. But precisely because the analysis of real morphological paradigms suggests that adherence to the practice of factoring out recurring elements in morphology can create a plethora of rules whose interaction violates the "[E]lsewhere" condition. A case in point is the person- and number-marking in the Modern Greek preterite. When elements recurring across endings are isolated and attributed to individual rules, there result many instances where the application of a general rule is blocked by a preceding specific rule or is followed by a specific rule. This situation supports Janda & Sandoval's 84 claim that morphological rules are not subject to the same EC which governs phonology. But these putative EC violations in the Modern Greek preterite may actually indicate that not all recurring elements across the various suffixes should be factored out, and that to do so is actually to engage in quasi-historical hyperanalysis not reflective of the synchronic competence of native speakers. Instead, one may analyze the relevant endings as realized by rules introducing a combination of recurrent elements, yet still capture the obvious formal similarities across these rules via Janda & Joseph's 86 "rule constellations" and "meta-redundancy-rules".

Eloise Jelinek (University of Arizona)  
Noun and Verb in Yaqui Possessive Sentences

There are Possessive sentences in Yaqui (Uto-Aztecan) where the lexical noun that is head of a possessed NP appears in the sentence-final verb node, followed by any one of the large set of Tense/Aspect/Modality suffixes that occur with verbs. Any residual complement to this head noun is marked Accusative, as a non-subject.  

1) inepe woi-m tu'tuli-k maara-ken  
   I had two pretty daughters.

The N may originate in a relative clause within a possessed NP.

2) 'aapo uka-\em hinu-ka-'u-ta  
   The horse that you bought belongs to him.

These moved nouns differ crucially from verbs as follows: a) They can appear with or without an ACC complement; b) An ACC complement has no lexical N head; c) The subject argument may have only a Possessor theta role. When these constructions are passivized, an impersonal is produced; there is no object which can be raised to subject. In these Possessive sentences, zero level N goes directly to zero level V; the internal Possessor argument of the underlying NP is raised to INF, where it gets NOM case.

Brian D. Joseph (Ohio State University)  
Hittite andurza 'inside, indoors' and the Indo-Hittite Hypothesis

The Hittite adverbial *andurza* 'inside, indoors' is generally taken as a frozen ablative. However, there is no trace of ablative meaning in *andurza*, and though adverbs in -za without ablative force do occur, they are generally variants of locatives; no such locative by-form is attested for *andurza*. Accordingly, a different account of *andurza* is proposed here: *andurza* contains the IE adverbial suffix *-s* of multiplicatives, e.g. *dwis* 'twice' (Skt *dvis*, Grk *die* etc.), and other forms, e.g. Grk *yesterday* (< *g'h-dye-s*), etc. with the same phonological development of *-s* as in *nasterza* 'star' < *H₂-ster(*)-s*.

This analysis has important consequences for the Indo-Hittite hypothesis, regarding the relation of Hittite to the other IE languages. The multiplicative use of *-s* seems to be an innovative functional specialization of late IE, since other uses of *-s* are quite diverse with no distinct distributional pattern, i.e. relic forms. Interestingly, Hittite also has a productive numeral formation in *-s*—surely related to the *-s* of *dwis*--in the forms 2*-s*, 3*-s*, etc. which Laroche 1947 has taken to be multiplicatives.

Thus both Hittite and the rest of IE share a common innovation—the productive specialization to multiplicative function of the earlier more general adverbial *-s*—a situation not expected under the Indo-Hittite hypothesis (see Oettinger 1986), but which would be expected if there were no IE unity that did not include Hittite.
Keiko Kaminashi (Tsuda College)

Old English Stress and High Vowel Deletion

We will try to analyze Old English stress (e.g. wérdu, héafudu, ðéþeling/ðéþelinge, rádelis/rádelas) and High Vowel Deletion (HVD) (e.g. wérdu→word, werudu→werud, héafudu→hás-du, sætian→settan) by constructing grid constituent structures, under (i) Projections (I) and (II), the latter of which gives rise to the bipositeness (=bimorality) of heavy syllables in Quantity Sensitive languages, and (ii) the Boundary-Head Construction Principle, and the Constituent Integrity Principle, among other principles. A comparison will be made with the grid constituent structures constructed in the framework of Halle & Vergnaud (H&V) (1987). Our grid constituents contain two levels of foot construction, Fi- and Fj-construction. Our structures are able to account for all outputs of HVD which is asserted to be composed of two processes: Metrical Transformation (=x-delinking) and Syllable Transformation (= o-delinking). H&V's structures cannot predict the right outputs of HVD, as far as hás-du, sætian→settan are concerned. We will suggest that this is because their structures are not constructed meeing the principles given above, which gives us confirmation for these principles and the mechanism of Metrical Transformation.

Christine K. Kamprath (Lexpertise Linguistic Software)

Toward a Restrictive Model of Unstressed Vowel Reduction

Although general limits on the shapes and sizes of stressed vowel (SV) systems and their unstressed counterparts have been recognized since Trubetzkoy's (1939) inventories, phonological theory has largely ignored the widespread phenomenon of unstressed vowel reduction (UVR). Standard feature theory can describe neutralizations of natural classes of SVs to some UV by feature-changing rules but leaves the details of the process of reduction unmotivated and unconstrained.

This paper proposes that a theory which represents vowel structure as unary primitives organized in head/dependent relationships (van der Hulst 1986, 1989; Anderson & Ewen 1987; Kaye et al. 1985, etc.) can account for UVR as a simple parameterized operation of pruning non-head branches. As such it straightforwardly constrains and predicts the natural classes of SVs which can neutralize, as well as the identity of their corresponding UV and the shape and size of the UV inventory. It nonetheless allows for a variety of neutralization relationships, constrained by structural limitations on head/dependent configurations and motivates, in its simplicity, the wide spread of the UVR phenomenon.

The paper presents data from languages with a variety of SV and UV inventories, including some whose identical SV and UV inventories pattern differently (Catalan, Romani, etc.). It also discusses the effect of stress vs. syllable timing and pitch vs. stress accent on UVR. It argues that a systematic model of UVR is necessary to account for the identity and interaction of vowel features (cf. the debates over place vs. articulator, and the status of the features openNI (Clements 1989) and IATRI, and to inform the development of automatic speech recognition and synthesis applications (Fujimura, 1990).

David J. Kathman (University of Chicago)

The Categorial Status of the Welsh Verbal Noun

In recent syntactic work on Welsh, the class of words traditionally known as "verbal nouns" (or VNPs) have generally been treated as non-finite verbs, since they have verbal meaning. However, there is considerable evidence that they are best seen as syntactic nouns, with their maximal projection (the verbal noun phrase or VNP) being an NP. Welsh VNP s and NPs have essentially the same internal structure, and a wealth of evidence points to the conclusion that a VN plus its logical object are in a syntactic genitive construction; this evidence includes similarities in the use of pronominal clitics and prohibitions against the doubling of these clitics. In terms of distribution, both NPs and VNP s can appear as subject or direct object of a finite verb, or as object of a preposition; in contrast, finite clauses cannot be objects of prepositions or subjects. Though there are a few ways in which VNs behave unlike regular nouns, these are perfectly consistent with VNs being a special class of syntactic nouns.

If (as I try to show) Welsh verbal nouns are syntactic nouns, then this is a clear case where syntax and semantics are not correlated in the usual way, since VNs are certainly syntactically verbal. I suggest that the theory of Autolexical Syntax, in which syntax and semantics are parallel but independent, can handle this discrepancy.
Judy Kegl (Rutgers University)
Ann Senghas (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
Cross-Linguistic Comparison via the Elicitation of Controlled Narratives

As an extension of five years of research on Nicaraguan Sign Language (see Kegl & Iwata, 1989), this study used two nonverbal cartoons selected on the basis of their ability to elicit classifiers, verbs of motion and location, and locative and person agreement, to LSN (Lenguaje de Signos Nicaragüense) and ISN (Idioma de Signos Nicaragüense) signers in order to elicit topic-controlled narratives that serve as the basis of cross-comparison. These data, coded and transcribed, allow us to characterize an abrupt discontinuity between LSN (a peer-group pidgin) and ISN (a naturalized language). The existence of a parallel corpus of data for ASL signers allowed systematic comparison with that language as well.

Robert S. Kirsner (University of California-Los Angeles)
News Value, Face, and Dutch Hoör: A Questionnaire Experiment

Most treatments of the Dutch utterance-final 'intensive' particle hoör, as in Zeg maar Anneke, hoör 'Go ahead and call me Anneke, please do' (Shetter 1988:131) are too vague to predict its use; cf. Geerts (1984:676). In contrast, Kirsner and Deen's postulation of an explicit component of FRIENDLINESS for hoör (1990:3,6-8) suggests that there will be a simple linear relationship between the relative 'goodness of news' communicated by a sentence without the particle and the relative acceptability of final hoör in that sentence. The more 'friendly' or 'positive' a sentence is on its own, the more compatible it should be with hoör. However, a questionnaire experiment reveals that the actual relationship between 'news value' and acceptability with hoör is not linear but asymmetrically curvilinear: Though hoör remains least acceptable in 'negative' sentences such as U bent ontslagen! 'You're fired!', it is surprisingly less acceptable in very positive sentences than in neutral ones. This paper presents a revised semantic analysis of hoör which, supplemented by the theory of face in Brown and Levinson 1987, explains the quantitative details of the data.

Sotaro Kita (University of Chicago)
Universal and Language-Specific Characteristics of Gesture-Speech Relationship

It has been claimed that speech and the gestures that spontaneously accompany the speech are manifestations of one psychological process (McNeill 1985). However, prior works do not discuss about what aspects of the gesture-speech relationships are universal or language-specific. This is a significant question since it might help sort out universal and language-specific aspects of the cognitive process of speaking. An experiment is carried out, in which Japanese-English bilinguals are shown six-minute cartoon and recall the story in both Japanese and English to a different listener who has not seen the cartoon. The analysis of the videotaped narrations reveals that the temporal relationships between gesture and speech is sensitive to self-repair, discourse connectors, semantics, and syntax in both languages in a similar manner. The analysis also reveals that the gestures in Japanese narrations are more elaborate and, in a certain speech context, take the view point of characters in the cartoon more often. This could be the evidence for the claim that the kinetic planning of gesture as to when to start and stop moving limbs with reference to the aspects of speech that are shared by languages has universal characteristics. By contrast, how gesture represents the imagistic content of the memory might be language-specific.

(McNeill, David. 1985. So you think gestures are nonverbal? Psychological Review. 92.)
Robert Kluender (University of California-San Diego)  
Marta Kutas (University of California-San Diego)  
The Influence of Family History of Handedness on Syntactic Processing: Evidence from ERPs

There is substantial evidence in the event-related brain potential (ERP) literature for sensitivity of the N400 to lexicosemantic information, but only recently have there been attempts to investigate syntactic phenomena. Osterhout (1990) has claimed to have evidence for differential processing of syntactic violations occurring mid-sentence as indexed by a late positive-going component in the averaged waveform provisionally referred to as the "P600"; he also reports an N400 occurring at the end of anomalous sentences as an index of failed sentence interpretation. Bever et al (1989) have reported on a large body of evidence for differential language processing between right-handers with left-handed family members (RLs) and those without (RRs): RRs appear to be more sensitive to syntactic structure and RLs to conceptual information. Our experiment looks at the processing of classic movement constraint violations in English by both RRs and RLs. Preliminary results are as follows: (1) the N400 appears to be sensitive to lexicosemantic information in both groups; (2) syntactic violations occurring mid-sentence tend to elicit an N400-like response in RRs but a P600-like response in RLs; (3) in sentence-final words, both groups reflect difficulty of processing in a P600-like component and ungrammaticality in an N400-like component. These findings are consistent with an interpretation of the P600 as an index of syntactic processing difficulty and of the N400 as an index of ungrammaticality. They also support Bever's hypothesis that RRs are more sensitive to syntactic structure than RLs.

Masatoshi Koizumi (Ohio State University)  
Secondary Resultative Predicates in Japanese

Kegl and Fellbaum (1988) suggest that a secondary resultative predicate (SRP) is adjoined to VP, whereas McNulty proposes that it is sister to the verb. This paper discusses distribution of SRPs in Japanese, and argues (i) that an SRP in Japanese is dominated by V', and (ii) that, if we assume that an SRP is assigned a non-referential thematic role, the distribution is derived from the principle of predication proposed in Koizumi (1990), which states that a predicate must be c-governed by both the NP it is predicated of and a zero-level category. I will draw the conclusion (i) from several syntactic tests including quantifier scope interaction, weak crossover phenomena and soo-su "do so" replacement. For instance, in Japanese, the pro-verbal form soo-su "do so" may refer to either VP or V' but not to a fragment of V'. When soo-su is used, the SRP is obligatorily replaced by the pro-verbal form. This is shown in (1).

(1) John-ga zibun-no kuruma-o kiroku nuta. Tom-mo soo-sita. / *Tom-wa akaku soo-sita.
   -Nom self-Gen car-Adv yellow painted -also so-did -Top red so-did
   'John painted his own car yellow. Tom did so, too. / Tom did so red.'

If the SRP could be base-generated outside the V', it should be able to appear outside the scope of soo-su. Thus, it is dominated by V'.

Jaktin Kornfield (Syracuse University)  
Turkish (Non-)Comitatives

This paper argues, contra Aissen(1987), that the subject of (1) consists, on reading a, of a complex NP that is a coordinate construction (CC), with the second conjunct a silent, 1st person singular pronominal, rather than A.'s Plural Pronoun Construction (PPC), with a silent plural pronominal head and the comitative phrase as an adjunct (rather than as a conjunct, as proposed here). (1) Hasan-la sinema-ya git-ti -k
   -with (Comitative) cinema-Dat. go-Past-1.pl.

(1) is ambiguous between two readings: a. He went to the movies with Hasan; b. He went to the movies with Hasan.--An apparent counterpart of (1), claimed by A. to be an instance of the PPC, with an overt plural 1st person pronoun, is shown to involve a parenthetical CC rather than the PPC. Further, it is shown that the genuine counterpart of (1) with an overt singular pronoun and plural agreement is an instance of the(double-headed, since coordinate) CC and not of a logically possible Singular Pronoun Construction (SPC) with the singular pronoun as single head and the comitative as adjunct. Differences between (first) conjuncts and PP-adjuncts within complex NPs will be listed: Differences in truth values, in case marking properties, and in determining the person feature of agreement. While A.'s particular analysis of Turkish (non-)comitative constructions will thus be shown to be wrong, her general claims will be maintained: Agreement is controlled syntactically, rather than semantically, by a "surface" (rather than "deep") constituent.
Conflict between Jaw and Lips in Vowel Production

Rena A. Krakow (Temple University/Haskins Laboratories) (FRI MORN: A)
Ignatius G. Mattingly (University of Connecticut/Haskins Laboratories) (FRI MORN: E)

Recent work on articulatory coordination suggests that lips and jaw collaborate to achieve targets of aperture. In the present study, we have examined the effects of height, rate, diphthongization, and consonant voicing on bilabial aperture for vowels and on the individual contributions of the upper lip, lower lip, and jaw.

Light-emitting diodes (LEDs) were attached to the speaker's upper and lower lips and, for observation of jaw motion, to a splint fixed to a lower front tooth. The vertical movements of the LEDs were recorded as the speaker produced, in a carrier sentence, at fast, normal, and slow rates, utterances of the form bVb and bVp, where V was one of /e e a / (monophthongs) or /e aj/ (diphthongs). Movements of the upper lip minus the lower lip (aperture) and of the lower lip relative to the jaw were derived from the signals recorded.

Our results show that lip aperture varies according to the factors manipulated and as such should be considered an important aspect of vowel production. However, the pattern observed was, at times, the result of apparently conflicting labial and mandibular goals, whose importance should not be underestimated. Thus, for example, the jaw acted to reduce lip aperture for diphthongs relative to monophthongs, while the upper and lower lip acted to increase lip aperture. Also, as vowel height was increased, the height of both the jaw and upper lip increased so that the jaw was effectively functioning to decrease, and the upper lip to increase, the aperture. [Supported by NIH grants HD-01994 and DC-00121.]

Tina Kraskow (University of Pennsylvania)

Multiple Wh-Movement in Slavic

Rudin (1988) showed that in Slavic and Romanian, multiple wh-movement fell into two classes: one with all the wh-phrases in (Spec, CP) (Bulgarian, Romanian), the other with one wh-phrase in (Spec, CP), the others adjoined to IP (Polish, Serbo-Croatian, Czech).

(1) a. Cine cu ce i-a dat? (Romanian)
   who to- whom what to-him has given
   "Who gave what to whom?"
   b. [CP (Spec, WH WH WH) C] IP [...]

(2) a. Kto komu co dal? (Polish)
   who to- whom what gave
   "Who gave what to whom?"
   b. [CP (Spec, WH) C] IP [...] WH IP [...]

The contrast between (1b) and (2b) raises two questions: (i) How do we account for the fact that all the wh-phrases are in (Spec, CP) in (1b) but not in (2b)?; (ii) What is the nature of the movement process that adjoins the wh-phrases to IP in (2b)? I propose that the above contrast is related to the presence of obligatory inversion in single wh-questions in the (1b) languages (BALKAN), and to its absence in the (2b) languages (SLAVIC), representing different strategies for 'realising' C. In BALKAN, the ECP forces the wh-phrases to (Spec, CP), but not in SLAVIC. For (ii), I propose that wh-movement is OR at S-structure, and assume 'least effort.' Ciclic/2 in Slavic forces the leftmost wh-phrase to (Spec, CP), and the ECP in BALKAN forces all the wh-phrases to (Spec, CP).

Karl Krippes (Indiana University)

Archaism and Innovation in Mongolian Dialects

The reconstruction of proto-Mongolian anlaut *h raises two theoretical problems: 1.) anlaut h *h is attested in Middle Mongolian (MMO) and preserved in some isolated dialects as h-, but zero in major dialects, therefore reconstruction based only on Mongolian evidence yields *h-, 2.) evidence for labiality comes from both ancient Mongolian loan-words in Manchu and Nanai (of the Tungusic group) and from assumed Tungusic cognates which derive from proto-Tungusic *h. This paper will examine recently published Mongolian dialect materials from the PRC for the archaic Mongolian dialects (Dagur, Baonan, Dongxiang, Mongguor, Shera-Yugur) in order to develop criteria for determining which words retain MMO anlaut h- and which words with anlaut h- involve a secondary development of *> h-, with or without the presence of a Middle Mongolian or Tungusic counterpart.
Paul R. Kroeger (Stanford University/Southern Illinois University)

Non-Subject Controllees in Tagalog

Tagalog presents a counter-example to the near universal generalization that Equi targets (or controllees) are always grammatical subjects. Syntactic tests such as relativization, clefting, raising, quantifier float, etc. uniquely identify the NP which bears absolutive case (the ang-phrase) as the grammatical subject of the clause. However, in the most productive type of obligatory control constructions of the type under discussion here must satisfy two constraints, one semantic and the other syntactic. I will formulate the semantic constraint as requiring that the Equi target be the "determinant" of the controlled situation, i.e. the participant who is responsible for the event taking place. If there is a volitional agent involved, that agent will normally be the determinant and thus the only possible controllee. However, a shift in determinant is possible through a process which Sag and Pollard (1990) refer to as "coercion". This effect is possible in Tagalog only in a particular class of verb forms which Schachter and Otanes (1972) label "Ability or Involuntary Action" (AIA) verbs. When the embedded verb carries AIA morphology, the controllee may be either the logical subject or the grammatical subject of the complement clause.

Elisabeth D. Kuhn (Virginia Commonwealth University)

Directive Speech Acts and Speaker Responsibility in Hungarian

Analyzing directive speech acts to determine how speakers utilized their authority, I found that one of the most salient features was whether the speakers openly relied on their authority or whether they cited some outside source to get their task accomplished.

Data from Hungarian support the assumption that there is indeed a fundamental difference between these two kinds of directives. Hungarian distinguishes them by using different grammatical structures: In speech acts where the directive force is acknowledged as coming from the speaker, Hungarian uses the imperative morpheme ő in its various manifestations (including /ő/ after another "ő", as in "olvass" (read!)). In speech acts of the kind where the speaker avoids taking overt responsibility for getting someone to do something, Hungarian uses a different grammatical marker that is virtually limited to these cases: The verb is in the infinitive and has a personal possessive ending: "olvastok" (read).

Hungarian thus grammaticalizes a fundamental pragmatic distinction, which shows that this distinction is crucial in the analysis of directive speech acts, especially with respect to how speakers use their authority, in data from other languages as well.

William A. Ladusaw (University of California-Santa Cruz)

Interpreting Negative Concord Structures

This paper proposes an analysis of negative concord structures in which negative argument expressions are treated semantically as indefinites (after Heim 1982) and syntactically as elements in a negative chain (after Kayne 1984). It provides a compositional interpretation of negative concord, illuminates the relation between it and negative polarity item licensing, and provides a typology of crosslinguistic variation in conditions on negative concord based upon data from English, the Romance languages, and Serbo-Croatian.

Negative concord requires special attention in compositional semantic interpretation. In this analysis, the concordant terms are linked to form a "negative chain". It is the negative chain as a whole which negates the sentence. The semantic contribution of the negative terms no(t) and never as arguments is therefore divided from their ability to express clausal negation. As argument expressions they are interpreted as indefinites, capturing their relation to the negative polarity items like the an and ever.

This theory of the semantic interpretation handles the apparent idempotence of negation in negative concord, explains Linebarger's 'immediate scope' requirement on negative polarity licensing, and provides a treatment of negative noun phrases in existential constructions, where their analysis as generalized quantifiers is problematic. Negative concord is subject to a good deal of variation across languages and dialects. (Cf. Labov 1972, Zanuttini 1988.) The paper proposes a typology of this variation in terms of conditions on the formation of negative chains and the surface syntactic position of their heads.
The temporal implementation of French stops by a group of (native French) advanced French-English bilinguals is examined to determine patterns of reverse interference (RI). The data consist of digitized waveforms from ten repetitions of CVC words read in short frames (e.g., Dis bac/bague à Marie) similar to the ones used for English in a previous study (e.g., Yell bock/bog at Mary). Duration measurements are being made of VOT and closure of initial ptk; glottal pulsing in initial and final bbg; vowel and following stop closure; and final stop release.

On the empirical side, the aim is to determine which of the parameters are most susceptible to RI and why; what the relationship is between order of acquisition and the occurrence of RI; and between L2 mastery and L1 attrition. On the theoretical side, the aim is to determine the nature of the phonemic and phonetic representations of the bilinguals' English and French stops. Existing studies on VOT, the only parameter for which RI has been investigated, have produced conflicting results: unmodified L1 categories (e.g., Caramazza et al. 1973); L1 categories modified in the direction of L2 (e.g., Williams 1979); L1 categories modified in the opposite direction (e.g., Flege & Eefting 1987a, 1987b).

In their work on Japanese intonational patterns, Pierrehumbert and Beckman (1988, P&B) suggest an experiment to examine the phonetic realization of different lexical tones in sequence. P&B suggest the use of experimental data to distinguish between an underspecified or fully specified account for a sequence of identical tones in the phonological representation of tonal or accentual languages. P&B claim that a rising pitch contour in Japanese can be predicted, if it is assumed that there is no tonal specification for intermediate syllables between initial L and final H syllables in an utterance; the rise in pitch is a result of interpolating between the L and H. The hypothesis in P&B about surface tone representations was tested by conducting three experiments in Yoruba. In the test sentences, the first syllable is followed by 2 to 7 syllables L M and H, as illustrated by: (L) H L... (P = 2-7 Hz).

Our results show that Yoruba uses a more complex system for specifying targets and interpolating between targets than for Japanese or Hausa. For example, going from a L to a H target depends on the number of H tones following the L tone. If there is a single H tone, there is a rapid rise to the H target, whereas when there is more than one H tone for instance, it takes two H tones to get to the H target before there is a plateau of pitch of the last three tones. The principles proposed by P&B to account for the interpolation pattern in Japanese do not generalize to Yoruba. Neither OCP nor underspecification alone can account for the phonetic realization of tones in Yoruba data, since there is a rise before a plateau is achieved. We conclude from this and other results that tones are fully specified and the phonetic implementation rule in Yoruba is sensitive to each of the surface tones in an utterance. This study shows that phonetic implementation rules in tone languages can provide valuable insight to surface representations in non-tonal and tonal languages.

In the usual semantics for conjunction, the extension of a coordinate predicate \( P \) and \( Q \) at time \( t \) will be the intersection of the extensions of \( P \) at \( t \) and \( Q \) at \( t \). The intension of \( P \) and \( Q \) does not carry information about when a given individual has property \( P \) and when it has \( Q \), but only when it has both. Unfortunately, certain adverbials are sensitive to information about the conjuncts, and not just their intersection. For example, to determine the denotation of alternately hot and cold, one must know the times when an object is hot, and the times when it is cold — precisely the kind of information which is lost in the standard analysis of conjunction. This paper will suggest a lattice-theoretic, event-based analysis, in which conjunction corresponds to a sum operation on events. Events of alternation with respect to a complex predicate \( P \) and \( Q \) systematically show a certain structure: They have subevents which are not of type \( P \) and \( Q \), but whose sum is of this type, and these subevents have disjoint running times. Alternately is assigned a semantics which filters out events which do not have this structure; this allows interpretation to be assigned compositionally, without the information loss paradox which results in more standard approaches to generalized conjunction.
Eun-Ji Lee (University of Connecticut)  
Vowel Harmony and Diphthongs in Middle Korean

Some gaps in the paradigm of attested diphthongs in Middle Korean (15C, A.D.) is suggested to follow from vowel harmony and an underspecification approach to it (o/o: default Vs underlying). MK harmony is claimed to be spreading of [-round], an autosegment, [-round] being a redundant feature. The vowel i behaves exactly like consonants in transparency to harmony: none of them are claimed to belong to the adjacency class for harmony, even if they are skipped, it does not result in a violation of adjacency requirement of spreading. Diphthongs are assumed to be formed under a single branching nucleus node. None of o and o form diphthongs because they are underlyingly unspecified and nothing is under one half of a single branching nucleus node. The vowel i freely constitutes a diphthong with every vowel (cf. i, a, and o) because of the neutrality of it to harmony. The reason for *wa(ua)/wo(uu) comes from harmony. The fact of *yi(iii)/*w(uu)/*wu(uu) are due to the obligatory contour principle (OCP) (with harmony). Two identical root nodes are adjacent, violating the OCP.

Yunhee Lee (Boston University)  
The Social Function of Korean Topic Change Discourse Markers

Through the analysis of the use of three Korean markers gende, genajena, and je in the conversations of a Korean TV drama, this study demonstrates that it is essential to consider the social as well as the discourse functions of markers, within Korean culture for a more comprehensive view of the functions of these markers. Results suggest that an important discourse function of these three Korean markers is to signal "topic change." A closer examination, however, reveals that the use of these markers also reflects certain aspects of social deixis, especially the speaker and addressee relations. It is suggested that, in the past, traditional use of the markers was only related to the cultural emphasis on hierarchical relationships. Although, historically, the markers gende and genajena were non-honorific markers, and the marker je was an honorific marker, I propose that modern use of these markers is closely related to traditional, socially determined hierarchical relationships as well as to individual values concerning these relationships and the degree of formality of the situation.

Charlotte Linde (Institute for Research on Learning)  
The Open State of Talk: Social, Physical and Technological Factors in Discourse Organization

The organization of discourse must be understood in its social and material context. The discourse level can not be studied autonomously, independent of non-linguistic features of the situation. This paper defines the open state of talk (OST) as one of several structuring contexts for discourse, and shows how it is constructed by the social assumptions, physical setting, and technological resources of the participants. This term was first used by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), but not defined. This paper shows that OST contrasts with strict conversational organization in that the no-gaps-no-overlaps rule is suspended. Gaps in talk are permitted and frequent because other legitimate activities of the setting may override or interrupt talk.

The social factor defining the OST is that the interlocutors are in a legitimate relation requiring continued copresence. There are physical factors which facilitate this: ie spatial layouts permitting continual access: open-plan housing, open offices, gathering places at coffee machines, etc., and technological resources permitting degrees of access: telephone, video conferencing, remote screen sharing, etc. Data from two work sites shows one work group which has constructed an OST, and another which has not. This difference has important linguistic consequences: length of permitted pauses between utterances, whether pauses are treated as marked or unmarked, number of pause fillers, presence or absence of linguistic uptake for remarks, presence or absence of closing markers, and scope of closing markers, whether or not second conversations are treated as side sequences, and conversion of OST into conversation by introduction of discourse units such as narrative.
Linda Lombardi (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)  
**Privative Laryngeal Features and Neutralization**

This paper examines the phonology of neutralization and assimilation of [voice] and other laryngeal features. I conclude, following Mester and Ito (1990), that [voice] is a privative feature, and that assimilation of [voice] is a combination of the operations of neutralization and spreading, both of which are independently needed in phonology. This analysis results in agreement in voiceless clusters without spreading of [-voice]. Neutralization is delinking of the Laryngeal node (Clements 1985). It is formalized as due to a positive constraint on the Laryngeal node which has the effect that [voice] is licensed only in onset position, so that elsewhere it delinks. Doubly linked [voice], as in the output of spreading, will escape the effects of the constraint due to the Linking Condition. Neutralization in word-internal syllables does not always correlate with word-final neutralization; languages may have the former and not the latter. I argue that this is due to the special status of word-edges in licensing: as otherwise impermissible elements can appear due to Final Extrametricality, similarly otherwise impermissible feature specifications may be allowed at word-edge.

Mark L. Louden (University of Texas-Austin)  
**Covert Prestige and the Role of English in Plain Pennsylvania German Sociolinguistics**

The bilingual situation among the 'Plain' Pennsylvania Germans (Old Order Amish, Old Order Mennonites) presents one of the more interesting in North American sociolinguistics, but also one of the most frequently misunderstood for the fact that the parameters defining their sociolinguistic situation are so unlike those of other bilingual speech communities in the U.S. and Canada. One particular point of misunderstanding is the role English plays in defining Plain Pennsylvania German (PPG) sociolinguistic identity. In this paper I examine the functions of English within PPG-speaking society and relate them to Labov's classic notion of 'covert prestige'.

The functions of English in PPG society can be understood by viewing English as covertly prestigious, though in a way significantly different from the context in which it has been articulated by Labov and others. English, while covertly considered an out-group symbol of the 'worldliness' contrary to the Plain lifeStyle, is at the same time regarded by speakers covertly as 'high' (class) (PPG 'hooch', synonymous with 'English', i.e. 'non-Amish'), or prestigious, and is an important source of language change. Thus the covertly prestigious variety in the PPG sociolinguistic equation, English, is not the variety of in-group identity and solidarity (PPG).

Ian Maddieson (University of California-Los Angeles)  
**Syllable Structure and Phonetic Models**

Phonetic models like Lindblom's Theory of Adaptive Dispersion (TAD) aim to account for some aspects of phonological structure. TAD derives segments from principles that favor sequences of articulatory gestures involving less effort, and types of acoustic sequences producing temporal patterns with sufficient auditory contrast (when the set of patterns is evaluated jointly). So TAD predicts relative frequencies for particular sequences more directly than for particular segments or inventories. However, little is known about the cross-linguistic frequency of sound sequences. Janson (1986) analyzed the frequencies of CV syllables in 5 languages, suggesting that CV's requiring smaller articulatory movements were preferred over CV transitions showing strong auditory/acoustic contrast (Kawasaki 1982). This conclusion is overstated: no statistically significant tendency for dental/alveolar consonants to pair with front vowels and for labial and velar consonants with back vowels is present. To obtain further insight, the lexical frequency of sound sequences in a sample of genetically distant, geographically dispersed and typologically disparate languages is being surveyed. To date, results parallel those found in the reanalysis of Janson's data. Particular attention will be focused on the analysis of systemic contrast in a subset of the languages which have unusually small phoneme inventories and only CV(V) syllables, since these languages provide a particularly clear test of the predictions of TAD.
The sounds of the world's languages are very diverse but certain types of sounds are much more common than others and there are considerable co-occurrence constraints. In order to build an appropriate linguistic phonetic theory it is necessary both to make accurate observations of all the sounds that languages use and to describe their patterns of occurrence. We have now assembled a database illustrating nearly all of the different speech sounds known to occur. The data will be exemplified with recordings of the clicks of various Khoisan languages, the linguo-labial segments of some languages of Vanuatu, unusual phonation types in languages of South-East Asia, the two types of retroflexion in Badaga vowels and the set of four voiceless sibilants in Toda.

This database has enabled us to determine the parameters that are needed for a more adequate description of the distinctive sounds of the world's language. Our results clarify the nature of the weaknesses of two current models which aim in different ways to account for the sound patterns of languages. A biological model which emphasizes principles such as ease of articulation and auditory distinctiveness faces the challenge of accounting for the range of data we have presented. A second model, typical of modern phonology underrepresents the number of sounds we have observed, and also does not permit much of the variation between languages to be specified.

The present research provides a semantic account of voice marking (active vs. middle) within several classes of stative and change of state verbs in Modern Greek. The proposed analysis relies on a theory of transitivity as a gradient property of the clause (Hopper and Thompson, 1980; Langacker, to appear) and on the role of prototypes (Lakoff, 1977; Dowty, 1988) and semantic networks (Langacker, 1982) in explaining grammatical behavior. First, it is argued that active vs. middle voice marking is semantically motivated in terms of an energy continuum or its abstract analog. On such a scale, causation and pure state occupy the two extremes; active vs. middle voice correlate with greater vs. less energy, respectively. Second, it is claimed that passive voice is an extension from the middle network of meanings. The presentation thus illustrates the central role of the semantic continuum in explaining an array of data from the Modern Greek voice system.

Marantz (1990) proposes a theory of double object constructions, similar to Larson (1988), in which the first object is the specifier of a VP headed by an affixal verb, with this verb taking a VP complement containing the second object; such D-structures are projected from "event structure." Zaenen et al. (1985) note certain restrictions on the distribution of morphological case markings in Icelandic double object constructions and on the syntactic behavior of the objects. Most of these restrictions follow directly from the above theory of double objects, given a particular understanding of the phonological realization of "Case." In particular, we take the various names of case markings to stand for particular "spell-outs" of Case within structurally defined domains. When the upper verb directly governs the lower V in double object constructions, both Vs are in the domain of INFL and the higher verb is marked relative to the lower; the behavior and Case-marking of DAT-ACC double object verbs follows immediately. When the lower VP is closed off from government from above, the upper NP may be ACC or DAT, the lower DAT or GEN, and only the upper may passivize. The DAT ACC double object verbs will be shown to parallel those from Georgian and Albanian while the explanation of the possibilities/impossibilities of passivization in different double object constructions carries over to passivization in Kinyarwanda.
Yael Maschler (University of Utah)

Metalinguage and Discourse Markers in Bilingual Conversation

Building on Becker 1988, this study develops a theory of metalinguage and illustrates the iconic bilingual strategy of separating the metalinguage utterances from the rest of the discourse by means of language alternation in a corpus of 20 hours of Hebrew-English bilingual conversation. Those utterances, metalinguage with respect to discourse structure are found to occur at language game (Wittgenstein 1953) boundaries and to constitute utterances of the type Schiffrin (1987) and others have described as discourse markers. I illustrate that discourse markers of the following sorts are separated in language from the discourse they frame: perception verbs, confirming expressions, temporal and location deixies, contrastive, causal, and resutlative expressions, expressions organizing the order of games, introducing side games, adjoining or disjoining games, expressions providing information about the speaker's cognitive states, and expressions employed to avoid silence. The study further illustrates a distinction between discourse markers and sentence level conjuctions in bilingual discourse: when the expression is employed at the discourse level, it is generally accompanied by a move to Hebrew, whereas when it functions as a sentence level conjunction, it is generally not accompanied by a language switch. The study proposes a classification of the switched discourse markers based on Becker's approach to text as constrained by contextual realms (1988), and relates this classification to the phenomenon of clustering of switched discourse markers. Finally, the study considers the question of equivalence of discourse markers across languages and cultures.

Victoria Walker Massey (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill/Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

Dative Subjects and Dative Objects in Albanian

This paper addresses binding problems in Albanian, as in (1), in which it appears that the reflexive theme of a psych verb has moved to Spec,IP position where it receives nominative Case and c-commands and binds a dative experiencer in apparent violation of both Principles A and C of the Binding Theory:

1. Nuk i durua më kameriti.
   'The waiter could not endure himself any longer.'

The paper argues that word order and Case are not reliable tests of subjechedth. It argues on the basis of reflexives, cross-over effects, pronouns as bound variables and other tests of c-command that dative experiencers are syntactic "subjects" blocking movement of the theme to subject position, forcing INFL to move down to assign nominative Case VP-internally. The word order in (1) is the result of A-bar scrambling. In contrast, the paper shows that dative goals of non-psych verbs are syntactic objects, permitting A-movement of themes over them, showing no such apparently exceptional binding.

Yo Matsumoto (Stanford University)

A Quantity-1 Implicature Account of the 'Invited' Inference of Conditional Sentences

In this paper, I will argue that the so-called "invited" inference of a conditional sentence (Geis & Zwicky 1972) is a case of a Quantity-1 implicature (i.e. an implicature based on the Maxim "Make your contribution as informative as is required"). This is the view which was first adopted by Horn (1972) and Boer & Lycan (1974), but was later argued against by Atlas & Levinson (1982). Atlas & Levinson's view is based on the claim that the inference of (Ib) from (Ia) is the opposite of the possible implicature from (1a): (Ib) is stronger than (Ia), and therefore the Quantity-1 implicature of the utterance (Ia) should be the speaker's belief of the denial of (Ib).

1a. I will give you $5 if you mow the lawn.
   1b. I will give you $5 if and only if you mow the lawn.

I argue that (1b) does not count as a proper stronger alternative to (1a) for a principled reason. (1b) is stronger than (1a) in that it asserts an additional negative proposition: the speaker will not give the $5 if the hearer does not mow the lawn. Such negatively restricted stronger expressions do not generally count as a legitimate stronger expression for implicature.

An examination of such expressions shows that they are non-monotone (Barwise & Cooper 1981), the property that (some) non-scalar expressions have (Horn 1989). Such expressions do not form a "Horn scale" (Horn 1989). The inference (Ib) is attributed to the denial of another kind of statement stronger than (1a), such as (2).

2. I will give you $5 if you mow the lawn or clean my room (or do any other thing).

The denial of a statement like (2), together with the assertion of (1a), amounts to (1b).

Thus, the invited inference like (1b) is a regular case of Quantity-1 implicature, and its apparent problem can be solved in terms of a general condition.
In psycholinguistic literature, center-embedded (CE) sentences have been widely known to cause serious processing difficulty (c.f., Eady & Fodor, 1981). However, some have argued that the difficulty of processing CE sentences is caused not by virtue of the center-embeddedness of the clauses, but by other factors such as the presence of nested gap-filler relations (c.f., Hakes, Evans & Brannon, 1976). Since it is not possible to construct a CE sentence without nesting gap-filler relations in English, this hypothesis cannot be critically tested in English. In Japanese, on the other hand, CE sentences can be constructed without nested gap-filler relations. Therefore, in this study, experimental results for processing of CE sentences with Japanese native speaker are reported. The Japanese results showed that CE sentences, especially doubly CE sentences, are difficult to process even without nested filler-gap relations. The Japanese results are also contrasted with CE sentences in Chinese and Korean.

James D. McCawley (University of Chicago)
Comparative-Conditionals in Mandarin and Cantonese

In McCawley 1988, Fillmore's analysis of comparative-conditional (CC) sentences (The more Bill drinks, the nastier he gets) as an amalgam of comparative and conditional constructions is adapted to Mandarin CCs and argued for on the basis of peculiarities of Man. comparatives that are paralleled in the CC: the same sort of verb-copying is required when the compared element is not the main predicate, and the placement of the marker yuē matches the restricted distribution of the 'than/as' phrase. Since the usual Cantonese comparative (1b) differs in internal structure from that of Man. (1a), this cross-linguistic view of CCs leads one to expect Can. CCs to differ in internal structure from Man., e.g. yuē (= Man. yuē) ought to follow the compared element. However, Can. CCs generally are exactly parallel in structure to their Man. counterparts. Can. also has a homolog of the Man. comparative, but it is restricted to a formal register and is thus an implausible source for the colloquial CC. The Can. CC, unlike either comparative, allows a compared quantifier on a subject NP. There is actually a closer parallelism of Can. CCs to Yi questions than to either kind of comparative, but deriving them from interrogatives is semantically absurd.

1.a. Tā [bí wǒ] gāo (Man.) — b. Kèūih gōu-gvo trong. (Can.) 'He is taller than me'
2.a. Mǐ yuē shuō huà, tā yuē bù tīng. (Man.) 'The more you talk, the less he listens'
   b. Neǐ hē yuē gōng, kèūih jauh yuē bō tōng. (Can.)

Brian McHugh (Temple University)
Restricted Underspecification and Tonal Nodes in KIVunjo Chaga

Steriade (1987) argues that only feature values predictable from redundancy rules may be underspecified, and that apparent counterexamples to this claim are in fact privative features that never receive a default specification at any point in the derivation. KIVunjo Chaga (Bantu, Tanzania), like many tone languages, provides a counterexample that cannot be explained away in this fashion: There, low tone is not predictable from redundancy rules, and it behaves as if it is unspecified early in the phonology; yet a privative feature analysis of high tone is not possible since later in the phonology low tone behaves as if it is specified. Clements (1987) has proposed that Steriade's claim does not hold for suprasegmental features, since they can occur as floating autosegments. However, data from KIVunjo Chaga indicates Steriade's generalization not only holds, but is crucially needed in an analysis of the secondary tone feature [extreme], responsible for the high-superhigh contrast, which can occur as a floating element. I will propose that what exempts the primary opposition between high and low from Steriade's generalization is not its suprasegmental nature, but the fact that high and low tone are nodes, not features. Avery & Rice (1989) and Paradis & Prunet (1989) have claimed that where consonants are left unspecified for place of articulation, a default Coronal node is supplied in some languages. In the same way, we can account for the fact that low tone is initially absent, but later inserted as a default tone.
Cecile McKee (University of Arizona)  
Janet Nicol (University of Arizona)  
Dana McDaniel (University of Southern Maine) 

Children's Application of Binding during Sentence Processing 

Our study examines the application of children's knowledge of binding in real-time, providing a source of data unusual in child language research. In a cross-modal picture priming task, our subjects listened to sentences while watching pictures on a computer screen; they signalled (with a button press) their judgments of the "aliveness" of the picture accompanying each sentence. Experimental sentences were created in three versions, e.g. The elephant says that the tiger with black stripes is washing him/himself/the princess with an enormous yellow sponge. A picture of the lower clause subject (e.g. tiger) appeared just after subjects heard him, himself, or the princess. Responses to the picture were compared across conditions. It was predicted, based on results of similar experiments with adults, that response times would be speeded in conditions where coreference between a proform and the lower clause subject was established. Indeed, this turned out to be the case: subjects who showed an understanding of coreference constraints on pronouns and reflexives on an off-line task--the sentence-picture judgment task--showed a pattern of reaction time responses compatible with this understanding; subjects who demonstrated an understanding of reflexives but not pronouns on the off-line task showed a corresponding pattern of results on the on-line task. This study provides an additional source of data bearing on the question of children's understanding of binding, and demonstrates the feasibility and importance of using real-time measures in child language research.

Fiona McLaughlin (University of Texas-Austin) 

The Interaction of Consonant Gradation and Reduplication in Seereer 

Stem initial consonant gradation in Seereer (West Atlantic) is morphologically conditioned by the noun classes for which a noun stem is lexically specified. As such, it may be considered an inflectional process, taking place after derivational operations. A paradox exists, however, in the behavior of reduplicated stems of derived nouns, where some stems appear to undergo consonant gradation before they are reduplicated, as in a, rather than undergoing the more predictable sequence of reduplication, then gradation, as in b.

- From xil "to snore" Class 1 stem: -gilgil-, "gilgil-" "one who snores" 
- From jaxaaw "Diakhao" (place name) Class 1 stem: -caajaxaaw- "one from Diakhao"

The proposed solution posits gradation as a cyclic rule that may apply as a nominalizer early in the derivation, but generates only an underspecified segment stem initially. The stem is then reduplicated and features are filled in at a later stage by the inflectional process of class affiliation. This analysis accounts for the facts of nominals derived through reduplication in Seereer.

Cynthia McLeomore (University of Texas-Austin) 

Getting to the Intonational Point: Discourse Structure and Interpretation 

Previous research has suggested that intonational values at phrase boundaries, High and Low, function to structure text (Hirschberg & Pierrehumbert 1986; Woodbury 1987), regulate interaction (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974; Guy & Vonwiller 1984), and convey affect (Lakoff 1975; Ladd 1980; Bolinger 1978, 1989). Research in a Texas sorority community suggests that the meaning of phrasal tones is rather more abstract; in particular, phrase-final rises of the type L' H- (H%) show a distributional pattern which suggests that interpretation is inherently vague but constrained by a basic dyadic structure (a diagrammatic icon, in the terminology of Peirce) which can be applied to textual units or interactive units — i.e. signalling a relation between two things of the same type (e.g. clauses, sentences, turns, participants). This accounts for the effect of heightened involvement when phrase-final rises (rather than e.g. pitch range declination) are used to structure certain monologic discourses; furthermore, this analysis sheds light on how a speaker's choice of intonational structure for a given discourse is an appropriate communicative strategy in cultural context.
Diane Meador (University of Arizona)  
Phoneme Detection and Word Recognition with Artificial Neural Networks

While artificial neural networks (ANNs) show promise for speech perception and recognition, they are most accurate only in limited domains. One such limitation is that ANNs capable of large vocabularies are most accurate when trained with the data of a single speaker (Lippmann 1989). Perception and recognition across speakers depends on processing such parameters as dialectal attributes, which typically introduce errors in ANN performance. Because humans also make perception and recognition errors, ANN inaccuracies are potentially advantageous. This study was an inquiry into the extent of ANN inaccuracies in the perception of phones and the recognition of words produced by dialectal speakers. Errors are analyzed in terms of context and degree of variation from the Standard American English dialect. The effects of context and variation on network performance are compared with their effects on human performance, as described in the results of psycholinguistic experiments by Maris Len Wilson and Welsh (1979) and Cole and Jakimik (1978). Four networks differing in terms of phonemic coding systems and manner of input presentation were trained and tested to determine which configuration yields more human-like errors.

D. Gary Miller (University of Florida)  
From Reflexive 'Incorporation' to Passive in Scandinavian

Old Norse (ON) productively allowed "incorporation" (first stage, adjunction) of an adjacent, locally bound anaphor (thematic object or "shifted" "indirect object"). A number of changes operated Reflexive Incorporation (RI): (1) introduction of long distance binding which required the "strong" reflexive, (2) since incorporated D/Ne do not need Case, "dative shift" is entailed, but the relationship of dative sér to -sk was not as transparent as that of accusative sik; (3) sik could spread concord features to a predicate noun or adjective in ECM structures, but -sk could not; (4) "strong" sik kept the literal reflexive meaning, -sk acquired a plethora of idiosyncratic meanings; (5) sik remained a reflexive anaphor, -sk came to encode a variety of non-reflexive syntactic functions (unaccusative, ergative, middle, and finally passive). As a consequence, subsequent developments suggest the complete loss of RI: (1) generalization of -sk to all persons, singular and plural; (2) further phonological changes of -sk to -s(f) (complete the dissociation from sik, sik, sik (etc.)); (3) while there may remain instances of -st in Icelandic to be derived by RI (though other analyses seem more cogent), the final blow to RI occurred in East Scandinavian where -s is no longer reflexive at all, but productively serves as a passive morpheme. The use of -s for "indirect passives" follows from its prior use in "dative shift" contexts. Problems for Baker's theory are discussed.

Mithilesh K. Mishra (University of Illinois-Urbana)  
Agreement and Deixis: The Case of Maithili

Verb agreement in Maithili (a non-ergative Indo-Aryan language spoken in northern Bihar, India) calls for significantly extending not only the empirical limits on possible agreement systems but also the conceptual frameworks for providing explanatory account of the same. In Maithili, intransitive verbs agree with their subject only (monadic agreement) in person and gender. Transitive verbs, on the other hand, agree with a dyadic pair of two NPs the one of which is invariably the subject and one non-subject NP marked; the human (dyadic agreement) The choice of the second NP in a dyadic pair is sensitive to Grammatical Function hierarchy, Animacy hierarchy, Person hierarchy in a principled and interacting manner. The paper shows that in Maithili, agreement is deictic in nature because the speaker's belief regarding 'distance' and 'connection' existing between the subject and any other human noun in the sentence as well as in the discourse renders the application of all the hierarchies opaque. One of the most important implications of the Maithili agreement system is that it falsifies the claim (explicitly or implicitly made in all current theories that only Terms or Arguments control verb agreement, because in Maithili, the dyadic agreement is easily possible with a second NP that is a possessor inside an adjunct in both transitive and intransitive verbs.
Shigeru Miyagawa (Ohio State University)

Reanalysis and the Japanese Passive

In Japanese, the numeral quantifier (NMQ) and its associated NP must observe locality, so that an NMQ in VP cannot be associated with the subject. However, the direct passive allows an NMQ in VP to be associated with the subject, which is taken to be evidence for NP movement (Miyagawa 1989).

(1) Gakusei-ni ga [NP John-ni t1 3-nin mukar-aze-ta] (direct passive)

While the NMQ demonstrates movement, the direct passive fails to allow idiom chunks which are possible in English passive and raising structures.

(2) Idiom: sekigo aratame-ru 'hold another'

The English Tough construction has movement but does not allow idiom chunks ("good care is hard to take of the orphans"). What moves is an empty operator. The de facto NP chain that results from reanalysis does not allow idiom chunks (Chomsky 1981).

(3) [NP [AP is hard [CP 0, [AP PRO to V t1 ]]]] => reanalysis

The direct passive is proposed to have the same underlying structure as the English Tough. This accounts for the movement demonstrated by the NMQ and the failure to allow idiom chunks. The proposal makes it possible to unify direct and indirect passives.

Birch Moonwomon (University of California-Berkeley)

Incomplete Merger in the Third Dialect of English

The coalescence of /æ/ and /ə/ in San Francisco English is not complete. Word frequency may be an important factor inhibiting the merger. Data from a cross-generational sound change in progress study reveal advancement of the process through apparent time in a phonetically gradual way that, at present, leaves the ranges of the vowels incompletely overlapping. Many native San Franciscans are not conscious of a distinction, however. Spectrograms show that the subphonemic distribution for the variable (æ) (including (əril)) patterns very similarly to the distribution for (ə) (including (OrO)) through the decades in apparent time. This should facilitate coalescence. For young adult speakers, however, the sub-types of (ə) group to the back of and above those of (æ) in vowel space. Especially important are the ranges of (æ1) and (O1), (ət) tokens are relatively central (low and mid), (O1) tokens are relatively back and high. I suggest that the relative frequency of these tokens in casual conversation is inhibiting the completion of the merger. The vowels when followed by liquids are at the same time (æ) associated with the rest of the distributions of their respective original phonemes and (O1) undergoing partly independent processes that will remove them from the original phonemes.

John Moore (University of California-Santa Cruz)

Faire-par and Faux-Faire-par in Spanish

This paper will explore a class of Spanish object-controlled structures that resemble faire-par constructions:

(1) a. Hicieron diseñar la casa (por un arquitecto). faire-par (por-phrase marginal in Spanish)

b. Ordenaron construir estas casas. Object control - faux-faire-par

They ordered (someone) to construct these houses.

Faire-par constructions entail the suppression of the embedded external 9-role. I will argue that analyzing sentences like (1b) as instances of faire-par would entail a violation of Bach's generalization (obligatory controllers may not be suppressed) and require that anaphors may be bound by suppressed arguments. Instead, I will propose that these examples entail no 9-role suppression, and have null pronominal controllers. This null controller satisfies Bach's generalization and provides a legitimate argument that may bind an anaphor (cf. Rizzi 1986). Such anaphoric binding provides direct evidence for the pro in faux-faire-par constructions. Furthermore, reflexive elicitation facts particular to faire-par constructions are incompatible with verbs like ordenar. This analysis provides an account for which verbs may participate in faire-par constructions, and which may not. Causatives may because they do not involve control. Thus, this constitutes an argument against a control analysis of Spanish causatives (as proposed in Bordelois 1988).
Robert W. Murray (University of Calgary)

Phonological Drift in Early English

Lutz (1986) clearly demonstrated the syllabic basis of the word division practices found in the Old English manuscripts. The pattern of syllabication that emerges is a systematic one involving the tautosyllabication of intervocalic consonantal pairs in which the second member’s Consonantal Strength is considerably weaker than the first member’s (e.g., *tr not *tr). Otherwise heterosyllabication of the pair is indicated (e.g., *ld, *pn not *ld, *pn). Word division practices are not the only orthographic conventions which shed light on syllable structure. In writing his Middle English dialect, Orm carefully indicated vowel shortness by doubling the following consonant. Since the shortening of long vowels in closed syllables predated Orm’s period, his system can be used to determine whether a consonantal pair was heterosyllabic or tautosyllabic at the time of shortening (Phillips 1983). In comparison with Old English, Middle English shows an increased preference for tautosyllabication (e.g., ME *pn, *sl vs. OE*pn, *s.l). The increased preference for tautosyllabication is even more striking in light of pre-Old English syllable structure where heterosyllabication of all dyadic intervocalic clusters must be reconstructed. In this paper I demonstrate that tautosyllabication has the classic characteristics of a drift in the Sapirian sense: Operating as a typical sound change, it applies at first in a restricted fashion (see Markus 1988) and subsequently shows gradual, systematic generalization. In addition, I provide an explicit characterization of the drift in terms of a (partial) phonological preference theory (Vennemann 1988) which views tautosyllabication as a systematic means of improving syllable contact.

Jayashree Nadahalli

LF Movement: Counter-Evidence from Kannada

Huang (1982) postulates two LF rules for Chinese move NH and FOCUS since these two constructions observe island conditions even though there is no overt movement in Syntax. He implicitly claims that this is true in all non-configurational languages and as well as, in languages, where there is a combination of overt movement & non-movement. I refute his claim in this paper. The data is drawn from Kannada, a Dravidian language.

Mineharu Nakayama (Ohio State University)

Two Types of Direct Passives in Japanese Sentence Processing

This paper provides the results for two types of direct passives in a Japanese sentence processing experiment. These passives are different in agentive BY-phrases; one with a NI-phrase and the other with a NIVOTTE-phrase. According to Kuroda (1979), NIVOTTE direct passives involve NP-movement while NI direct passives are formed lexically. Thus, NIVOTTE passives have NP-traces whereas NI passives do not. This hypothesis was tested in a sentence processing experiment. Nakayama (1989) found that NP-traces reanimate their antecedents in sentence comprehension. Therefore, if Kuroda’s analysis is correct, the NIVOTTE passives should evoke faster recognition times of the probe words, which are the subjects of the sentences, in the probe recognition task, since they contain NP-traces.

Forty Japanese native speakers participated in the experiment. Each subject read 96 test sentences on a computer screen, presented one phrase at a time, and was required to decide if the probe word at the end of the sentence was contained in the sentence just presented. The average reaction times of “yes” responses for the two types of passives were 1012 msec. for the NI passives and 1042 msec. for the NIVOTTE passives. Both NI and NIVOTTE passives evoked significantly slower recognition times than the Control sentences (909 msec.), but there were no significant differences between the two passives. This suggests that the two passives may not be formed differently. That is, they may have formed lexically since their recognition times were slower than those of the Controls.

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Tsuneko Nakazawa (University of Illinois-Urbana)

*Unification with Disjunctive and Negative Values*

This paper proposes an elaborate unification-based formalism to provide a common basis for a computational realization of different linguistic theories, GPSG, HPSG, and LF in particular. The semantics of disjunctive and negative values is reevaluated as constraints on instantiation of underspecified feature structures. A language-dependent function is proposed as part of the formalism to assign each feature a set of possible atomic values including a special value which designates 'no value'. This value is distinct from the least-specified feature structure which constitutes the bottom of the subsumption meet-semilattice (e.g. Pereira 1985 and Rounds and Kasper 1986), but is rather an atomic value, which unifies only with itself. It is also different from the ANY value proposed by Kay 1979 in that its satisfiability is monotonic with respect to the subsumption ordering. An explicit specification of possible values for each feature including the 'no value' makes it possible to interpret negative values as a disjunction of complementary values and to state disjunctive values in terms of equivalent negative values, thus avoiding the computational complexity which results from disjunctions. Furthermore, different status of unspecified values, e.g. unspecified values constrained to be instantiated or to remain uninstantiated, can be expressed in a straightforward manner.

Weijia Ni (University of Connecticut/Haskins Laboratories)

*Stephen Crain (University of Connecticut/Haskins Laboratories)

*With Reference to Context: How Ambiguities Are Resolved*

A central issue in psycholinguistic research concerns the mechanisms people use in resolving structural ambiguities. The "Garden Path Theory" (GPT) contends that perceivers are guided by strategies based solely on the structural properties of sentences. By contrast, the "Referential Theory" (RT) maintains that ambiguities are resolved according to the relative complexity of the discourse representations associated with the alternative structural analyses. To test between the competing theories, an experiment was designed to see whether changes in the referential properties of NPs influence people's on-line parsing decisions in attaching a following PP. According to both theories, the PP "with new brushes" will be attached to the VP in (a) "He painted the doors with new brushes": This means that sentences like (a) "He painted the doors with large cracks" will evoke garden path effects. However, according to the RT, (c) "He painted only doors with new brushes" should evoke a garden path effect, but (d) "He painted only doors with large cracks" should not. The word "only" requires the perceiver to form a discourse representation that contrasts two sets of entities; attaching the following PP as a modifier of the NP satisfies this semantic requirement (creating a set and its complement). The GPT predicts just the opposite - that (c) should pattern like (a) and (d) should produce garden path effects like (b). In the experiment, twenty test sentences of each type were interspersed among 40 fillers and presented to 44 subjects using a self-paced word-by-word reading task. Subjects were required to decide at each word whether the sentence continued to make sense. The main finding was that subjects found the (d) sentences significantly easier than the (c) sentences. Both reaction time and accuracy data reveal a striking similarity between types (a) and (d) and between types (b) and (c). The results clearly confirm the predictions of the RT, and resist explanation on the GPT.
Mary Niepokuj (University of California-Berkeley)  
*Indo-European Intensives and *ye₂/-yó: The Anatolian Data*

Intensive reduplication and the denominal suffix *-ye₂/-yó* co-occur in various IE languages: e.g., Skt. marmaryale ‘he wipes,’ Gk. pothusò, ‘I blow,’ suggesting that the formation is of PIE date. Since, however, the languages showing the formation have all greatly expanded the domain of the *-ye₂* suffix, reconstruction is uncertain (see Jamison [1983]). This paper cites more than twenty Anatolian forms which pair a reduplicated stem with the *-ye₂* suffix, such as hakharì- ‘rake’ and galgalinas- ‘sing in a particular way’; furthermore, the forms show a preponderance of ‘heavy’ reduplication, as is characteristic of intensives in other IE languages. Since the domain of the suffix is relatively limited in Anatolian, we can project the formation back to PIE with greater certainty. Intriguingly, intensive semantic value seems much less frequent with these forms; instead, many are denominals based on reduplicated noun stems. I suggest that this may have been the original source of the formation, citing forms in Skt. and Gk. which support this hypothesis. I outline a possible path leading from the denominal forms to the intensives seen elsewhere, noting that one common use of reduplication cross-linguistically is to create nominal forms with the connotation of habitualness; since habitual actions are those done frequently, a denominal verb based on the reduplicated noun could be reanalyzed as an intensive.

Neal R. Norrick (Northern Illinois University)  
*Wh-Questions with Guesses in Tag Position*

When a speaker makes a guess at the answer to her own wh-question in tag position, it invites the inference that she seeks only confirmation, thus effectively reducing the wh-question to an implied *yes-no* question like *Is that from A & P?*  
-> Ann: Where’s that from, A & P?  
Sue: Yeah.

The inference follows as a general conversational implicature associated with more or less formulaic units on the pattern of *Wheterya nuts?* But the wh-question as presented as a repair proper, since it fails to cancel the original wh-question: especially a wrong guess in tag position elicits a response to the wh-question itself.

-> Bob: How many uh: of us are there, eight?  
Brad: Ten.

In my paper I investigate excerpts like these showing the dual polarity of the wh-question plus tag-position guess construction, and its interactional effects, including cases where a complex response addresses both the initial wh-question and the implied *yes-no* question.

Shigeko Okamoto (California State University-Fresno)  
*The Semantics and Pragmatics of Nominal ’Tautologies’ in Japanese*

This paper reexamines the meanings of the so-called nominal tautologies by analyzing three nominal reduplicative constructions in Japanese: *X wa X, X ga X,* and *X mo X* (*X =NP*). These three constructions are fully productive. Yet they are idiomatic/non-compositional. That is, they are not mere uninformative tautologies. Rather, each morphosyntactic pattern formed by repetition and a particle, as a whole, carries certain conventional meanings as follows: *X wa X* is used to reconfirm the ascribed identity in question (e.g. *Sore demo oya wa oya da.* ‘Yet (a) parent is (a) parent’) or to emphasize the discrete existence of the referent (e.g. *Sore wa sore, kore wa kore.* ‘That is that, this is this’) – the latter use often appears in the form of *X wa X de* (e.g. *Yasai wa yasai de koko ni oite.* ‘Put the vegetables here by themselves’). *X ga X* and *X mo X,* on the other hand, indicate that the referent has some undesirable or irregular quality (e.g. *Oya ga Oya da kara kodomo no kodomo da.* ‘(The) parent is (a bad) parent, so (the) child is also (a bad) child’). *X mo X,* but not *X ga X,* presupposes the existence of another undesirable entity besides the referent in question. In addition, each construction above may convey various pragmatic meanings (e.g. obligation, criticism, tolerance), which are, contrary to Wierzbicka’s claim (1987), inferable based on its conventional meaning(s) described above and the discourse context including socio-cultural expectations. Thus, my analysis suggests that neither Greek radical pragmatics (Levinson 1983) nor radical semantics (Wierzbicka) provides an adequate account of these constructions. Rather, the meanings of these constructions are best described in terms of both idiomaticity and pragmatic calculability. This study also calls into question previous analyses of nominal ‘tautologies’ in other languages (e.g. Fraser 1988).
John C. Paolillo (Stanford University)

Sinhala Diglossia and AGR

Most grammatical descriptions of diglossias have not attempted to characterize the relation between the grammars of H and L. An exception to this is Gair (1990), in which the differences between H and L in Sinhala are treated as consequences of a single difference along a parameter of Government-Binding theory. Under Gair’s account, the differences between H and L—most significantly, the presence or absence of agreement and accusative case—are regarded as strictly binary, dependent on the presence or absence of abstract AGR. However, Gair’s analysis fails to correctly account for the properties of varieties that are functionally and grammatically intermediate between H and L, e.g. Formal Spoken Sinhala, and the language of children’s literature. These differ from each other and H and L in ways not predicted by Gair’s analysis. I offer an alternative account of Sinhala diglossia wherein the properties of Formal Spoken and the language of children’s literature are described by referring directly to agreement morphology, grammatical rules, and their properties, rather than to an abstract AGR element. In addition, I argue for the recognition of contextual factors in conditioning the choice of grammatical features in any one variety. This account has consequences for grammatical theory, since it demonstrates conceptual reorganization, so we conservatively assume that distal severed branches of the extensional network are synchronic homonyms despite the clear diachronic motivation for exactly those meanings to be associated with the same phonetic form. The task then is to explain why the decay of RMSs differ systematically from the decay observable in other grammatical morphemes and to construct an improved theory of polysemy which can account for these differences.

Peter L. Patrick (University of Pennsylvania)

Phonological Rule Variation in Jamaican Creole: Constraints on /kl/yl

Jamaican Creole speakers variably show palatal glides (/y/) after initial velar stops (/k, g/) and before low central vowels (/a(a)/). Contrary to previous claims, this (CY) is a non-standard variable; it is sensitive to sex, age, education, social class and speech-style. Vowel-length, the most important linguistic constraint, distinguishes three patterns of variation in the urban speech community studied. The lowest social group makes no length distinction; the highest shows a near-categorical constraint against (CY) before long /aa/ in all styles; and the middle approximates this prestige pattern only in formal test data. The paper reconciles an apparent conflict with earlier studies, finding a reflection of the “crossover” pattern of linguistic insecurity; notes a strong gender patterning in formal speech; and suggests that change is occurring here through the creation and manipulation of one environment variants in the description of diglossias; it also has consequences for the study of diglossia in general, since functionally intermediate varieties are characteristic of other diglossic situations.

Eric Pederson (University of California-Berkeley)

Categories of Reflexive Voice: Homorwmy vs. Polysemy in Two-Form Languages

This paper examines the polysemy of the reflexive marker (RM) in Romance, which is representative of diverse language families. The polysemy structure is identical with that of radial categories (Lakoff 1987), but differ significantly with respect to the process of decay (the loss of subcategorial functions). Whereas radial categories are normally assumed to lose peripheral functions diachronically prior to central or prototypical functions, the RM decays in exactly the opposite way: the prototypical function is the first to be replaced by a new marker. Gradually further functions are lost as the new marker extends along the same RM network. Since a newer form now occupies the prototype of the radial category, the different branches which formerly were linked only by this prototype are either no longer conceptually united or must undergo conceptual reorganization. There seems to be no evidence that demonstrates conceptual reorganization, so we conservatively assume that distal severed branches of the extensional network are synchronic homonyms despite the clear diachronic motivation for exactly those meanings to be associated with the same phonetic form. The task then is to explain why the decay of RMSs differ systematically from the decay observable in other grammatical morphemes and to construct an improved theory of polysemy which can account for these differences.
Rosanne Pelletier (Yale University)
The Role of Underspecified Representations in Dravidian Gender Agreement

In this paper I analyze Dravidian gender agreement in terms of underspecified morphological representations. I discuss that subset of Dravidian languages in which the gender distinction is [+MASC] vs. [-MASCl], and that the marked value. Among these languages, there is a sizeable group in which only 3rd person singular masculine subjects trigger overt agreement, while verbs with non-masc. subjects are β-marked. Significantly, there are no cases where masc. nouns fail to trigger agreement. These agreement patterns are predicted by an analysis in which subjects of the higher clause have been changed to 1st person. This of course follows a reconstructive WH-Movement-in-Comp rule and re-fronting of the WH word in the matrix clause. It is demonstrated that there is evidence of a WH-Movement-in-Comp rule in the syntax of Polish; e.g., artysi, [Co, którego przyczynę zaproszenie e rozumi e w pełni 'the performers, [the reasons for the invitation of whom] I completely understand e'. WH-Movement-in-Comp results from the adjunction of the WH word to a superordinate phrase in Comp. The WH word cannot cross over a preposition, despite the fact that NP adjunction to PP is generally possible (in English, for example). This fact has a prosodic explanation, which generalizes to the impossibility of preposition stranding in Polish.

The attestation of WH-Movement-in-Comp as a syntactic rule is important for understanding parallels between LF and syntax. The syntactic processes of natural language may mirror those which function more generally in LF. It is suggested here that WH-Movement-in-Comp is a general process of LF which may be attested on a parametrically-restricted basis in syntax.
Martha Ratliff (Wayne State University)
Tone Function as the Focus of a Tone Language Typology

The proposed tone language typology is one that links the functions of tone and the internal phonological and word-building resources of a language and explains these linkings in terms of communicative requirements (Ramat 1987). A sample of forty languages was used to arrive at the definition of two types. Type A tone languages (Cantonese, Vietnamese, !Xu) are characterized by lexical tone, plus morphological tone marking emotive or iconic meaning, small word classes, compounds, and discourse functions. They have words shorter than 1.5 syllables and limited segmental morphology. Type B tone languages (Kikuyu, Mazatec, Chin) have type A tone functions plus derivational, inflectional, and large word class marking by tone. They have words longer than 1.5 syllables (or compensate with a high number of possible syllables, as in short word type B languages like Dinka) and extensive segmental morphology. In type A languages, the internal resources of each language are not sufficiently great to derive all necessary lexical contrasts. In order to increase the word pool, tone is limited primarily to a lexical function. Extensive tonal alternations involving the heart of the lexicon, the nouns and verbs, are absent in such languages, since they would obscure non-redundant lexical tone.

This classification represents an improvement over those which are based on the presence of a single feature (register/contour; tone/pitch accent; feature changing rules/paradigmatic replacement rules) both in terms of breadth and explanatory power.

Carmen Richardson (University of Pennsylvania)
Experimental Evidence for Phonesthemes in Spanish

Many studies have been devoted to English phonesthemes and their implications for a morphological theory (cf. e.g. Bolinger '50, Markel and Hamp '61, and Janda '85). But few studies have attempted to determine to what degree such phonesthemes actually exist within the linguistic competence of native speakers. And, while it has been suggested that phonesthemes are a universal phenomenon, no similar psycholinguistic data have been provided for languages other than English. The current study presents experimental data suggesting that phonesthemes also exist in Spanish and are clearly part of native speakers' linguistic knowledge. Spanish speakers were found to link nonsense words containing the proposed phonesthemes with definitions including their proposed semantic component more often than was statistically probable by chance. These findings also bear on questions like the proper analysis and the implications of phonesthemes within general morphological theory.

Suellen Rundquist (University of Minnesota/Macalester College)
Indirectness: A Gender Study of Flouting Grice's Maxims

There is a belief in our society that women's speech is more indirect than men's, and it has been argued that women's speech is both more polite and less direct than men's speech. While a number of empirical studies cast doubt on the correlation between sex of the speaker and politeness, as well as that of indirectness and politeness, few studies question the premise that women are more indirect. Presented here is a completed study exploring the relationship between gender and indirectness, focusing on the type of indirectness represented by flouting the Gricean maxims.

In this study I examine men's and women's speech in two situations: mothers and fathers speaking to their children, and women and men as participants in informal conversation, where no children are present. An analysis of the data from eight families indicates that men in general flout more than women do in both situations.

Finding empirical evidence that men speak more indirectly than women do in certain situations confronts a societal myth that the reverse is true. In addition, of more theoretical significance, Sperber and Wilson's theory of indirectness differs from Grice's in that it has a cognitive rather than a social basis. Within this theory one would be less likely to expect social variables to interact with degrees of indirectness. The results of my study show that there are differences in the degree to which men and women flout the Gricean maxims, thus providing evidence supporting a theory with a social component.
Mary Ellen Ryder (Boise State University) (SUN MORN: D)

Why Cliff-Hangers Don't Hang Cliffs: A Model of -Er Nominal Formation

Levin & Rappaport 1988 claim the referent of an -er nominal (e.g. teacher) is always an external argument (i.e. usually subject) of the form's base verb (teach). I present a number of counter-examples, eg walk, can't have an instrument as subject (I walk with a cane, *A cane walks) but there's walker 'instrument used in walking'; clothing (loafer, sleeper) but *This shoe/outfit loafers, sleeps (well); loaner 'something loaned'; scratcher 'lottery ticket you scratch'; laugh 'event causing viewer to laugh'. Also, L & R can't account for -er forms based on nominals, eg porker, mudder. I propose an alternate model: an -er form's base is always highly salient in referent's predominant schema; eg opening is salient action to (can)opener, keg is salient "prop" to kegger (beer keg party). This model accounts for L & R's data; eg the relationship of agents and some instruments to their verb is highly salient, while other cases are less so, creating the kinds of limitations they suggest; although as shown, these limitations are not absolute.

I can also account for -er forms based on non-verbal stems, since nouns can be as salient in a schema as actions. Further support for my theory: the same model characterizes noun-noun compounding (Ryder 1989), allowing the numerous similarities between the two processes to be economically characterized.

Graziella Saccon (Harvard University) (FRI MORN: C)

On the Semantics of Agreement

This paper discusses the distribution of agreement expressed in form of subject clitic in a northern Italian dialect. I propose that this language lacks verb agreement if and only if the subject, which is currently assumed to be generated inside VP, remains inside VP. The main point of the presentation is that tense is one of the factors that forces a subject to move out of the VP, thus triggering obligatory agreement. Evidence is provided by the contrast between stage-level and individual-level predicates in (1):

(1) a. el e rivá la Maria b. el a telefoná la Maria c. *el e intelligente la Maria

'(AGR) is arrived M. (AGR) has phoned M. (AGR) is intelligent M.'

'Mary arrived' 'Mary phoned' 'Mary is intelligent'

The behavior of floating quantifiers suggests that the subject of individual-level predicates (1c) is generated inside VP, on par with stage-level predicates (1a,b). Thus the analyses of Diesing ('88) and Kratzer ('89) which rely on the subject being an external argument in (1c), cannot apply. I then propose, extending an analysis of bare plurals of Brugger ('90), that the subject in (1c) like all subjects, is generated inside VP but must move out of VP to satisfy a more general requirement on tense: a TP that lacks specific time reference needs to be m-commanded by an appropriate element.

A discussion of what qualifies as "appropriate" for a wider set of data is also given.

Ivan A. Sag (Stanford University) (SUN MORN: A)

UDC's in HPSG

GB and GPSG analyses of 'long-distance' or unbounded dependency constructions (UDC's) embody different insights about 'filler-gap' constructions. Our HPSG (Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar - see Pollard and Sag 1987, to appear) theory of UDC's eliminates all non-monotonic features of GPSG analyses (e.g. defaults, 'privileged' feature instantiations), replacing them with key insights adapted from GB approaches (the HPSG analogs of the ECP and Subjacency). We present a treatment of parasitic gaps, multiple UDC's (Violins like these, the sonatas were easy to play ... on ...), 'empty operator' constructions (empty operators are eliminated entirely in favor of lexically specified unifications), and major island constraint phenomena. In addition, we present a SLASH-less treatment of adverbial extraction as a bounded process (When did you deny Sandy left? allows only matrix modification even though deny allows other extractions - Who did you deny you had seen?), the exceptions (e.g. the possibility of a non-matrix modification in When do you think Pat will leave?) being due to assignment of a parenthetical-like interpretation to certain matrix environments (The adverb is matrix modifying, but the content of the matrix is that of the complement, with the verb think functioning parenthetically).

This treatment of adverbial modification, if correct, allows X-Binding to be eliminated.
This paper proposes an analysis of three seemingly unrelated phenomena in Persian: compound verb formation, the occurrence of the nominal case-marking Ezafe, and P-N compounds. We claim that these can be viewed as cases of restructuring; the process is triggered in all cases by the same input: a non-branching N-bar structure, either in head or non-head position - a rule of the form: (1) Restructure non-branching N-bar with its unique sister.

The first structure is a common class of compound verbs: these N-V structures, which behave by all normal tests as compounds, correspond to syntactic NP-V sequences; but, by Baker's (1988), they yield no crucial evidence for analysis as Incorporation. They can be straight-forwardly derived an

related to their phrasal counterparts using rule (1). The second phenomenon involves Ezafe, which appears before complements and modifiers at the N-bar level, as in the word 'ketab-e bozorg' "the big book" (lit book-Ez-big). But, just in case no N-bar modifier appears, Ezafe may appear before N complements. This otherwise puzzling pattern follows automatically from the rule above. Finally, we show that the free formation of adjectival P-N compounds follows directly from rule (1). The framework followed is Baker (1988), but it is argued that restructuring is a syntactic process.

Locally scrambled antecedents in German bind anaphors, but locally scrambled anaphors appear to reconstruct, suggesting that antecedents and anaphors undergo A and A-bar movement, respectively. We resolve this apparent contradiction by arguing that the binding facts are consistent with the view that all scrambling is A-movement (cf. van den Wyngaard 1989; contra Weibelhuth 1989, Mahajan 1990).

We show first that long-distance scrambling of anaphors only apparently licenses reconstruction and conclude that it is A-movement. We conclude further that long-distance scrambling of antecedents is A-movement as well, as is local scrambling. Since local scrambling patterns like A-movement with regard to weak crossover (Mahajan 1989, 1990, Weibelhuth 1989, van den Wyngaard 1989), we correctly expect local and long-distance scrambling to have parallel effects on weak crossover. Finally, we investigate the implications of the long-distance scrambling facts for a theory of anaphor binding in German, arguing that it obeys both structural and thematic constraints.

Using largely naturally occurring data, we identify a meaning for we involving reference to 1 or more people and a presupposition of sneaker-referent sympathy. This permits a pragmatically unified account of intimacy/rarior connotations in diverse examples including 'we're getting to be such a big boy, aren't we? (grandmother to grandson) and the non-condescending adult-directed Before we start to disagree, can we both agree... (moderator to 2 debaters). By allowing us to analyze we as always indexed to the sneaker. By separating the index from we's reference, we also permit independently motivated reference-based accounts of the singular predicate nominal and the use of both in the above examples. We conclude with a examination of the question of whether a distinct we must also be posited that necessarily includes the sneaker in its reference meaning.

Vida Samilian (California State University-Fresno)
Jeannine Heny (Indiana University of Pennsylvania)

Three Cases of Restructuring in Modern Persian

Beatrice Santorini (University of Pennsylvania)
Young-Suk Lee (University of Pennsylvania)

Long-Distance Scrambling and Anaphor Binding

Susan F. Schmerling

The Meaning of We
Peter Sells (Stanford University)
Raising from Nominal Complements in Japanese

In Japanese, many constructions that are analyzed as involving raising or control in English contain finite verbs in the embedded clause. In this paper, I will show that Japanese does have true raising (as opposed to 'copy raising') out of finite clauses, which are complements to the nominal はます. A typical example is shown in (1).

(1) 速が [はます] はます だ。  
    rain NOM [fall-PRES] expectation be-PRES  
    'Rain is expected to fall.'

Both tensed verbs in (1) can be independently negated, showing that there are two clauses. The higher predicate imposes no thematic restrictions on its subject. Consequently, the subject of 速め must either be a trace (true raising) or a zero pronoun (copy raising). The lack of copy raising is shown by the contrast with a similar Equi construction (with ～翼 ('intention')) in which the subject of the embedded bracketed constituent can be overtly expressed (by a reflexive). Moreover, idioms can appear in this construction, even though we can show independently that pieces of idioms cannot be conjoined with zero pronouns, removing the possibility of a copy raising analysis.

Joan A. Sereno (Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics)
Allard Jongman (Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics)
Inflectional Morphology in the Mental Lexicon

Three experiments were conducted investigating the inflectional morphological organization of lexical entries. In a lexical decision word recognition experiment, reaction times to noun stimuli were significantly faster than to verb stimuli. An explanation based on differences in inflectional structure of noun and verb lemmata was proposed. In English, the base or uninflected form of nouns makes up 74% of the noun lemma while the base or uninflected form of verbs makes up only 29% of the verb lemma. To test this hypothesis, two additional experiments were conducted using noun stimuli which have only two inflectional variants (singular and plural). Noun stimuli were selected such that total frequency of occurrence was equated but base form frequency was contrasted (high base form nouns versus low base form nouns). When presented in the singular (Experiment 2), response latencies to high base form nouns were faster than to low base form nouns. However, in the plural (Experiment 3), a complete reversal of these results occurred, with response latencies to high plural frequency (i.e., low base form) nouns faster than to low plural frequency (i.e., high base form) nouns. The results are discussed in terms of current models of lexical organization.

Xiaoran Susan Shen (Texas A&M University)
Perceptual Cues for Mandarin Tones 2 and 3

Due to their similar concave shapes, Tones 2 and 3 are said to be the most confusable pair in Mandarin and no perceptual cues have been found (Chuang et al. 1972). Recent results show that syllable lengthening appears to enhance auditorily the F0 curves for the Tone 3 category (Blisher et al., 1990). However, duration does not provide much information for the perception of tones in Mandarin (Xu & Whalen, 1990). The purpose of his paper is to find the perceptual cues for discriminating Tones 2 from 3.

Based on a previous acoustical study on Mandarin tones, we hypothesize that the timing of the turning point of these two tones constitutes the perceptual cues. A perceptual experiment is conducted. Two fundamental frequency trajectories are superimposed on a 326 ms syllable [wu]: (1) 190-160-250 Hz and (2) 190-175-265 Hz. The turning points, interpolated, change at every 1/10 of the duration, yielding 18 test-tokens. A forced-binary choice identification test and a 4IAF discrimination test (Pisoni, 1971) are performed by six Chinese listeners. The results show that the agreement between the location of the crossover point of the identification curves and that of the peaks in the discrimination curves takes place when the occurrence of the turning point is at the 4/10 of the duration, which constitutes the boundary. Our hypothesis is confirmed.
Dingxu Shi (University of Southern California)  
Topic or Adverbial

In many recent works (e.g. Pan 1990), sentences like (1) are analyzed as involving the topicalization of the head of the object NP. The extractability of the head of NP is considered as evidence for the claim that Subjacency is irrelevant for Chinese A'-movement and that the Head Movement Constraint does not hold in Chinese.

1. Zheben shu, wo xihuan Lisi de.  
   This Cl. book I like Lisi's. 'As for this book, I like Lisi's.'
   There are several problems in this analysis: a) when the head of an indefinite NP is extracted, the NP will lose the indefinite reading; b) when the head of the NP does not allow a type reading, the topological version is not acceptable; c) the head position of the NP can always be filled with another noun after the alleged head movement.

My proposal is that the initial NP be analyzed as a bare NP adverbial, delimiting a type of entities and that the headless NP be base-generated, as a pro-form denoting a token of the type. (A) and (b) are caused by semantic conflict. (C) is the expected result since either a full NP or a headless one can represent a token.

Daniel Silverman (University of California-Los Angeles)  
English Loanwords in Cantonese: The Rites of Passage

The analysis of loanwords can provide insight into the grammar concerning the delineation of language-specific versus universal default rules. Cantonese speakers do not perform a purely linear analysis on English surface forms as they incorporate these words into Cantonese. Rather, they perform a series of scansion which ultimately associates every surviving element of the string into a segmentally and prosodically well-formed structure. It is only native speakers for whom a fully articulated structure is underlyingly present. Cantonese speakers must rely on indigenous phonological rules, and when necessary, universal default rules to provide structure and license. In loanwords a High tone normally attaches form-finally: [motor]-[motor] [talk] [talk]. In one semantic class, syllables are deleted: [sociology]-> [society][society]. Such forms lack the High tone, indicating that the lexicon contains the non-truncated form, that the morpheme attaches before truncation, and that multiple scansions are performed. English consonant clusters are shown to be syllabified in the unmarked case, otherwise truncated. Appeals to universal default rules account for Cantonese strategies with aspects of English metrical structure, with which the indigenous phonology is ill-equipped to deal.

Henry Smith (Stanford University)  
Grammaticalization and Argument Structure

What role, if any, grammatical relations (GRs) should play in syntactic theory has been the subject of a running debate (most recently Bresnan and Kanerva (1989) for GRs, Kiparsky (MS) against). Discussion to date has focused on the trade-off between complicated representations or complicated linking (e.g. case) rules. When it comes to giving an account of grammaticalization in case rule systems, however, the no-GR analysis provides a simpler explanation. For the italicized NPs (1-4) from Icelandic, the key lies in formalizing the hierarchy of rules:

1) Mig vantar hnin. (me-A lacks knife-A)  
   (2) Barnina batnaði veikin (the-child-D recovered from disease-the-N)
   (3) Ef eðlir hafa ét. (1-N have-1sg eaten)  
   (4) Hann telur mig hafa étð. (he-N believes me-A to have eaten)

(5) a. ACC-arg[thematicgoalof vanta']  
   b. ACC-arg[thematicgoalof vanta']

(6) a. DAT-arg[goal of vanta']  
   b. DAT-arg[thematicgoal]

(7) a. NOM-arg[thematic]  
   b. NOM-SUBJ/GR1

(8) a. ACC-arg  
   b. ACC-GR

Without primitive GRs the rules are (5a-8a), with GRs (5b-8b). The rule that applies is the first or, intuitively, the "lowest order" rule. Using (5a-8a) (no GRs) we can reduce this, as in phonology, to the proper inclusion relation between environments of rules. This is not possible for (5b-8b) since some pairs, e.g. (6b,7b) refer to entities of a different sort. We can predict the direction and the likely paths of the grammaticalization of case: restrictiveness decreases over time (e.g. a shift from lexical ACC to DAT (later NOM) as has taken place in German and is taking place ("Dative Sickness") in Icelandic). Restrictiveness-decreasing changes are widely attested; the reverse are not.
Cari Spring (University of Arizona/Ohio State University)  

Implications of the 'Prosodic Base' for Reduplication

Comparison of reduplication in Aixinna and Lardil shows that copy is the only necessary formalism of 'reduplication'. An affix (Marantz 1982), and/or a prosodic base (Broselow and McCarthy 1984, McCarthy and Prince 1986) is specified in just some cases. In Aixinna, while /koma/ -> [koma-koma], 'paddle', a mono-syllabic stem has [ta] inserted on the base and reduplicant: /na/ -> [natà-natà], 'chew'. To account for the phonological realization of the base, a prosodic base must be specified; once the prosodic base is identified and copied the correct forms result. Aixinna reduplication is formalized as '+copy, +prosodic base, -affix'. In contrast, Lardil shows that an affix is required in some cases and the base (having no prosodic requirement) cannot be prosodically characterized. Lardil reduplication is formalized as '+copy, -prosodic base, +affix'. The model predicts four sub-types of reduplication in language: 1) -affix, -prosodic base, 2) -affix, +prosodic base, 3) +affix, -prosodic base, 4) +affix, +prosodic base; the base and reduplicant in each case are expected to have very specific empirical properties. The findings reported here are important because they (i) refuse the standard assumption that an affix is an intrinsic component of reduplication, and (ii) lead to a principled resolution of what precise elements are copied in reduplication: when a prosodic base is specified, the prosody and segments of base copy; when no prosodic base is specified, segments alone copy. The former but not the latter displays 'quantity transfer'.

Gregory T. Stump (University of Kentucky)  

On the Theoretical Status of Position Class Restrictions on Inflectional Affixes

In heavily inflected languages, a word's inflectional affixes are often required to appear in a fixed sequence; in such cases, the affixes can be classified according to the position(s) which they may occupy in that sequence. In this paper, I contrast two alternative accounts of the theoretical status of position class restrictions on inflectional affixes. In approach A, affixes are viewed as having the same lexical status as stems and words; thus, a position class restriction on an affix is regarded as a subcategorization restriction on the lexical insertion of that affix into a morphological structure. In approach B, inflectional affixes are viewed as the characteristics marked by operations which realize inflectional feature specifications; thus, a position class restriction on an affix is regarded as a restriction on the relative ordering of the operation which introduces that affix. Drawing on evidence from Swahili and Breton, I show that there are four reasons for preferring B over A: (1) the distribution of competing members of the same position class can be economically described in terms of defaults and overrides in approach B but not in approach A; (2) the fact that the appearance of a certain affix may be optional in some contexts but obligatory in others can be accounted for without any loss of generality in approach B by means of a single ordered operation realizing a single restriction on an affix; (3) because it fails to provide a straightforward theoretical reconstruction of the notion 'unfilled affix position', approach A cannot always capture the sorts of distributional generalizations that position classes have traditionally been used to express; and (4) an affix whose distribution can be accounted for in approach B by means of a single ordered operation realizing a single feature specification must sometimes be assigned two distinct subcategorization restrictions in approach A. This evidence favors a process-based approach to inflectional morphology (Matthews (1972), Anderson (1982)) over the 'morphology as syntax' approach advocated by Williams (1981), Selkirk (1982), et al.

Susan M. Suzman (University of the Witwatersrand)  

Learnability, Overgeneralization and Acquisition in Zulu

Children are conservative language learners (Gropen, Hollander, Goldberg & Wilson, 1989) and overgeneralize far less than early analyses indicated. Children's speech corresponds closely to adult input, a fact whose explanation lies in children's remarkable sensitivity to surface cues. Discourse analysis in Zulu of adult-child interaction showed that morphologically, children often switched from overgeneralized concordial sets to appropriate forms upon hearing them in adult feedback, e.g. i-ph'isi-cathulo ya-mi (it: where shoe of-me) "where is my shoe?" to i-ph'isi-cathulo sa-mu, the adult Zulu form. Syntactically, adults virtually primed children for learning the passive with onset and development being directly tied to adult input.

Use of preceding utterances by children was compared to persistence of linguistic structure in adult usage observed by Bock (1986). She found that when subjects used a syntactic construction, they were likely to use it again within a short time period. Syntactic repetition suggested that 'sentences formulation processes are somewhat inertial' and would be 'antagonistic to the productivity of syntax in actual language use.' They would, however, be extremely useful to children learning their language. Similarities between child acquisition and adult usage suggest common underlying mechanisms, perhaps, constraints along the lines of activation processes proposed by Bock (1986) and MacWhinney (1987).
Ryoko Suzuki (University of California, Santa Barbara)  
Tsuyoshi Ono (University of California, Santa Barbara)  
Japanese ga, Spotlightting, and Intransitives in Spoken Narratives

There have been a number of studies dealing with discourse functions of the Japanese subject marker ga. However, almost none of these studies examined actual spoken discourse as their data. This study examines the use of ga in spoken narratives told by 10 speakers. After viewing a cartoon movie, the speakers were asked to tell its story. We have found that there are many ga marked NPs (hereafter, ga NP) which do not carry new information, contrary to earlier claims; rather, they are used to bring (back) the referent to the focus of attention. We call this function spotlighting. We found evidence that this spotlighting demands a certain cognitive cost. For example, many ga NPs in our data occur with light content verbs (e.g., 'to say', 'to come'). Further, almost all of the ga NPs appear in the subject position of an intransitive clause, which requires one less referent than a transitive clause. The results of the present study demonstrate that the occurrences of Japanese ga in actual discourse interact closely with the total organization of the discourse.

Kari A. Swingle (University of Minnesota/University of California-Santa Cruz)  
INFL as Focus-Assigner: Evidence from Ojibwe

Ojibwe has two types of subject markers: one type is used in declaratives and appears on the leftmost verbal element (1), the other is used in WH-questions and appears on the verb (2):

(1a) qid-anoki 'you (sg) work'
(2a) anindi anoki-yan 'where do you work'
(1b) gi-wi anoki 'you (sg) will work'
(2b) anindi wi anoki-yan 'where will you work'

Assuming a GB framework, it is proposed that the form of a subject marker reflects the position of INFL; i.e. whether INFL is in S (declarative) or in Comp (WH-question). Phonological evidence is presented to support this proposal and a rule of INFL-to-Comp movement is posited for WH-questions. It is argued that the existence of such a rule is explicable if the following notion of focus assignment is adopted: in the absence of any other focus-marking evidence that this spotlighting demands a certain cognitive cost. For example, many okay NPs in our data occur with light content verbs (e.g., 'to say', 'to come'). Further, almost all of the okay NPs appear in the subject position of an intransitive clause, which requires one less referent than a transitive clause. The results of the present study demonstrate that the occurrences of Japanese okay in actual discourse interact closely with the total organization of the discourse.

Maria G. Swora (University of Rochester)  
Mary E. Beckman (Ohio State University)  
The Intonation of Cue Words in Task-Oriented Dialogues

Hirschberg & Litman (1987) found that accented cue words are more likely to bear L* accents. Since a cue word typically is extraneous to the propositional content of the surrounding discourse, this finding accords with Pierrehumbert & Hirschberg's (1989) theory of intonational meaning: H* adds to the mutual belief space, whereas L* merely renders the accented item salient. We tested this further by examining the use of okay in dialogues where one participant instructed another in building an arrangement of labeled icons. However, while only 4 out of 364 okays were clearly literal, the vast majority (265) had H* accents. A closer examination reconciles our results with Pike's theory. The discourse structure closely mirrored the structure of the task and its subcomponents, so that most okays were potentially ambiguous. For example, okay often occurred at points where it could be interpreted either as a literal predicate signaling the successful placement of one icon (and the speaker's readiness to receive instructions for placing the next icon), or as a cue word signaling the transition between the corresponding discourse segments. Similarly, the learner often used okay to acknowledge the instructor's intention that he recognize or find a particular icon. Knowing that the learner understood this intention is useful for advancing that stage of the subtask, and H* makes that understanding part of the mutual knowledge shared by the instructor and the learner. These examples emphasize that intonational meaning is not syntactic. [Supported by the NSF.]
Alison Taub (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

Against the Transparency Argument for Underspecification

Many Polynesian languages have cooccurrence restrictions prohibiting homorganic consonants in CVVC roots (Kupa 1968, 1971). Kawasaki (1990) argues that in Maori these restrictions support the claim that (coronal) is underlyingly absent. While roots with two labials (p,m,f or w) or two velars (k,g) do not exist, the coronal /t/ can cooccur with either /s/ or /ŋ/. Since the cooccurrence restrictions are analyzed as an OCP prohibition on adjacent, identical place specifications (following McCarthy for Semitic and Mester for Javanese), the transparency of the coronal stop constitutes a classic argument for the absence of the relevant feature, (coronal). However, the same transparency occurs in other well-known cases, where (coronal) cannot be unspecified, e.g., in Javanese where plain and retroflex coronals obstruents /t,d,t,ŋ/ do not cooccur, but can still cooccur with /n,l,ɾ/. The total transparency of /t/ in Maori (an artifact of the small obstruent system) cannot be used to argue for missing (coronal) values without obscuring the identical 'transparency' of obstruents and sonorants in Javanese (and Semitic as well), where (coronal) is specified. The transparency and underspecification analysis, though seemingly well-motivated, is insufficient. This suggests that other suggested cases of transparency motivating underspecification should be reexamined and compared cross-linguistically.

Natsuko Tsujimura (Indiana University)

A Prosodic Constraint on the Formation of Nominal Clauses in Japanese

In order to derive a well-formed Japanese Nominal Clause (NC) where the primary predicate is a (deverbal) noun, two conditions must be met: (i) the deverbal noun must be a full-fledged noun; and (ii) the deverbal noun must have argument structure. Deverbal nouns that satisfy these conditions such as aratene 'charming' and atukai 'treating', thus, can be part of a well-formed NC. However, a certain group of deverbal nouns seem to be apparently counterexamples. For example, deverbal nouns like turi 'fishing' and inori 'praying' satisfy both conditions stated above, and yet the NCs with them are ungrammatical. In this paper, I will show that the above-mentioned two conditions are necessary but not sufficient and claim that a prosodic constraint must be imposed on deverbal nouns: specifically, the deverbal nouns must consist of at least two feet (i.e., four morae). A piece of evidence for such condition comes from the observation that three-mora deverbal nouns, which result in ill-formed NCs as with inori, will improve when they are prefixed by an honorific affix o-, thereby transforming the noun into four morae. Given this proposal, NCs with turi and inori are ruled out because they do not satisfy the prosodic constraint. This conclusion is consistent with, and indeed supports, Poser's (1990) argument for a bimoraic foot in Japanese.

Appi Tuntaviliku (University of Texas-Austin)

Perhaps, the Tones Are in the Consonants?

The asymmetrical distribution of the five tones in Thai is known to be conditioned by syllable structures such that checked syllables are restricted to Low and High, and also, Falling provided that the vowel is long. Mid and Rising tones never occur with either long or short checked syllables. No satisfactory explanation has yet been given for the co-occurrence restrictions except for Gandour (1974) based on the qualification of tone bearing units and the segmental nature of contour tones. Although Gandour accounts for much of the distributional pattern, many gaps are still left unexplained e.g., those of Mid and Rising tones on checked syllables. Moreover, a scrutiny at the language reveals uneven distribution among syllables of the same type indicating other conditioning factor(s) involved.

This paper tackles into an unobserved area of morphological tonal alternations, and tone assignments in foreign loans. The data bear evidence that there is one-to-one correlation between tone segments and consonant onsets which motivates us to propose 'tonal consonants' -- i.e., consonants with associated tone features at the phonological level. Not only do we find another conditioning factor for the asymmetrical distribution of Thai tones, but also a hypothesis of the development of the tones is derived shedding light on the synchronic tonal pattern.
An examination of relative clauses and main clauses in sixteen
languages shows that a) relative clause order is strictly verb-
terminal in verb-terminal languages, b) languages which use no
relative pronoun or reaumanse pronoun in relative clauses limit
their relative clauses to no more than two possible orders of S, O,
and V, and c) languages that restrict relative clauses to only one
or two orders require that the verb in those clauses occupy its
'neutral' position. Explanations may include the interaction of
processes such as relativization and topicalization, the need for
clearly identifiable clause boundaries, and the 'completeness' of
the relative clause.

Frederike C. van der Leek (University of Amsterdam)
Two-Form Reflexive Systems: Independent and Clitic Reflexive Markers

In this paper I will present an analysis of i(ndependent) and cl(itic) R(eflexive) H(ar­
er)ks which can account for the various distributional properties (including 'long reflexiv­zation') of i-RMs and cl-RMs, and which also gives some insight into how cl-RMs can come
to extend semantically the way they do in many languages (cf. the network of extensions
presented in Pederson 1989). Along the lines of Kemmer's (1988) initial analysis, I will
identify i-RMs with the set of properties a (reflexive or non-reflexive) NP must have be­
cause of its (syntactically determined) association with a particular participant role
(while i-RMs also share their referent with their antecedent). With regard to cl-RM con­struc­tions I will argue that at the level of participant roles they do not differ from in­transitive constructions but that the split into antecedent and cl-RM NPs signals that the
mind/inherent nature of the referent shared by the two NPs triggers the performance of
this role (in a sense I follow Haiman's 1983 conceptual split into mind and body but apply
it to cl-RMs rather than to i-RMs, as he does). This accords with the observation, made
independently by Pederson (1989) and van der Leek (1988), that cl-RM constructions signal
responsibility on the part of the entity performing the role, whereas intransitive con­struc­tions simply convey the performance of this role. I will exemplify my analysis mainly
with data from Dutch, a language with a sophisticated two-form reflexive system.

Karen van Hoek (Salk Institute/University of California-San Diego)
Edward S. Klima (Salk Institute/University of California-San Diego)
Submorphemic Mapping between Form and Meaning in Chinese Sign Classifiers

In this paper we focus on the system of classifiers in Chinese Sign Language. Classifiers are handshapes which
reference a class of items, such as 'people', 'vehicles', 'long straight objects', etc. The classifier handshapes are
combined with movement morphemes to produce complex verbs (e.g. VEHICLE-HIT-ANIMAL, incorporating
the 'vehicle' and 'animal' classifiers). The classifier system in CSL resembles the classifier system in American
Sign Language (described in Supalla, 1981; Padden, 1983), but also differs from it in some principled respects.
We focus on the analyzability and mutability of the classifier handshape morphemes in CSL. CSL classifiers
appear to be monomorphic, and are not plausibly analyzed as being made up of isolable components.
Nevertheless, we find systematic exploitation of internal, part-for-part correspondences between the form of the
classifier handshape and the form of the referent. The verb WASH can incorporate a 'person' classifier; the
movement can be directed to different parts of the incorporated classifier, e.g. to mean 'wash hair', 'wash feet',
etc. CSL classifier handshapes are also mutable in form, with changes in the handshape representing changes in
the referent object. The sign CHOP can incorporate the 'airplane' classifier, meaning 'a wing was cut off the
airplane'. The airplane classifier would then be modified, with the thumb (normally extended) tucked into the
fist. ASL classifiers are not mutable in this way. In the CSL classifier system, we find analyzability of units which
nevertheless are not made up of separable components. The fact that CSL and ASL differ dramatically in this
respect illustrates that phenomena which are uniquely afforded by the visual modality are at the same time
constrained by language-specific conventions.
Timothy J. Vance (University of Hawaii)

Final Accent vs. No Accent: Utterance-Final Neutralization in Tokyo Japanese

The Tokyo Japanese distinction between final accent and no accent is said to be neutralized utterance-finally so that, e.g., /hanâ/ 'flower' and /hana/ 'nose' are both LH in isolation. Nesupny (1978) argues, however, that although the distinction is not clearly maintained, it is not completely neutralized either. Keating (1984) has suggested that phonological theory must allow for measurable but inaudible differences in positions of putative neutralization, and an experiment was conducted to determine if the Japanese accent case fits into this category. Four speakers recorded sets of utterances involving minimal pairs like /hanâ/ and /hana/ , and listeners tried to identify the utterances on each recording. The responses indicate that listeners cannot tell whether an isolated word is final accented or unaccented. On the other hand, Visi-Pitch measurements suggest that for one of the four speakers, the average peak F0 on an utterance-final accented syllable is significantly higher than the average peak F0 on an utterance-final unaccented syllable.

Fabiola Varela-García (University of Pennsylvania)

El buen hada -- Or, on Variation in the Use of 'Feminine' el in Spanish

Perhaps the most discussed morpheme in the recent morphosyntactic literature is the Spanish definite-article] form el--not "masculine" el as in el libro 'the book', but "feminine] el as in el agua 'the water'. [wicky] '85 and others have expanded on the traditional view that Sp. fem. el is simply a variant of la before (stressed) /a/-initial fem. (and masc.) N[jou[n], but Plank' '84 earlier claimed that allegedly fem. el is actually masc. and simply disagree with a following fem. N and any postnominal modifiers (as in el agua fria 'the cold water'). For constructions where an adjective separates the art from a fem. /a/-initial N, however, most analysts have (aside from Postner) '85) blindly assumed that actual speech follows the Real Academia Española's prescription that la rather than fem. el is used. Thus, both Pl. and Z. assume that, e.g., only la buena hada 'the good fairy' is grammatical (similarly la buena hada esa 'that good fairy').

Nevertheless, in a 2-part experiment where native speakers gave grammaticality judgments or supplied missing letters for written sentences where various structures contained or allowed fem. el, the results showed extreme variability. In fact, half the subjects preferred the non-prescriptive variant el buen hada esa: they apparently analyze fem. el as being required by certain N's regardless of whether or not that art. occurs immediately before the N or is separated from it by an adjective. Here, a N can seemingly be masc. to its left and fem. to its right, thus showing "lateral hermaphroditism".

Irene Vogel (University of Delaware)

Focus and the Phonological Phrase in Italian

In both the Italian sentences below the subject is postverbal, but their focus and prosodic characteristics differ. In 2) the subject is preceded by a prosodic break and bears lover pitch; while in 1) it bears the main sentence stress but is not separated prosodically from the preceding verb (cf. Calabrese 1990). ("1" = prosodic break, CAPITALS = focus).

1) Me lo raccontò CARLA. 'CARLA told it to me.'
2) Me lo raccontò Carolina. 'Carolina told it to me.'

The problem is to assign such sentences with the same words in the same order their different focus and prosodic properties. It will be shown that these differences are, in fact, precisely what is predicted following Vogel and Kenesi's (1990) prosodic analysis of focus in several languages unrelated to Italian (Vogel and Kenesi 1990). Specifically, if the domain of focus is the Phonological Phrase (PP) and a focused item forms a PPh with the string to its (syntactically) nonrecursive side, it follows that the focused subject must join the preceding prosodic unit, while the other one may not. Further evidence comes from Raddoppiamento Sintattico whose domain is the PPh; it applies in 1), but not 2). Finally, we will show that the analysis also accounts for similar phenomena in Catalan and Spanish.

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Rachelle Waksler (San Francisco State University)  
William Marsten-Wilson (University of London)  
Morphological Structure in the Access and Representation of Derived Forms

Is morphological structure represented in the lexical entry and accessed during the recognition of a derived form? Previous work (e.g., Emmorey 1989) has shown that the lexical decision on a stem is facilitated when it is primed by a morphologically related form. This priming could be due to the repetition of the shared stem, or to the phonological or semantic overlap between the pair. In determining whether morphological parsing occurs during recognition of a derived form, we therefore need to separate the variables of phonological, morphological and semantic relatedness between the derived form and its stem. In three experiments using a cross-modal lexical decision task, we address questions including: 1) Can phonological overlap alone account for the facilitation, so that PANTRY primes PAN as well as FRIENDLY primes FRIEND? 2) Does the phonological relationship between a derived form and its stem play a role in lexical recognition? I.e., is there a difference in priming of pairs like FRIENDLY-FRIEND vs. TENSION-TENSE vs. SERENITY-SERENE? 3) Is there a morphological factor responsible for the facilitation that can be separated from the semantic relatedness of a pair, so that, for example, semantically opaque pairs like DEPARTMENT-DEPART prime as well as semantically transparent pairs like EXCITEMENT-EXCITE? 4) Does priming occur between derived pairs sharing a stem? The results suggest that the organization of the mental lexicon is not based on the surface phonological form of entries. Also, there is evidence for the representation and use of internal morphological structure in a derived lexical entry, independent of the semantic relatedness between the derived form and its stem. In accounting for the results of these studies, we hypothesize a model of lexical organization with hierarchical structure of morphological families and inhibitory links between paradigmatic competitor affixes.

Karen Wallace (University of California-Los Angeles)  
Xth. Binding, Verb Incorporation, and Agreement in Crow

The inflectional system of Crow, a language of the Siouan family spoken in Montana, contradicts the universal constraints on incorporation compounds proposed in Li (1990). Li proposes that, universally, verbs incorporating into other verbs by head movement never do so from IP or CP, since inflectional material never seems to occur on the embedded verb in a verb incorporation compound. However, incorporation compounds in Crow present a counterexample to this proposal, since person marking person may appear on each embedded verb in an incorporation compound.

I will argue here that in Crow, verbs may incorporate from an IP with a bound PRO. Since person and number are marked separately, and number agreement is not repeated, we must assume that a phrasal node headed by person agreement is the only IP from which verbs can incorporate, and that incorporation from a phrase headed by number agreement must be blocked.

Keith Walters (Ohio State University)  
Analyzing Variation in Contact Situations and Relic Areas

Quantitative sociolinguists have traditionally excluded certain categories of lexical items when defining phonological variables. Usually excluded are partially assimilated borrowings and forms that appear peripheral to the particular phonological system. This practice may not have serious consequences in large urban studies, but the same is not true in multilingual or relic areas. In these cases, close analysis of forms excluded in defining the corpus for a variable offers important insights into the nature of the speech community as well as variation and change within it. This presentation considers such a situation using data from a rural dialect of Tunisian Arabic (TA) and demonstrates the contribution a study of these data makes to an understanding of both the dialect and the speech community. Specifically, it describes three categories of lexical items justifiably excluded from a quantitative analysis of lowering of stressed /u/ to o: [1] borrowings, regionalisms, and relic items. The treatment of borrowings such as [radijo:n]—[radijo:n] 'radio' (< Fr.) and [peda:yzi:] 'pedagogy' (< Classical Arabic (CA) [peda:yzi:]) illustrates the conversion routines (Heath 1989) of speakers and the linguistic and social contexts of borrowing. Consistent use of regionalisms such as [hoo:n] 'here' by speakers of both sexes and generations demonstrates the challenge of defining underlying forms (cf. Milroy 1982) while the social characteristics of the users of items such as [bu:z:]—[bu:z:] 'get up' and its synonyms show awareness of stigmatized pronunciations. Finally, tokens of [o:] (< *ew:) in certain items and hence the maintenance of a noun/verb distinction (e.g. [mo:t:] 'death' vs. [mu:tu:] 'die') preserved in CA but not in TA represent the disappearance of an earlier stage of the dialect. Yet, not only older speakers maintain such a distinction; a younger, educated male also does, leading us to ask about the meaning of his behavior—hyperdialectism or classicization?
Qi Wang (University of Connecticut/Haskins Laboratories) (SAT AFT: F)
Diane C. Lillo-Martin (University of Connecticut/Haskins Laboratories)
Andrea G. Levitt (Wellesley College/Haskins Laboratories)

Use of Null Arguments by Chinese- and English-Speaking Children

Null subjects and objects (null arguments, NA) are found in many of the world's languages, e.g., Italian, Chinese, though not English. However, these languages differ in the ways that they license and identify NAs. Since young English-speaking children use null subjects systematically, it has been proposed (Hyams 1986) that they begin with the incorrect parameter setting allowing NAs, and must change this setting on the basis of linguistic evidence. A recent proposal suggests that the licensing and identification of NAs used by English-speaking children is like that used in adult Chinese, rather than that used in adult Italian (Jacqgli and Hyams 1987, Hyams in press). This predicts that young Chinese-speaking and English-speaking children should exhibit parallel performance in their use of NAs. This study investigated this prediction using an elicited production task with both Chinese- and English-speaking children (2-4 year-olds). Although the hypothesis that early English allows null subjects was upheld, the evidence goes against the claim that early English is a Chinese type language. The Chinese children and the American children in this experiment differed in the use of null objects: while the Chinese children used null objects, the American children did not. This shows an early effect of linguistic environment, and a need to use separate parameters for early English null subjects and adult Chinese NAs.

Gregory L. Ward (Northwestern University) (FRI AFT: C)
Betty J. Birner (Northwestern University)

A Pragmatic Analysis of VP Inversion

An aspectual asymmetry holds between the interpretation of certain VP inversions in the progressive and that of their SVO counterparts, as illustrated in (1):

(1) a. The main opposition party was losing the election.
   b. Losing the election was the main opposition party.
   c. The main opposition party lost the election.
   d. *Lost the election (did) the main opposition party.

Use of the SVO past progressive (1a) can implicate that a perfective interpretation is inappropriate, given the existence of a more informative SVO form (1c) that could be used to convey this interpretation (cf. Dowty 1979 and Stump 1985). However, since a VP in the preterit never inverts (1d), there exists no inver ted preterit form with which the inverted progressive competes, and thus the implicature associated with the SVO past progressive does not arise. We attribute this asymmetry to an interaction between Gricean principles and a grammatical constraint on inversion: matrix VPs can invert only around auxiliary be. This constraint rules out inverted preterits (1d) while allowing their SVO counterparts (1c). Embedded VPs, on the other hand, are categorically disallowed in the preterit: thus no implicature, and no asymmetry, arises. While matrix-VP inversion requires auxiliary be, embedded-VP inversion does not; nonetheless, the matrix verb of embedded-VP inversion is constrained pragmatically, in that it must represent shared knowledge at the time of utterance. This constraint, in turn, follows from the discourse function of VP inversion in general, namely the marking of an 'open proposition' as salient in the discourse (Prince 1982, Birner and Ward 1989).

Stephen Wechsler (Stanford University) (SAT MORN: A)

A Non-Derivational Account of the English Benefactive Alternation

Operations which derive the ben/(facative) alternation (1) are difficult theoretically and empirically.

(1) a. John cut a piece of cake (for his wife).
   b. John [cut his wife's] a piece of cake.

The operation could not be LEXICAL as there is no applicative affix; some theories prohibit zero-derivations on (argument)-structure in principle (Marantz 84), and anyway English zero-derivations are limited to conversions; all a-structure alternations reduce to argument optionality. A SYNTACTIC operation faces many problems, semantic ((1a)=1(1b)), syntactic (the for-PP is not subcategorized) and morphological (it requires unrecoverable deletion or a Ø-allomorph of for (Baker 88)). A non-derivational account will be proposed: (i) a-structures lack bens: CUT(agent, theme). (ii) A Ø-criterion whereby adjacent NPs require semantic (Ø-specific) Case (s-Case). Evidence: Ø-valency is lexically fixed—except, crucially, that s-Case-marked adjuncts are freely added. (iii) In English the V_ position receives syntactic Case (in 1b) and the V__ position receives either syntactic Case (in 1a) or ben-recipient s-Case (in 1b). Thus adjunct bens can appear in V__. Evidence will be adduced from: passives of diritransitives; distribution of expletives; semantics of the prefix re- with bens; acquisition of ditransitives; historical loss of dative case.
Rebecca S. Wheeler (Utah State University)  
Sense and Subsense: The Meanings of the English Verb 'Understand'

This paper analyzes the meanings of the English verb 'understand'.

Given that the meaning(s) encoded for a lexeme in the lexicon will be those associated with some syntactic pattern (Atkins 1986, Deane & Wheeler 1984, Greene 1974, Mufwene 1979, Sinclair 1988, Zwicky 1971, Zwicky & Sadock 1975), the key problem is to determine at which level in the syntactic hierarchy syntax is relevant to sense.

I claim that for the English verb 'understand', syntax keys to sense at a high level of argument structure.

The English verb 'understand' is found to exhibit 4 senses: COGNITIVE, HEARSSAY, REALIZE and DEFINE/INTERPRET. The first and last of these exhibit internal structuring into subsenses. This paper shows that in delimitation of sense, syntactic and transformational evidence must be considered before semantic evidence. While Atkins (1986:24) found word class and number of the head word indicative of sense, in the case of 'understand', these are found to correlate with SUBSENSE, not with sense. Lexical meaning must be specified to the level of subsense to explain differences of synonymy relations within a given sense category.

Susan M. Wilcoxon (University of Texas-Austin)  
Acquisition of Syntactic and Discourse Constraints on Anaphora in Mandarin

The present study investigates Mandarin-speaking children's developing interpretation of subject pronouns, both null and lexical, in complex sentences containing adverbial temporal complements. First, the study seeks to generalize Solan's (1983) claim that English-speaking children avoid backward anaphora. Since Mandarin exhibits a stronger constraint than English against backward anaphora, it provides a revealing test for Solan's hypothesis. The study also probes the development of discourse constraints as well as the possibility of multiple interpretations for the test structures.

Finally, the study tests one of Chomsky's (1969) predictions about linguistic complexity and late acquisition. Sixty-six children between the ages of 3;6 and 7;2 living in mainland China were interviewed, using two comprehension tasks: a toy-moving task and a judgment task. RESULTS: 1) strong counter-evidence against Solan's hypothesis is presented; 2) the oldest group is significantly more consistent than the youngest in its performance from the first task to its judgments on the second; 3) the adverbial structures are ambiguous for children of all age groups, but the oldest group performs significantly better over the youngest in recognizing the only appropriate extra-sentential referent in the discourse; and 4) acquisition of this set of structures is completed very late, upholding Chomsky's prediction.

Karina Wilkinson (McGill University)  
Plural Pronouns and the Partitive Constraint

In this paper, I will give a semantic analysis of plural pronouns contained in partitive NPs whose antecedent is a kind-denoting bare plural. I will show that there is a problem in maintaining the following two standard assumptions: A) The partitive constraint is a semantic constraint, and B) The relation between a plural pronoun and a bare plural antecedent that doesn't c-command the pronoun is coreference. Bare plurals are ungrammatical in partitive NPs, e.g. *some of bears. However, plural pronouns whose antecedent is a kind-denoting bare plural are grammatical in partitives: 1) Laws protecting the environment are rare, and the Supreme Court is overturning many of them.

I will first explain the ungrammaticality of bare plurals in partitives by examining what predictions are made for bare plurals on Barwise and Cooper's (1981) and Ladusaw's (1982) theories. Following (B) above, the pronouns in (1) and (2) will be incorrectly ruled out by the same argument we gave to rule out *some of bears.

I propose instead of (B) that the pronouns are like E-type pronouns (Evans 1977) in that the pronoun is definite and the context supplies the descriptive content. When you have introduced a kind, then under certain conditions you may use a pronoun that picks out "the N's that are relevant."
Annie Zaenen (Xerox-PARC)
Mary Dalrymple (Xerox-PARC)

On 'Subject' Antecedents for Anaphors

It has often been observed that many anaphors are required to take subject antecedents; the Norwegian anaphor sin is such an anaphor. It is also often assumed that the notion of surface subjecthood is a necessary and sufficient condition for 'possible antecedenthood' for such anaphors. When the reflexive is an argument of a verb or the possessive of such an argument, the antecedent of sin must indeed be a subject. However, the constraint does not hold within NP's. Even if we analyze the possessor function in NP's as a kind of subject (as is done in several frameworks), it can be shown that this notion of subject is neither necessary nor sufficient in characterizing antecedency of sin. It can also be shown that within sentences the subject condition is not a sufficient one, since in some cases a thematic hierarchy plays a role in determining reflexive antecedency.

We show that in defining the notion 'possible antecedent', complex conditions hold that require simultaneous reference to at least two levels of representation, one representing surface syntactic relations and the other semantic (or thematic) relations. The surface notions of subject and/or possessor (for NP's) and 'direct' and 'oblique' argument are necessary; further, on the thematic level we make use of a thematic hierarchy ranking thematic roles. We model these requirements in an LFG framework using projections specifying the mapping between thematic roles and grammatical functions.

Elizabeth C. Zsiga (Yale University)

Prosodic Domains and Igbo Compounds: Evidence from Two Rules

Compounds in Igbo show a mismatch between phonological and morphological domains. The rules of vowel harmony and vowel assimilation apply in complementary situations: harmony applies only within words, assimilation only between words. In compounds, however, harmony applies within each of the two elements and to prefixes and suffixes, but not between the two elements. Assimilation applies between the two elements but not within them. Although, syntactically, they behave as a single word, compounds must be analyzed as two prosodic words, providing evidence for an independent prosodic structure. Crucially, the prosodic domain is present both in the lexicon and postlexically: the lexical 'word' domain present at the level of inflectional affixation remains relevant at the level where words combine, that is, in the syntax. The same boundary that was posited between the elements of a compound to prevent harmony must remain visible at the postlexical level to allow assimilation.
Linguistic Society of America

Abstracts for Organized Sessions
Symposium: Endangered Languages and Their Preservation

Waldorf Room

Organized by: Kenneth Hale, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Thursday Evening, 3 January
7:00-9:00 PM

The panel will show the realities of language endangerment in these times and express the positive and optimistic side of the question, i.e., people who speak endangered languages aren't just accepting it, they are doing something about it. We have chosen to concentrate on the Americas, partly because we won't have time to deal with the whole world and partly because of the approaching quincentennial. Native American language endangerment is part of the legacy of 1492, and bringing attention to that might help bring material support to concrete proposals for strengthening the position of Native American languages in local communities and in the country as a whole, e.g., projects like the Center for native-speaking language scholars which LaVerne Jeanne has been planning, and other projects already in existence. The panel will cover four themes:

1. The reality of language endangerment—what the actual situation is and how serious the situation is; what factors contribute to language endangerment.

2. The response to language endangerment on the part of a local community—language maintenance programs in communities where the language is perceived as declining.

3. A constitutional response to language endangerment and a national program for the satisfaction of the linguistic rights of local communities—a community based language program as part of a political process.

4. Institutional response to language endangerment—the importance of stable centers for research, training, and materials production by speakers of Native American languages.

Colette Craig (University of Oregon)
A Constitutional Response to Language Endangerment: The Case of Nicaragua

In December 1984, the Nicaraguan government set up a National Autonomy Commission and initiated a permanent dialogue between the communities of the Atlantic Coast and the central government for the purpose of organizing regional and local commissions to build a viable autonomy process for the region. The resulting Autonomy Project was approved by the coast communities and voted into the National Constitution on December 2, 1987. One of the provisions of Autonomy Law guarantees the linguistic rights of the ethnic groups of the Coast, and a number of programs have developed to implement this provision, including bilingual education and "language rescue", as the situation demanded. The Rama language is one which must be classified as severely endangered. The Rama Language Project is an integral part of the Nicaraguan Autonomy Project. It will be discussed both as an example of language endangerment and as an example of a project operating within the context of a national project dedicated to guaranteeing and strengthening the autonomy of ethnic communities.
Michael Krauss (University of Alaska, Alaska Native Language Center)
The Reality of Language Endangerment

Our world is facing a holocaust of language death. The coming century will see mass extinction of languages, on a scale far worse than anything envisioned for the world's life forms. Extinction is already ineluctable for that portion of the world's (say 6,000) languages no longer being learned by children. For various political reasons we lack reliable statistics; a fair guess for the already doomed languages is 20%, that 3,000 languages will die during the coming century. For the native languages of Alaska and the Soviet North, for example, where I have more precise figures, the death rate will be at least 45 of 50, or 90%.

The merely "endangered" languages are about 90% of the remaining half, leaving perhaps 300 languages "safe," those spoken by large numbers, approaching a million or more, and/or supported by the power of a state. The forces which have doomed the first 3,000, ranging from genocide, social destruction, displacement, demographic submersion, forced assimilation, to education and the media, seem likely to continue to exterminate the rest, to all but the last 5% of the world's languages.

Linguists above all others have a professional responsibility to sound the alarm, and to work for the preservation of the world's languages, both for scientific and for social values. We must organize a massive effort to document as well as possible the doomed and endangered languages, as well as the favored ones. This will require global surveying, planning, and setting - or resetting - of priorities. We must also work to support the survival of the endangered languages. Regional agencies such as the Alaska Native Language Center alone are not enough; necessary also are organization and activism at the national and international levels. This LSA forum is an ideal place to begin our own national work, and we should plan also to work internationally, for example with the Permanent International Committee of Linguists, which is also now organizing to work with UNESCO for language preservation.

LaVerne Masayesva-Jeanne (University of Nevada-Reno)
Language Centers as a Response to Language Endangerment

Native peoples are the possessors of a rich but imperiled intellectual heritage, namely, their native languages, and any definition of responsible linguistic research must take this fact into consideration. During the past two decades numerous initiatives have been implemented by Native Americans to address the conditions of their languages, in particular programs designed to further their maintenance or recovery. However, what has been lacking is a sustained support system which exists for traditional academic language scholarship. That is to say, there exists no secure framework within which Native American language scholars can pursue the kinds of activities which are necessary for their direct involvement in building a Native American linguistics.

It is my belief that an important part of the response to the linguistic needs of contemporary Native American communities will consist in the establishment of centers specifically devoted to the cultivation of language scholarship by speakers of Native American languages. Such language centers would contribute to a much needed integration of academic and community-based language scholarship and, most important, would permit the development of programs which respond not to the requirements of the traditional academic structures in which linguistics is normally pursued, but to imperatives which come from, and are defined by, Native Americans themselves.

Lucille J. Watahomigie (Peach Springs, Arizona, Schools)
Akira Y. Yamamoto (University of Kansas)
Community Responses to Perceived Language Decline

Many members of the Hualapai community thought that English was taking over their ancestral language and that their traditions were about to disappear. In response to this perceived rapid language decline, a long and tedious process of forming a community language team began in 1976 with the Hualapai Bilingual/Bicultural Program as the central force. We will discuss issues and problems that have been faced by the Hualapai language team. Issues to be discussed include: role(s) of linguistic professionals, collaboration of academic and local professionals, strategies for a community-based research program, and role(s) of the Bilingual Program in the tribal language policy formulation.

The language maintenance efforts of the Hualapai group have been extended, in the form of "American Indian Languages Development Institute (AILDI)," to other Yuman language speaking communities and to other language groups throughout Arizona and many other states. This expansion has had an important role in formulating the "Native American Language Act," currently in the House of Representatives.
Symposium: Morphological Classes
Waldorf Room
Organized by: Mark Aronoff, State University of New York-Stony Brook
Saturday Evening, 5 January
8:00 - 11:00 PM

It is commonly assumed that morphology was recognized in the early 1970’s as a distinct entity within generative grammar. In fact, although there has been a great resurgence of interest in morphological phenomena in the last fifteen years, few researchers have gone so far as to explicitly endorse a morphological component within grammatical theory. If anything, the last decade has been marked by several notable attempts to integrate morphology into either phonology (as in lexical phonology and morphology) or syntax (as in work on incorporation and infl within GB). Our work, by contrast, is grounded in the idea that morphology in the strictest sense of the term (actual affixation and other morphophonological realizations of abstract morphosyntax) must be viewed as an autonomous part of language, separate from either phonology or syntax and subject to its own theoretical principles. The rationale for our symposium is to present a variety of types of direct and indirect empirical evidence for the validity of this idea, both as a theoretical principle and as a guiding force behind the analysis of morphological systems.

We have selected a single type of phenomenon for discussion at the symposium: morphological classes. Such classes have been acknowledged for millennia and they provide a simple prima facie argument for the independence of morphology, since they are often only partially tied to their syntactic, semantic or phonological counterparts, as we will show in some detail. At the same time, their diverse but highly systematic complexities make them a fascinating object of study for the purely morphological theorist.

Stephen R. Anderson (Johns Hopkins University)
Syntactically Arbitrary Inflectional Morphology

In several languages, the correspondence between inflectional class and syntactic structure turns out to be arbitrary for some lexical items. Specifically, a language may display a clear correlation of particular inflectional markers with syntactic arguments of a given sort, and yet include some elements inflected as if in the presence of an argument that doesn’t exist. Examples will be presented from Georgian of Verbs inflected to 'agree' with nonexistent Direct and Indirect Object arguments; in association with such agreement, the case marking on 'real' NP arguments also behaves as if the nonexistent arguments were present, though it can be shown that they are not. Similar examples will be cited from Algonquian languages. The conclusion from this mismatch is that Morphosyntactic representations, while accessible to both aspects of grammar, have a structure which is not uniquely determined by either syntactic form or the properties internal to words.
Mark Aronoff (State University of New York Stony Brook)
Syntactic vs. Morphological Noun Classes in Arapesh

Arapesh, a language of the Torricelli family of Papua New Guinea, has a Bantu-like agreement system, with thirteen distinct genders. Adjectives, verbs and pronouns must all agree in gender with nouns. Gender is determined for the most part by the final segments of the noun stem. I will present a detailed treatment of gender and morphology, in which the morphological class of a noun is determined by stem phonology and gender is then determined by morphological class. Support for this "inverted" analysis comes from various discrepancies between gender and morphology. Of special interest is the pattern of defaults. Nouns that do not fit into any of the phonologically determined classes have special characteristics both in their gender and in their morphology. Exceptional nouns of other sorts also show these characteristics, but default gender and default morphology do not always go hand in hand, allowing one to show conclusively that gender and morphological class are distinct.

Morris Halle (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
Nominal Declension in Latvian

The 4 class/2 gender declension of Latvian noun exhibits interesting interactions between the nested structure of the words, on the one hand, and the cyclic and noncyclic rule strata of the phonology, on the other. The principles required for the noun declension are readily extended to the definite adjective declension. Of especial interest here is the functioning of a metathesis rule and its interaction with the rules of vowel deletion and lengthening.

James W. Harris (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
Spanish Inflectional Classes

According to venerable scholarly and pedagogical traditions, gender is the fundamental factor in the organization of Spanish nouns and adjectives into form classes. I show that this tradition is wrong: gender plays a role in syntactic agreement/concord, but it has no direct phonological manifestation in Spanish. Rather, (gender-neutral) adverbs as well as nouns and adjectives (NAAs) fall into four purely morphological classes, the members of which share nothing other than class membership—the property of having a certain "word marker" (or none). By exploiting certain redundancies (e.g. Class I is favored for masculines, II for feminines) and asymmetries (II houses a large number of masculines, I has a lone feminine noun and no feminine adjectives) I develop an analysis that transcends descriptive adequacy to give an explanatory solution to the "mating problem", which seems to involve acquisition on the basis of negative evidence. This analysis postulates the necessity of nonbinary morphological features (gender in particular) and the interpretation of "unmarked" as literally "no information"; it distinguishes systematically among the autonomous domains of biological/semantic sex, syntactic gender, morphological form classes and phonological redundancy. The rule system whereby inflectional classes are manifested phonologically is formulated in terms of Noyer's theory of morphosyntactic addresses, and dispenses with the problematic idea of treating word markers as phonological melody units unassociated with skeletal positions in underlying representation.
Robert Hoberman (State University of New York-Stony Brook)

Formal Properties of the Conjugations in Modern Aramaic

The system of verb conjugations (inflectional-derivational categories, "binyanim") in modern Northeastern Aramaic is simpler than in most other Semitic languages, such as Arabic. Therefore modern Aramaic provides a convenient body of data in which to examine the formal morphological properties of such a system. Each conjugation is abstract, in that it represents a correlation of one or more canonical prosodic templates and vocalic melodies, and may trigger morphological operations. The investigation of these properties will be organized around the question of lexical representation: just what information must be specified lexically in order to fully determine the inflectional forms of an individual verb. In modern Aramaic there is strictly speaking no need for abstract conjugation markers; rather the full set of inflectional forms of a verb can be predicted from the prosodic structure of its lexical representation. Thus the first-conjugation verb meaning 'open', with its various stems including the Preterite ptvx and the Jussive pvtlx, can be represented as /ptvx/, more precisely as a paired root and prosodic representation (/ptvx/, φ). The rules specifying the inflectional forms are not motivated and phonological but abstract and morphological.
The gap between what is known about language and what serves as a basis for action in the schools is probably without parallel in any other part of the curriculum. When aspects of language are taught at all, they are approached in a purely instrumental way and are generally associated with unfamiliar language varieties. Grammar is taught in the service of instruction in written varieties or in a second language and is most often presented as a body of unmotivated facts or prescriptive rules. Word-formation is taught as a "dictionary skill" or other exercise in vocabulary enhancement. And the curriculum almost wholly ignores other important areas of linguistic study—phonetics and the systematic nature of ordinary speech, the sources of sociolinguistic variation and multilingualism, even the long-established outlines of linguistic history. In the absence of any understanding of these areas, both students and teachers unwittingly operate in terms of a body of folkloric misconceptions about language, which frustrate students' efforts to become literate and leave them with feelings of inadequacy and disempowerment. Students are given no appreciation of the linguistic knowledge and skills that are their birthright, and therefore they see no connection between those capacities and the linguistic abilities that they are expected to acquire in the course of schooling. Over the long run, moreover, the neglect of language as a subject matter leads to the perpetuation of repressive language attitudes and educational and social policies. And, finally, current approaches leave students with no inkling that the study of language might be an engaging intellectual exercise in its own right.

The purpose of this workshop is to mobilize the linguistic community's interest and involvement in educational practice. It is intended as a first step in building a community of linguists and educational practitioners to develop innovative and linguistically and socially responsible curriculum. The workshop will be divided into two panel sessions, with a break for discussion and questions. The first panel will concern general issues in language-related curriculum, and the second will focus on the importance of the study of language structure as an exercise in critical analysis and as an example of scientific investigation. The panels are intended to generate discussion and to solicit our colleagues' involvement in the issues under discussion.
Bethany K. Dumas (University of Tennessee)  
Conspiracy and Solicitation: Linguistic and Legal Issues

Speech acts such as conspiracy and solicitation present difficulties in criminal cases in that they are likely both to be indirect and also to be characterized by vague or ambiguous reference. They are also, as Shuy has pointed out on a number of occasions, diffuse in the sense that evidence of their performance tends to emanate from cumulative conversational interchange rather than to inhere in any single speech utterance or exchange. How is the trier of fact to know whether a defendant has solicited or conspired with another person to commit a crime in the absence of such language as I hereby solicit you to murder my husband? This question will be addressed in the context of a criminal investigation in Knoxville, Tennessee, in which an indictee was charged with conspiracy and solicitation to commit murder on the basis of several hours of tape-recorded conversation obtained when the putative co-conspirators wore concealed microphones during conversations in which the killing of the indictee's husband was repeatedly discussed.

Edward Finegan (University of Southern California)  
Linguists as Expert Witnesses in an Adversarial System

With an increase in the number of criminal and civil actions that have linguists serving as expert witnesses, attorneys are becoming more familiar with a range of linguistic expertise. One important by-product of this familiarity appears to be an increasing use of linguists on opposing sides of an action. This paper sketches the roles played by nine linguists serving as expert witnesses or consultants in three civil actions. It describes the role of an expert in civil litigation, focusing on professional and ethical questions connected with expert witnessing in an adversarial setting. It warns against certain dangers that can arise when experts permit themselves to assess the overall justice of the litigant's position in which their testimony plays only a part, and it urges focus on the soundness and complexity of the expertise for which they have been retained.

William M. O'Barr (Duke University)  
John M. Conley (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)  
Heard on the Street: Constructions of Law in the Investment World

Over the past eighteen months, the authors have conducted an ethnographic study of Wall Street. Descriptions of their own behavior and that of others by brokers, investment company executives, and financial analysts constitute the primary data. These data are analyzed for the models of organizations and management styles as well as the factors that influence and constrain them. Of particular interest are the conceptions of law held within the investment world. Although most individuals maintain that the law is an inflexible constraint that governs their behavior strictly, comparison across individuals and organizations shows that the interrelation of applicable laws varies widely.
Roger W. Shuy (Georgetown University)  

Conversational Distancing in an Illegal Substance Case  

When persons are uncomfortable with information being given them in conversations, they risk a face-threatening act if they respond with accusation, ridicule, disapproval, or reprimand. One way to avoid face threatening was revealed in tape-recorded evidence used in a criminal law case. The person being given the uncomfortable information chose to distance himself from the topic rather than from his conversational partner. He did this by participating minimally (15% of the topics and 15% of the total words used by both), by using extremely short utterances (2.56 words per utterance), by uttering feedback markers the majority of the time (57% of his turns of talk), by not even referring to the salient aspects of his conversational partner's topics, and by making hollow rather than felicitous offers to help. This paper describes the process of "conversational distancing" in ways hitherto unexamined in the discourse analysis literature of face threatening acts.

Lawrence M. Solan (Orans, Elsen & Lupert, Attorneys, New York City)  

Linguistic Issues in the Fifth Amendment  

The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution reads in part, "Nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall he be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." Virtually every word of this clause has been the source of extensive litigation. My paper talks first about an issue that has NOT arisen in Fifth Amendment adjudication: the relationship between himself and any person. Linguistic principles of binding and control indicate that himself can only refer to any person; this illustrates that legal debate about meanings occurs only with respect to interpretative issues left open after application of the principles of generative grammar. I relate this to current questions in legal philosophy about the extent to which law as written can be determinative of the outcome of disputes. I then discuss what courts have said is the meaning of "be compelled to be a witness against himself," discussing this in terms of the theory of speech acts, which (I attempt to show) makes it possible to focus cases on the issues that are really at stake.
North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences

Abstracts of Regular Papers
Julie Andresen (Duke University)
The 'FAX' Theory of Communication in the History of Linguistics

In the past several hundred years, a certain model of language and communication has been privileged in a wide range of humanistic/philosophic/linguistics schools of thought. This model might best be described as the "telepathic" or "duplicative transmission" model of communication whereby a speaker "packages" or "wraps" a message in a "code" and "sends" it to a listener who then "unwraps" it. My updated metaphor for this model of communication is the FAX theory of communication, a model of which I am critical. This paper will present the history of this model beginning with Locke and moving on through Saussure and Chomsky, and will trace some of the implications of this model for other aspects of language theory and description, most notably the 'FAX' theory of communication and the problem of "meaning." My paper will conclude with a description of postmodern approaches to a theory of communication which are consistent with behavioral models. The problem of meaning will be redescribed in accord with the revised model of communication.

Lucia Binotti (University of North Carolina)
Two XVII Century Spanish Grammarians and the Apology for the National Language

Although often considered unfounded or 'fantastic' by modern critics, the theory of "primitive castilian", elaborated by Gregorio López Madera in 1601 (Binotti, 1989; 1990) achieved extraordinary success among Spanish philologists in the early XVII century. Madera's theory secures a noble and prestigious origin for the Castilian, independent of Latin. His dogmatic vision served the nationalistic and absolutist purposes of the imperial ideology of the time, and for this reason was widely adopted. Paradoxically, he sets the ground for a systematic study of Castilian, which emphasizes its structural autonomy. My study deals with two XVII century treatments of Madera's theory, one by a professional grammarian, Gonzalo de Correas, one by a rhetorician, Jiménez Patón. Significantly, both scholars are deeply interested in the synchronic aspects of Castilian, as well as in fixing its structure and exploring its expressive capacities. They accept Madera's theory enthusiastically, precisely, I will argue, because the theory allows the dissociation of Castilian from its historical dimension. In this 'atemporality' Castilian will be finally analyzed as a 'living' language.

Konrad Koerner (University of Ottawa)
The Problem of Metalanguage in Linguistic Historiography

When trying to adequately describe linguistic theories of the past, the historian of linguistics finds himself in a dilemma: either he presents them as well as he can within their original terminology and may, as a result, have few readers and only those who are fully immersed in the particular intellectual climate, or he renders those theories relevant to the modern linguist by making use of concepts and terms that are readily understood, yet tend to distort the original intent, purpose, and meaning of those past courses. Both alternatives cannot be attractive to the discerning linguist who will have to find a middle ground by going beyond the mere antiquarian concern to present past ideas within the original context, while at the same time alerting the reader to the procedure adopted in the analysis of these theories.

The paper discusses several instances where modern writers have misled others (and possibly themselves) through a careless use of 20th-century terminology in their analysis of ideas and doctrines of earlier periods in the history of linguistics: 1) The concept of 'etymologia' in antiquity vs. the modern understanding of the principles and goals of etymology; 2) the discussion about orthography reform in a 12th-century Icelandic treatise vs. the theory of structural phonology, and 3) the linguistic theories of 19th-century authors and the continuing discussion of the sources of Saussure's teachings.

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Michael Mackert (University of Delaware)

In Search of the Inner Form of Language: The Roots of F. Boas' View of Linguistic Categories as a Window to the Human Mind

Historiographers of linguistics have frequently pointed out the presence of the Humboldtian term inner form in Boas' discussion of linguistic categories and have suggested a link to the "Volkerpsychologie" and psycholinguistics of Steinhall/Lazarus, and Wundt, but to date there are no detailed studies of the psychological roots of Boas' notion of inner form and of his concern with linguistic categories and classification. However, such a study is vital for a better understanding of Boas' work in linguistics because it reveals the mechanical view of mind giving shape to Boas' framework. The meaning of Boas' notion of inner form and his concern with linguistic classification are discussed within the context of the psychological theories of Steinhall, Lazarus, Wundt, and Spencer and the interpretations of Humboldt's inner form by Steinhall, Lazarus, Brinton, and Wundt. Like Steinhall and Wundt, Boas considered language to be a manifestation of the mental life of peoples, and he believed that the vocabulary and the linguistic categories of a language are symbols representing conceptual categories or classifications to which similar new experiences are automatically assimilated. Boas proposed that the psychological groupings represented by the categories of a language depended on the inner form of a language. Boas also believed that the categories of a language force its speakers to arrange the world in certain conceptual groups.

Joseph Subbiondo (University of the Pacific)

John Wilkins' Theory of Rhetoric: A Study of Ecclesiastes

In his Ecclesiastes, or a Discourse of the Gift of Preaching (1646) along with his later Gift of Prayer (1655), John Wilkins (1614-1672) exemplified the reconciliation of science and religion in 17th-century England. In this paper, I will focus on two central themes of Ecclesiastes: the rhetorical theory underlying Wilkins' principles of pulpit oratory and its influence on the 17th-century English plain style movement. Moreover, Wilkins' rhetorical theory contributed to his development of the language universals which shaped his philosophical language in Essay towards a Real Character, and a Philosophical Language (1688).

Michael Ward (Trinity University)

Cittadini's Sound Change Rules: 'vere' or 'ben trovate'?

This paper will analyze Celso Cittadini's Le origini della toscana favella (1604; second, revised edition 1629), in an effort to determine to what degree the hypotheses offered reflect internal cohesion, and, secondarily, to what extent the author's views agree with those of more modern science. Cittadini's essay proposes to demonstrate the changes suffered by Latin words in the development of Italian, suggesting ten paths of transmission termed Origini. A large portion of the exposition is dedicated to rules concerning Italian open and closed e and o; these descriptions are carefully outlined and painstakingly exemplified in the treatise. The abundance of data Cittadini provides, and its somewhat idiosyncratic arrangement, may be partially responsible for linguistic historians' general unconcern with the work's contents.
Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics

Abstracts of Regular Papers
Does Foreign Workers' German Have Its Own Grammar?

Foreign Workers' German (henceforth FWG) is a term which refers to the linguistic product that has arisen out of the language contact situation in the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin. Thus far, a number of researchers have addressed issues surrounding the existence and status of FWG. Often scholars have become so concerned with the social history and political policies of the socio-linguistic situation, as well as debating or refuting the pidgin issue, that no true description of the actual usage of FWG speakers exists.

In my presentation I propose to examine actual texts taken from interviews that were conducted during my fieldwork in order to seek answers to the following questions:

1. Who are the speakers of Foreign Workers' German?
2. What is its relationship to Modern German?
3. What is the role of FWG within the foreign worker community?
4. Does FWG have its own grammar?

Guy Carden (University of Idaho/University of British Columbia) (FRI AFT: H)

Corps Reflexives in French Creoles

Goodman (1964) showed that all or almost all French creoles had reflexives formed on a cognate of French corps 'body', forming part of his argument for a common origin for the French creoles. More recently, Baker & Corne (1982) gave linguistic and historical evidence that Isle de France Creole (Mauritian, Seychelles, Rodrigues) developed independently of the new-world French creoles. In this paper I give evidence that the corps reflexives developed independently in the two groups, and that, for the Isle de France group, substrate influence from Malagasy played a crucial role.

The key evidence comes from Corne's (1988) observation that the Mauritian lekor ('body') reflexive is limited to direct-object position. In the earliest available texts (19th century), there are 37 lekor reflexives in DO position and zero elsewhere, contrasting with the mem reflexive (6 DO, 20 OP) and the reflexive use of /UR/ plain pronouns (22 DO, 14 OP). The restriction is therefore specific to the lekor reflexive. Where does it come from? Keenan (1976) reports that Malagasy, a major substrate language, uses the stem tena 'body' as a reflexive, and, crucially, that this tena reflexive has the same DO restriction as Mauritian. This agreement on a marked parameter setting implies that the Mauritian lekor reflexive goes back to a calque on the Malagasy tena.

This evidence for independent origin is confirmed when we note that early texts in the new-world French creoles show attestations of corps reflexives in OP position.

Guy Carden (University of Idaho/University of British Columbia) (SAT AFT: H)

Morris Goodman (Northwestern University)
Rebecca Posner (Oxford University)
William Stewart (City University of New York-Graduate Center)

A 1671 French Creole Text from Martinique

The Lieber Collection at the University of South Carolina contains a manuscript dated 1715 which claims to be a copy of depositions dated 1671 from six witnesses who reported that they had seen un monstre marin en figure d'homme off Martinique. Three witnesses were recorded in standard French, but the other three deposed and were recorded in an early version of French creole. The document therefore includes parallel accounts of the same event by three different creole speakers, a total of 25 lines (200 words) of creole.

If this document is an accurate transcription of a 1671 manuscript, then it would contain the earliest known extended text in a French creole. (For a discussion of the previously-known early French creole and pidgin texts, see Goodman 1964:104-7, Reinecke 1975:217-307, and Goodman 1937:392-3 in the Reinecke volume.)

Our presentation will give a transcription and translation of the creole part of the ms, with some discussion. Transparently creole features include lexical items (e.g. garder = 'look at', tir = 'have') and structures (e.g. postposed unmarked possessives, postposed article la as a TMA marker, intransitive caché = 'hide'). Historically interesting points include the use of 3rd person plain pronoun il as DO in reflexive contexts and lexical variation in article incorporation (e.g. dépoules/Epoules) and in the forms of the negative (pas/non pas/na pas) and of the coordinate conjunction (et/et puis).
This treatment of creole verbal morphology examines the behavior of the suffix -du in the Portuguese-influencee creoles, with special emphasis on Cape Verdean Krioulu. While Ppg. suffixal -du, generally recognized as the likely source of -du, is an (absolutive) participial mkr. employed in periphrastic verbal structures & participial adjs., creole -du has become far more productive, marking temporal aspectual distinctions, & marking passive-like effects. It is argued here that the proper characterization of bound inflectional morphology in creolization & in contact-induced language change can be explained in terms of the syntax & semantics of the verbal system as a whole. Evidence from African lgs. of historical formative importance is adduced in support of the finding that -du adaptions are principally a product of the extension of the morpho-syntax of the original verbal system. Finally, implications of this analysis for recent treatments of markedness (Thompson & Kaufmann 1989, Battistella 1990) are discussed & evaluated.

We argue that Haitian Creole (HA) is a Pro-Drop language. Thus, along the corresponding parameter, HA coincides with the child’s initial setting (assuming Hyams 1986). Three kinds of evidence are presented to support the claim: (i) existential, weather, and seem-type verbs do not require phonologically realized subjects; (ii) subject pronouns behave like clitics spelling out the agreement features of the inflection phrase; (iii) Tense-Mood-Aspect markers do not seem to occupy an independent node and might be analyzed as part of the verb phrase, which, in Hyams’ theory, is a feature of Pro-Drop languages like Italian and Spanish. The structure of the inflection node and the nonexistence of verbal morphology are shown to regulate the appearance of eli-tics and non-pronominal subjects in pre-verbal position. Our account makes one non-trivial prediction regarding serial verb phrase constructions. Assuming that the second verb is part of an embedded clause, our analysis predicts that its subject will obligatorily co-refer with the subject or object of the matrix clause.

Copular sentences in Haitian Creole are often formed without a copula. In some contexts, however, the element se can or must be present. Se has a complex distribution; it is obligatory with certain predicates and optional or impossible with others. Moreover, when se is obligatory, it is in complementary distribution with the negation pa, if the apparent subject of the copular sentence is a pronoun but not if it is a NP: (1) 11 se fre m / 11 pa fre m / *(2) Jan se pa fre m (he/John is (not) my brother). As we show, when se and the negation cooccur as in (2), the NP is not in subject position but in a dislocated position; in this case, se occupies the subject position. That se can be a subject is shown independently by: (3) se pa fre m. Thus, se can appear in XP positions (subject) and in X* positions (NEG). To account for this distribution, we propose that se has an ambiguous status wrt its categorial type: Muysken’s X’ theory (1982) presupposes the existence of lexical categories of the type [+maximal –projected]. We propose that these categories can appear both in XP and in X* positions. This proposal allows an elegant account of a number of surprising and interesting facts about se which up to now remain unexplained.
Hildo H. do Couto (University of Brasilia)  
The Genesis of Portuguese Creole in Africa  

The aim of this paper is to show that out of the contact of the lancados ("white traders who had adopted African religion, customs and tribal markings") with the grumetoes ("Africans hired to work for them and who lived in their vicinity") and the tangomas (lancados' native wives) arose a pidginized Portuguese. Their children ("filhos da terra", mulattos, creoles) acquired this pidgin as their mother tongue. That was the beginning of the Portuguese creole of the West Coast of Africa. This hypothesis holds valid independently of an insular or a continental formation of this creole. Not even Naro's "reconnaissance language" is incompatible with it.

Nicholas Faraclas (University of Papua New Guinea)  
Where Have All the Adjectives Gone? Not to Pidgins, Any One!  

This paper consists primarily of a reexamination of the category 'adjective' and its appropriateness to the description and analysis of Atlantic and Pacific English Lexifier Pidgins and Creoles, principally Nigerian Pidgin and Tok Pisin (Melanesian Pidgin). Using Dixon (1982) as a reference point, it is argued that both Nigerian Pidgin and Tok Pisin make use of stative verbs and nominalizations of stative verbs to convey meanings that are normally conveyed by attributive and predicative adjectives in languages such as English. Substrate languages are then examined to find possible motivations for pidgin adjectivelessness.

Eduardo D. Faingold (Tel Aviv University)  
Creolization and Child Language  

Correspondences between Spanish/Portuguese Papiamentu (Netherland Antilles) and Palenquero (Colombia) creole phonology as well as the phonological development of two young Spanish/Portuguese speaking children (Noam and Nurit Faingold) are investigated. Concern is with an innate (physiological and maturational) program. Certain more marked structures (e.g. mid-vowels, diphthongs, consonant clusters, tri-syllabic words) are more difficult to articulate, audit or process than less marked forms (e.g. high and low vowels, single vowels and consonants, mono- and bisyllabic words). Spanish/Portuguese Papiamentu and Palenquero creole as well as young bilinguals consistently select less marked structures. These developments are further explained by a unifying model of markedness that explains possible changes as reflecting natural processes.
Glenn G. Gilbert (Southern Illinois University-Carbondale) (SAT MORN: H)
The Future Tense in the English and Dutch Based Caribbean Creoles

Evidence continues to accumulate that the complex system of future markers shown by creoles in the Caribbean and elsewhere cannot be easily forced into the irrealis mold prepared for them by Bickerton's rigid TMA system. Many creoles seem to have two future "tenses," which can be characterized as proximate vs. nonproximate, or perhaps as immediate vs. general (Stolz 1986:167). The two future tenses differ both semantically and syntactically: for example, it seems that, in general, only the nonproximate (or general) future may be negated. It is suggested that creolists look more closely at the vernacular model provided by speakers of the superstrata European languages (e.g., English gonna/will or Dutch gaan/zal, rather than artificially trying to maximize the grammatical differences between the creoles and their related superstrates. The paper discusses examples from St. Croix English Creole (for which additional texts dating from the 1880s have just been located), (Jamaican) Maroon Spirit Language, Jamaican English Creole, Negerhollands, and the Guyanese Dutch Creoles.

Charles Gilman (Rainbow Bridge Consulting) (SAT MORN: H)
A Bantu Model for Seselwa

Bickerton (JPCL 4:2, p. 161 ff.) analyzes the Seselwa complementizer pudir as a serial verb, analogous to say in the English-based Atlantic pidgins and creoles. The claim is that say-complementation is a "strong" creole universal, appearing widely without the necessity of specific adstratal models. However, pudir differs from say in having a prefix pu, from French pour, and is not clearly a serial verb. This prefix is exactly analogous to East African Bantu complementizers with the verbal prefix ku, which should thus be regarded as the model for pudir.

The theory of pidginization and creolization requires the full consideration of models in the lexifying language, as well as in adstratal languages, alongside universals, to provide a complete accounting for the variety of structures and the idiosyncratic characteristics of individual languages. Understanding is weakened by an over-reliance on "single-cause" theories like universals or substratum.

Maureen Healy (Hunter College) (SUN MORN: H)
Preliminary Study for a Sranan Creole Continuum Model

The purpose of this project is to explore the suitability of the creole continuum model for varieties of Sranan as a possible model for language shift. It is my hypothesis that Surinamese Dutch has replaced English as the lexical source language of Sranan. I will demonstrate, by analyzing transcribed tape recordings and using my own intuitions as a native speaker of Sranan, evidence of the lexical and structural influence of Surinamese Dutch on Sranan. My contention is that basilectal, acrolectal and mesolectal varieties have arisen from differing degrees of influence of Surinamese Dutch (mainly via western education in that language which is related to socio-economic class) on the varieties spoken in the countryside, in the city and in intermediate areas, respectively.
John Holm (City University of New York)

American Black English and Afrikaans: Two Germanic Semi-Creoles

This paper compares the morphosyntax and phonology of each of these varieties to that of its lexical source language and that of a full creole of the same lexical base in order to demonstrate the need for the concept of semi-creole. The structures of the two varieties are then compared to each other to show in what respects Afrikaans is more creole-like than American Black English. Finally, these structural features are matched against what is known of the genesis and development of Afrikaans and American Black English to see what light each can cast on the history of the other.

Kate Howe (MRM Language Research Center)

Haitian Creole and Papiamentu: Complementizers or Relative Pronouns?

Recent work in GB Theory, specifically WH-movement, strongly supports the hypothesis that in certain constructions, elements previously assumed to be (non-WH) relative pronouns are in fact complementizers, and that the relative pronoun itself is covert, or an empty WH-operator.

Haitian Creole has obligatory relative pronouns for subject and locative only; in more acrolectal varieties, the form ke is becoming common, not only in cases where the relativized form is the direct object, but also after locative kote, indicating that this ke is indeed a complementizer rather than a relative pronoun.

Drawing on data collected in Haiti, I will examine the various possibilities for relativization and complementization in Haitian, including the equivalent of the so-called 'infinitival relative', which in certain cases is ambiguous between the 'infinitival' reading, and the modal pou. A parallel analysis of Papiamentu will be included.

David M. Jeuda (University of Nevada-Las Vegas)

The Portuguese Lexical Element in Papiamentu

In the debate concerning the genesis of creole languages, Papiamentu has played a key role. Although the vast majority of its Romance-derived vocabulary clearly has Spanish as its source, a residue of lexical items of unmistakable Portuguese provenience remains, variously attributed to a supposed Portuguese pidgin, to the Portuguese and Judeo-Spanish spoken by Jews of the era, and to Spanish dialectal sources. The external background of these items has been much discussed in recent years, on account of their critical importance for the monogenetic theory of creole language origins. Considerably less attention, however, has been paid to close study of the words themselves. The present paper systematically identifies and analyzes the words which compose the Portuguese lexical element in Papiamentu and attempts to assign the most likely source(s) for each.
Frederick C.V. Jones (St. Augustine's College)
A Look at the Potential for Expressiveness in Krio

This paper discusses ways in which internally-motivated and externally-motivated developments in the phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexico-semantics of Krio have increased the language's non-referential potential. It also advances the view that changes and developments that take place during the "post-creole" phase need not signify decreolization—which should be potentially lethal to the creole—but may further enhance the autonomy of the language.

Mwamba T. Kapanga (University of Nebraska-Lincoln)
Shaba Swahili and the Processes of Linguistic Contact

This paper provides an analysis of Shaba Swahili (ShS), one of the very few non-western-based languages classified as pidgin/creole (P/C). This variety of Swahili is spoken in the southern province of Shaba, Zaire. The paper shows that although ShS fulfills the criteria used for the classification of P/C (i.e. structural simplification and historical origin associated with trade, slavery, etc.), it is not a P/C. It will be shown through the analysis of ShS that structural simplification is not the property of P/C only. Rather, it is the property of all languages found in contact situations, namely, link languages, koinés, foreigner talk, P/C, immigrant, institutionalized, and indigenized varieties. This being the case, all the processes of language contact such as linguistic convergence, structural simplification, interference, interlanguage, linguistic nationalism, superstratum association, language attitudes, etc. will be evaluated to sort out a new set of criteria for language categorization in contact situations.

Satoshi Stanley Kolke (City University of New York-Graduate Center)
Semantic Change in Hawaiian Creole English Lexicon from Japanese

This paper examines semantic change in lexical items of Japanese origin in Hawaiian Creole English (HCE), which I collected in Hawaii. Because (Hawaiian) Japanese has been one of the major languages spoken in Hawaii, phenomena such as lexical borrowing, second language acquisition and code-mixing are particularly relevant and will be examined in detail. Some of the semantic discrepancies between HCE words of Japanese origin and their modern equivalents in Standard Japanese are here traced to regional usages in Japan for the first time. The range of meanings covered by the Japanese words and phrases in HCE seems to indicate that this is not so much a straightforward case of borrowing as one of code-mixing. The paper represents an effort toward a more coherent theoretical framework for the study of semantic change in language contact situations, building on discussions in Huttar (1975), Hancock (1977; 1980) and Allsopp (1980).
Ernst F. Kotze (University of Zululand) (FRI MORN: H)

Afrikaans in the Context of Creole Linguistics: Dismantling Linguistic Apartheid

Since the controversy surrounding the origin of Afrikaans was due in the past to contradictory interpretations of important concepts, the lack of consistency in applying diverse criteria is demonstrated. Differing points of view concerning the diachronic typological classification of Afrikaans are pointed out, and the terms "creole", "semi-creole", "post-creole", "creoloid" and their definitions are investigated. The intricate sociolinguistic situation at the Cape during the 17th and 18th centuries renders a simple classification of Afrikaans unworkable. Therefore the concept of koinéization is defined and applied to the genesis of this language.

In order to indicate that the strict lines of division between linguistically "pure" languages and those which have become tainted as a result of contact cannot be justified if structural and nonstructural criteria are accorded equal importance, a comparison between the processes of evolution of Middle Low German and Afrikaans is undertaken. A conclusion is arrived at pertaining to the comparative diachronic typological classification of Afrikaans and Low German. The value of non-structural criteria for identifying processes of change in both so-called genetically "pure" and convergent languages becomes evident.

Silvia Kouwenberg (University of Amsterdam) (SAT MORN: H)

Reduplication in Berbice Dutch Creole

In this paper, a description will be given of the form and function of the process of reduplication in Berbice Dutch Creole (BD). We will distinguish between reduplication which does not result in categorial change and category changing reduplication. Non-category changing reduplication applies to adjectives (1. emphatic, 2. distributive), verbs (1. simple iterative, 2. aimlessly repeated activity, 3. activity carried out in small repeated steps), adverbs (emphatic) and nouns (individualized). Category changing reduplication is an infrequent and irregular process, limited to nominal verb reduplication (1. instrumental, 2. descriptive). Distributional restrictions and the interaction with phonological and morphological rules will be discussed.

Evidence for the treatment of reduplication as affixation rather than compounding comes from stress patterns: A comparison of compound stress-assignment (as in mingkándi < mingi-kándi ‘waterside’) and stress-assignment in affixed words (as in takapu < tóko-apu ‘children’) with stress in reduplicated forms (as in lómbo-lómbo ‘very bad’) shows that reduplication is actually suffixation of a morpheme.

Anna Kwan-Terry (Nan Yang Technological Institute) (SAT MORN: H)

The Use of Modal Particles in Colloquial Singapore English

A distinctive feature of colloquial Singapore English is the use of modal particles to indicate different attitudes on the part of the speaker. Some examples of such particles are what to express disagreement or query, ho to solicit agreement or confirmation, lo to indicate obviousness and me to indicate surprise. Such particles are widely used in casual situations, very often in place of intonational variations, and are seen by speakers who use them as highly economical and expressive. The proposed paper discusses the use of these particles in colloquial Singapore English and attempts to explain how these particles have found their way into the local variety of English. There is little doubt that all of these particles have been derived from the Chinese languages used locally; however, what is of interest is that among the wide range of particles in the local Chinese languages, only certain ones have been borrowed into the English lexicon and not others. This thus leads to an examination of the conditions governing the successful borrowing of modal particles from Chinese into the local variety of English.

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Gerardo A. Lorenzino (City University of New York)
A Structural Comparison of the Spanish-Based Creoles

Building on earlier studies comparing the structure of the Papiamentu and Palenguero verb phrase (Maurer 1987) and noun phrase (Lorenzino 1989), this paper provides the first structural comparison of all the Spanish-based creoles by analyzing the VP and NP of Chabacano (Philippine CS) in the light of what is known about the two Caribbean varieties. This study reveals that although Chabacano is a "true creole" as defined by Bickerton (1981), it does not share the basic structure of Papiamentu and Palenguero because it does not share their African substrate. Chabacano's Austronesian substrate makes it structurally closer to Malayo-Portuguese or even Tok Pisin.

Charles Mann (University of Edinburgh)
Polysemic Functionality of P in PCs: jQ in Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin

This paper reviews the literature so far on the evolution of prepositions in pidgins and creoles, but attempts an in-depth investigation of 'fº'(derived from English 'for') in terms of its considerably wide semantic range, its morpho-syntactic variability and the types of clauses, etc. it preposes. It is hoped that this micro-analysis of Anglo-Nigerian pidgin - an Atlantic pidgin - will contribute to reinforcing or repudiating certain views held so far on specific function words in pidgin and creole grammars.

Katherine Wyly Mille (University of South Carolina)
A Historical Analysis of Tense in Gullah

The first systematic historical examination of Gullah yields results that strongly challenge assumptions of its ongoing decreolization. Comparing computer concordances of Gonzales' literary dialect, representing Gullah from over a century ago with modern field data collected in the same vicinity by Mufwene and Jones-Jackson, this study finds a striking replication of form, function, and distribution of tense markers then and now. The concordance exposes Gonzales' attempts to stereotype a basilectal Gullah in later writing. His earliest writing, however, compared with modern data, makes a case for stable variation in the creole. An alternative to the decreolization model is presented.
Salikoko S. Mufwene (University of Georgia)  (FRI AFT: H)

On the Status of Auxiliary Verbs in Gullah

The delineation of the class of auxiliary verbs has raised some analytical problems for languages such as English, due particularly to the absence of constant/consistent morphosyntactic features by which to single them out (Huddleston 1976, McCallum 1988, Mufwene 1990). The property shared indisputably by auxiliary verbs in all languages where such a class is assumed is the fact that they specify the mood, aspect, and tense (perhaps in this order of crosslinguistic frequency) of the verbs which they head syntactically. That is, the class is assumed primarily on the basis of semantic considerations.

This paper examines the verbal markers of mood, aspect, and tense in Gullah in order to determine what particular syntactic features may be associated with them and whether the same problems arise about the delineation of their class as in English. We are aware that the morphosyntactic features most commonly attributed to auxiliary verbs in English will simply not apply in Gullah. Other morphosyntactic criteria such as potential for phonological reduction and inability to be used as main verb in at least some form are being considered. The list criteria remains open.

Wayne O'Neil (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)  (FRI AFT: H)

On the Structure and History of IP in Nicaraguan English

In Nicaraguan English Creole (NeE), do-Support is obligatory, perhaps lexicalized, since l-to-AGR-Lowering to V, the head of VP, appears always to be blocked in the presence of [+finite] specified as [+past]. ([+finite] can be unmarked for [past] in NeE, in which case there is no do-Support.) The language does not allow I-Raising to C, head of CP. Languages differ parametrically between having [weak] inflectional affixes, with, e.g., Agr (a distinct functional element from l) being [-weak] in French, but [+weak] in English. Further IP differences between the more familiar varieties of English and NeE result from the loss of Agr, the inventory of functional elements in a language being itself parameterized. With the loss of AgrP, the basic structure of the clause in NeE is thus reduced to an IP with no further articulation into functional elements other than the optional NegP. These characteristics of NeE IP follow from re-parameterization of a functional element ([+weak] Agr of earlier English) and from the lexicalization of [±past] in l by the incorporation there of the null (potentially do) modal. This reorganization of the grammar was triggered phonologically by the simplification of syllable-final consonant clusters in the language and syntactically by the presence in the earlier language of an already weakened AgrP dialect.

Robin Sabino (University of Pennsylvania/Drexel University)  (SAT AFT: H)

On Onsets: Explaining Negerhollands Initial Clusters

The view that the CV syllable predominates in Caribbean creoles has motivated useful discussions of the processes which substrate speakers used to break up the complex clusters of the superstrate languages. A frequency analysis of syllable types in Negerhollands demonstrates that the CV syllable predominates in this creole. However, this view of creole syllable structure does not account for Stolz's (1986) observation that speakers of Negerhollands were far more likely to preserve consonant clusters in word initial position than in either medial or final position, and it runs counter to his observation that in Negerhollands non-etymological initial clusters were sometimes created by elision. The predominance of the CV syllable also fails to account for that fact that these non-etymological clusters could be either permissible in the superstrates (e.g. Dutch beloven 'promise' - Negerhollands bōf) or impermissible (e.g. Dutch bewaren 'preserve' - Negerhollands bēa). This paper compares Negerhollands syllable onsets with onsets in its substrate and superstrate languages and demonstrates that permisibility played an important role in the determination of Negerhollands syllable structure.
William J. Samarin (University of Toronto)
*Sango Phonology of Urban Young People*

Based on the analysis of a sample of tape recordings of extemporaneous speech from children in the city of Bangui, Central African Republic, this study demonstrates substantial changes in the phonetic realization of Sango's underlying structure. The new patterns seem to be innovative in that they do not appear to be due to any substratal or adstratal influence. Should children's Sango become the language of the future, the language would be atypical in some respects of Ubangian languages.

Charlene J. Sato (University of Hawaii)
*Applying Creole Sociolinguistics: Hawai'i Creole English on Trial*

The application of research on pidgin and creole languages to legal issues is discussed with reference to a US civil rights discrimination lawsuit (Kahakua et al. v. Hallgren, 1987), which centered on the Hawai'i Creole English accents of two National Weather Service employees. An analysis of their speech is presented and sociolinguistic arguments underlying the case are discussed with reference to controversies in the research literature, legal interpretations of this literature, and obstacles to progressive social change in creole communities.

Shobha Satyanath (University of Pennsylvania)
*On Tense Marking of (daz) in Guyanese English Creole*

The existing literature on Guyanese creole provides a variable tense interpretation for (daz), the iterative/habitual marker. Bickerton (1975) claims that the tense interpretation of (daz) itself is variably distributed across the continuum. According to Bickerton, (daz) is used as a tenseless marker for the speakers located at the bottom of the continuum. As a speaker moves to the upper mesolectal level, use of (daz) becomes more and more restricted to the present contexts and (use to) alone is used for the past tense contexts. However, this description becomes less revealing if we consider the fact as pointed out by Bickerton himself, that (use to) is acquired more or less around the same time as (daz) is acquired by the speakers by the speakers.

The present study provides a reanalysis of (daz). Using both speech data and experiments involving judgements of the native speakers, I have shown that (daz) is not inherently marked for tense. The tense interpretation of (daz) instead varies depending upon the surrounding grammatical context for all speakers. The study also provides counter evidence to the claims made by Bickerton regarding the variable distribution of tense interpretation across the creole continuum. Finally, based on narratives, I have shown that the use of (daz) in the past contexts actually represents a 'historical present' rather than true past.
Eric Schiller (Wayne State University)
Why Serial Verb Constructions? Neither Bioprogram nor Substrate!
For many years now Creolists have been arguing over the source of serial verb constructions in Creole languages. Bickerton (1981 inter alia) takes the position that serial verb constructions are part of universal grammar, while others disagree, claiming that they are contributed from the substrate language. While the latter may account for SVC's in a number of Creole languages, it seems implausible in others, including Hawaiian Creole English (HCE), which has extremely limited serialization, but such serialization as exists is revealing: *dei don han no kaz, dei wawak lit go skul*. "They didn't have any cars, they went to school on foot." (from Bickerton 1977). With the exception of Cantonese, the many ingredients which came together to create Hawaiian Creole lack verb phrase serialization, and thus even the presence of such a peripheral serial construction as (1) is puzzling. On the other hand, why doesn't HCE show much more serialization as is typical of the West African based Creoles, assuming the Bioprogram, and not the substrate language, is the primary motivation for serialization? It is clear from examining these and other languages such as Thai and Kimer that serial verb constructions are generally used in functions which are instantiated by prepositions in many other languages (cf. Schiller 1990) though a number of objections have been raised to the notion that serial verbs grow where prepositions are absent. The present paper briefly discusses a range of purported counterexamples, concentrating on Hawaiian Creole, where native speaker judgements (to be presented) strongly prefer the prepositional to serial constructions, even though both are acceptable in terms of grammaticality judgements. From the data presented, we will conclude that Creole languages can be expected to employ serial verb constructions only in cases where there is no preposition which fills the same semantic role (e.g. instrumental, benefactive). If a prepositional device is added to the language (e.g. via a c-voiowal development), the prepositional device will be the unmarked member of the pair. If, however, a language lacks the syntactic category of preposition, the borrowing of a preposition will result in the prepositional expression being highly marked (as in Thai, Foley & Oslen 1985).

Armin Schwegler (University of California-Irvine)
Notions on Decreolization and the Misanalysis of Palenquero Negation
A conspicuous feature of Palenquero morphosyntax is the unusual, though by no means unique, often clause- or sentence-final placement of the predicate negator *nu* 'not' (e.g., *i nu* kelé bae eyé *nu* 'I don't want to go there'). Previous descriptions, often cited in the literature, present oversimplified (and, therefore, misleading) accounts of the data. This paper attempts to rectify the descriptions found in Bickerton & Escalante (1970), Lewis (1970), Friedemann & Pátiño Rosselli (1983), and Megenney (1986).

Based on an extensive corpus of informal spoken data, this investigation demonstrates that Palenqueros systematically use *nu* not one but two basic creole negation patterns—preverbal and postverbal *nu*—and that the selection of construction does not, as has generally been argued, depend on the presence or absence of Spanish influence, but rather on complex pragmatic factors. The fact that preverbal negation strategy cannot be viewed as a simple case of interference from Spanish shows that, contrary to the opinion of previous investigators, Palenquero negation gives virtually no signs of decreolization.

Dingxu Shi (University of Southern California)
Pidian, Pigeon or Business
How the term 'pidgin English' originated is always controversial. The widely held view that it came from the Chinese Pidgin English (CPE) word for 'business' is often challenged on the ground that it is phonetically difficult to derive \(p^{h}d_{j}g_{i}n\) from \{biznis\}. The most popular alternatives for the origin of *pidgin* include *pidian* derived from the name of an Indian tribe and the Portuguese word *ocupação*.

Either alternative lacks the support of historical record and attested data, but there is sufficient evidence that CPE *pidgin/pigeon* stood for 'business' before the term 'pidgin English' appeared. A crucial 'missing link' in the phonetical derivation of \(p^{h}d_{j}g_{i}n\) is provided by a CPE phrasebook. The word derived from *business* was *pi- tain* there, with an unaspirated [p] and an unaspirated affricate [ts] replacing [b] and [z] respectively. Those are the closest Cantonese equivalents for the two English sounds. The English speakers in turn were likely to perceive them as \(p^{h}\) and \(d_{j}\). The insertion of an extra vowel after \(ts\) is a common means to eliminate syllable final consonant in CPE.
Peter A. Slomanson (City University of New York)  
Views of Two Early Twentieth Century Linguists on Language Variation and Change  

This paper is a comparison of the work of the Dutch linguists Hesseling and van Ginneken, as early challengers of aspects of the theoretical framework established by the Neogrammarians. The innovation for which Hesseling was responsible consisted in developing the notion that there exists a language-external and cultural as opposed to a strictly internally-driven and mechanical basis on which diachronic linguistic change can occur. That of van Ginneken is to be found in the suggestion of a pseudoscientific biological-anthropological component to phonological differences in the speech of populations which have come into contact with the language of an exogenous linguistic population. The contribution of the first is global in that it feeds into later work in pidgin and creole studies, the more "local" contribution being to the understanding of data from Dutch-based and Dutch-influenced creoles and a partially creolized variety of Dutch. The lasting local contribution of the second, van Ginneken, is to our understanding of "occupational" and other forms of language variation within the metropolitan Netherlandic language area, although many aspects of his anthropological approach to general and geographic language variation are now anachronistic and may safely be regarded as scientifically invalid.

Arthur K. Spears (City College-City University of New York)  
Haitian Stem Verb Forms  

The analysis of Haitian Creole (HC) stem verb forms is rendered particularly complex by the many meanings it expresses (compared, e.g., to Bickerton's "classic" creole) and by its involvement in what seems to be a major, ongoing change in the HC TMA system. The hypotheses of this paper are that (1) the stem form has historically been unmarked vis-a-vis TMA and (2) in several environments, it has been in variation with semantically more specific verb forms, which are progressively replacing it.

Kenneth M. Sumbuk (Oxford University)  
Is Tok Pisin a Threat to Sare?  

Tok Pisin has long become a mother tongue to many in the urban areas of Papua New Guinea and to those from mixed marriage families. It (Tok Pisin) is also rapidly becoming a mother tongue to many in the rural areas and even to those not from mixed marriage families. This is especially common in the Sepik region. This can be seen as a threat to many of the small languages. The paper describes how and if Tok Pisin is a threat to Sare. Sare is a small Papuan language of 3,200 speakers spoken in the Sepik region of Papua New Guinea.
Anand Syea (U MIST, England)  
Against a Predicate Raising (PR) Rule in Mauritian Creole  

This paper will argue that the evidence for a PR rule proposed by Seuren (forthcoming) to account for the alternation between the short and the long form of verbs, as illustrated in (1), in Mauritian Creole, is far from conclusive.

(1) a. Pyer pase/þas li pu fini liv la zordi  
Peter think he MOD finish book DEF today

b. Pyer *pase/þas fini liv la zordi  
Peter think finish book DEF today

It discusses some of the data used by Seuren and points to some of the weaknesses of his analysis. The same data, it will be shown, can more successfully be accounted for under a modular theory like Government and Binding without having recourse to a rule which creates semantic opacity.

J.P. Williams (University of Sydney)  
A Preliminary Survey of Papuan-Based Pidgins  

It is only within the past few years that information concerning Papuan-based pidgins has begun to appear in the literature (cf. Foley 1988). The limited availability of published information led to the absence of any discussion of these varieties in Holm’s recent (1989) reference survey of the world’s pidgin and creole languages.

The purpose of the present paper is to provide a preliminary survey of the Papuan-based pidgins of insular New Guinea. This paper outlines the information that is known about these indigenous pidgins, whose input languages are classified as non-Austronesian, or Papuan. The discussion focusses on the viability of these pidgins, the social settings of contact, and a comparison of their morpho-syntactic features.

Lise Winer (Southern Illinois University-Carbondale)  
Persistance in Decreolization  

This paper re-examines the concept of rapid decreolization in view of the long-term persistence of several creole features. A series of texts in Caribbean English Creole, from 1904-1906, purportedly written by people from Trinidad, Barbados, St. Vincent, and Carriacou, yields numerous examples of continued simultaneous use of apparently “transitional” forms. Specifically examined are noncompletive markers a, da, in(g) and does; a and da as existential sentence-initial copula; and ma and a as locatives. The disappearance, decrease, and persistance of these forms is discussed with particular attention to the social matrix of 19th and 20th century Trinidadian society.
Donald Winford (Ohio State University)  
*Directional Serial Verb Constructions in CEC*

The aim of this paper is to describe the syntax of a specific set of serial verb constructions in Caribbean English creoles (CEC) - those that involve Motion events. I employ Talmy's (1985) sketch of the major components of a Motion event to illustrate the basic patterns which CEC employs to express such events, and draw parallels with Sranan (SN). These patterns involve the use of serial verbs like *go, kom* and *gaan* to express Direction, as well as to introduce Purposive VP complements, as in *Mjeri kyari di pikni go a maakki* and *Dem gaan a tong go bai klooz*. I argue that the syntactic behavior of these constructions, e.g., the fact that they allow wh-extraction and contrastive focus of both V1 and V2 arguments, suggests that they belong to a 'subordinating' as distinct from 'coordinating' type (Sebba 1987). This contrasts with views such as Schiller's (1990) that all SVCs have a 'flat' structure. I account for the syntax of Directional and Purposive SVCs within a GPSG framework which allows us to specify the possible sequences of V1 and V2, along with their arguments, in terms of the subcategorization properties of the verbs themselves. Some problems in Sebba's similar treatment of SN SVC's are identified and avoided in the in the present analysis.

Flore Zéphir (University of Delaware)  
*Social Dimensions of Bilingualism in Haiti*

The present paper examines closely the role that French and Creole play for the Haitian bilingual speakers and attempts to underscore the specific rules of language choice on the part of these speakers in light of the diglossic relationship that exists between the two languages. French is the high (prestigious) language spoken by the dominant group (the bilingual community), and Creole is the low (less valorized) language spoken by the subordinate group (the monolingual masses). The paper indicates that in a bilingual/diglossic context, such as that of Haiti, the languages in presence are not used interchangeably at the preference of an individual speaker. There exist social factors that affect language choice, namely the setting, the topic of discourse, the purpose of the interaction, and the participants involved. Further, it provides evidence to support the claim that language choice reflects class consciousness as well.
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