MEETING HANDBOOK

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY
AMERICAN NAME SOCIETY
NORTH AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGE SCIENCES
SOCIETY FOR PIDGIN AND CREOLE LINGUISTICS
SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES OF THE AMERICAS

PALMER HOUSE HILTON HOTEL
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
6 – 9 JANUARY 2000
**Introductory Note**

The LSA Secretariat has prepared this Meeting Handbook to serve as the official program for the 74th Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America (LSA). In addition, this handbook is the official program for the Annual Meetings of the American Dialect Society (ADS), the American Name Society (ANS), the North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences (NAAHoLS), the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (SPCL), and the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas.

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance provided by the LSA Program Committee: (Patrick Farrell, Chair; Georgia Green; Sharon Inkelas; Michael Kenstowicz; Richard Larson; Shari Speer; John Whitman; and Donald Winford) and the help of the following members who served as consultants to the Program Committee: Barbara Abbott, Carolyn Adger, Chris Barker, Victoria Bergvall, Hugh Buckingham, Stephen Crain, Mary Dalrymple, Jeri Jaeger, Brian Joseph, Laurence Horn, Judy Kegl, Ceil Lucas, Lise Menn, Ann Peters, Martha Ratliff, Muriel Saville-Troike, Susan Steele, and Walt Wolfram. We are also grateful to Genevieve Escure (SPCL), Victor Golla (SSILA), Douglas Kibbee (NAAHoLS), Donald Lance (ANS); and Dennis Preston (ADS) for their cooperation.

We especially appreciate the help which has been given by the Chicago Local Arrangements Committee (Judith Levi and Salikoko Mufwene, Co-Chairs).

We hope this Meeting Handbook is a useful guide for those attending, as well as a permanent record of the 2000 Annual Meeting in Chicago.

January 2000
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Meeting Rooms

6th Floor
Exhibit Hall Floor Plan
Salons I-IV (3rd floor)

Exhibitors

Booths

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<tr>
<th>Booth Number</th>
<th>Exhibitor/Press</th>
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<tr>
<td>10-11-12</td>
<td>Blackwell Publishers, Inc.</td>
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<td>20-21-22</td>
<td>Cambridge University Press</td>
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<td>LSA Joint Book Exhibit</td>
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<tr>
<td>13-14</td>
<td>MIT Press</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Mouton de Gruyter</td>
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<td>Walter de Gruyter</td>
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<td>Working Papers</td>
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Joint Book Exhibit

| Academic Press |
| University of California Press |
| Central European Universit Press Kft. |
| Duke University Press |
| Kent State University Press |
| University of Michigan Press |
| Routledge |

Working/Occasional Papers

| Cornell University |
| Ohio State University |
General Meeting Information

Exhibit

There will be an exhibit of linguistic publications in the Salons I, II, III, and IV (3rd floor). The exhibit is scheduled to be open during the following hours:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Friday 7 January</th>
<th>Saturday 8 January</th>
<th>Sunday 9 January</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>10:00 AM - 2:00 PM</td>
<td>10:00 AM - 1:00 PM</td>
<td>8:30 AM - 11:30 AM</td>
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<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>3:00 - 6:00 PM</td>
<td>2:00 - 4:30 PM</td>
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The display copies in the LSA Joint Book Exhibit will be sold beginning at 8:30 AM on 9 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 9 January if accompanied by payment. All books must be picked up on 9 January between 8:30 and 10:00 AM. Unclaimed books will be resold and the advance payment donated to the Linguistic Institute fellowships.

Job Placement Center

A Job Placement Center will be set up in the PDR 9 (3rd floor) during the Annual Meeting. On 7 and 8 January, the Center will be open 8:30 AM - 6:00 PM. It will also be open 9:00 - 11:30 AM on 9 January. Lists of openings will be available, and the staff will facilitate interviews between applicants and employers. Interviewers are asked to list openings and check in with the Center staff so that an interview schedule can be arranged. Applicants should bring an adequate supply of curricula vitarum--enough to submit one copy to each interviewer. The Center will have no duplication facilities available.

S.N.A.P.

PDR 3 (3rd floor) 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 7 and 8 January, 9:00AM-6:00 PM, and on the morning of 9 January until 11:30 AM.

Open Committee Meetings

- LSA Executive Committee. Thursday, 6 January, Cresthill Room (3rd floor), 8:00 AM - 4:00 PM
- Computing. Friday, 7 January, PDR 1 (3rd floor), 8:00 - 9:00 AM
- Endangered Languages and Their Preservation. Friday, 7 January, Crystal Room (3rd floor), 12:30 - 2:00 PM
- Ethnic Diversity in Linguistics. Sunday, 9 January, Cresthill Room (3rd floor), 8:00 - 9:30 AM
- Language in the School Curriculum. Friday, 7 January, Cresthill Room (3rd floor), 7:30 - 9:00 AM
- Social and Political Concerns. Saturday, 8 January, PDR 1 (3rd floor), 8:00 - 9:00 AM
- Status of Women in Linguistics. Saturday, 8 January, Crystal Room (3rd floor), 8:00 - 9:00 AM
- Undergraduate Program Advisory. Saturday, 8 January, PDR 4 (3rd floor), 9:00 - 10:00 AM

Special Events

Thursday, 6 January

- COSWL Symposium: 'Women in Linguistics: Celebrating 25 Years of COSWL'. Empire Ballroom (1st floor), 7:30 - 9:30 PM.
- COSWL 25th Anniversary Observance. Empire Ballroom (1st floor), 9:30 - 10:30 PM.
Friday, 7 January

- **Symposium: 'Linguistics and Related Disciplines in the Undergraduate Curriculum'.** Wabash Room (3rd floor), 9:00 - 11:00 AM.
- **Poster Session.** Lobby (3rd floor) outside the publishers' exhibit. Members will be present to talk about their posters, 10:00 AM - 12:00 noon. The posters will remain on display during the day on Friday and Saturday.
- **Film: 'In Whose Honor? American Indian Mascots'.** Red Lacquer Room (4th floor), 12:15 PM. Sally Thomason will introduce the film which is being shown as background for a discussion that will take place later on Friday at the LSA Business Meeting.
- **Leonard Bloomfield Book Award.** The award will be presented at the LSA Business Meeting.
- **LSA Business Meeting.** Red Lacquer Room (4th floor), 5:00 - 6:30 PM, chaired by Joan Bresnan, LSA President.
- **Symposium: 'Field Relationships: Balancing Power and Priorities in Language-Based Fieldwork'.** Grand Ballroom (4th floor), 8:00 - 11:00 PM.

Saturday, 8 January

- **Workshop: 'Linguistic Enterprises 2000: And Now for Something Completely Different'.** Crystal Room (3rd floor), 12:15 - 1:45 PM.
- **LSA Presidential Address.** Grand Ballroom (4th floor), 5:00 - 6:30 PM. The address is entitled 'Optimality in syntax'.
- **Cash Bar Reception.** State Ballroom (4th floor). Following the Presidential address.

Sunday 9 January

- **Workshop: Computational Linguistics in the Linguistics Curriculum.** Wabash Room (3rd floor), 9:00 - 11:00 AM.

**Office Hours**

**Language**

Mark Aronoff, Editor of *Language*, will be in the Cresthill Room (3rd floor):

Fri, 7 January 9:00 - 10:00 AM
Sat, 8 January 9:00 - 10:00 AM

All members, including students, are welcome to drop by to ask any questions they may have about submitting articles or reviews to *Language*.

**LSA Web Editor**

Marmo Soemarmo, editor of the LSA website, will meet with members in the Cresthill Room (3rd floor):

Fri, 7 January 10:00 - 11:00 AM
Sat, 8 January 2:00 - 3:00 PM

**LSA Secretary-Treasurer/LSA Executive Director**

Sally McConnell-Ginet and Margaret Reynolds will meet with members in the Cresthill Room (3rd floor):

Sat, 8 January 1:00 - 2:00 PM

**LinguistList**

Anthony Aristar and Helen Aristar-Dry will meet with those interested in the website in PDR 1 (3rd floor):

Fri, 7 January 9:00 - 10:00 AM
Sat, 8 January 2:00 - 4:00 PM
National Science Foundation

Catherine Ball, Program Director for Linguistics at the National Science Foundation, will meet with interested members in PDR 4 (3rd floor):

Fri, 7 January 10:00 - 11:00 AM 12:00 noon - 2:00 PM
Sat, 8 January 10:00 - 11:00 AM 12:00 noon - 2:00 PM

National Institutes of Health

Howard Kurtzman, Chief, the Cognitive Science Program, National Institute of Mental Health, will meet with members interested in learning more about research and training grant support available from NIH. Members may talk to him in PDR 1 (3rd floor):

Fri, 7 January 12:00 noon - 2:00 PM
Sat, 8 January 12:00 noon - 2:00 PM

The New York Times

Margalit Fox, who writes about language and linguistics for The New York Times, will hold office hours in PDR 1 (3rd floor):

Fri, 7 January 10:00 AM - 12:00 noon
She would welcome hearing about any work in the field that might be of interest to a general readership. She can also be reached at: fox@nytimes.com.

Concurrent Meetings

American Dialect Society (ADS)

Thursday, 6 January
- Special Sessions: 'The Lexicon' and 'Perception, Identity, Attitudes'. Parlor H (6th floor), 3:00 - 7:00 PM.

Friday, 7 January
- Executive Council. Parlor G (6th floor), 8:00 - 10:30 AM.
- Words of the Year, Decade, Century, and Millennium, Nominations. Parlor H (6th floor), 10:30 AM - 12:00 noon.
- General Sessions 1 and 2. Parlor H (6th floor), 1:00 - 5:00 PM.
- Words of the Year, Voting. Parlor H (6th floor), 5:15 - 6:30 PM.
- Reception and Bring Your Own Book Exhibit. Parlor F (6th floor), 6:30 - 7:30 PM.

Saturday, 8 January
- Business Meeting. Parlor H (6th floor), 8:00 - 8:45 AM
- General Sessions 3 and 4. Parlor H (6th floor), 9:00 AM - 1:00 PM.
- Annual Luncheon. Parlor F (6th floor), 1:15 - 2:45 PM.
- General Session 5. Parlor H (6th floor), 3:00 - 5:00 PM

American Name Society (ANS)

Friday, 7 January
- Sessions 1 and 2. Crystal Room (3rd floor), 9:00 - 11:00 AM, 3:00 - 4:30 PM.

North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences (NAAHoLS)

Friday, 7 January
- Session 1. Parlor A (6th floor), 2:00 - 4:00 PM.
- Business Meeting. Parlor A (6th floor), 4:15 PM.

Saturday, 8 January
- Session 2. Parlor A (6th floor), 10:00 AM - 12:00 noon.
Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (SPCL)

Friday, 7 January
- Concurrent Sessions. Adams Room (6th floor) and Monroe Room (6th floor), 9:00 AM - 12:15 PM, 2:00 - 5:15 PM.

Saturday, 8 January
- Concurrent Sessions. Adams Room (6th floor) and Monroe Room (6th floor), 9:00 AM - 12:15 PM, 2:00 - 3:00 PM.
- Business Meeting. Monroe Room (6th floor), 3:30 - 4:30 PM.

Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas

Friday, 7 January
- Concurrent Sessions. Salons V-VI (3rd floor) and Salons VII-VIII (3rd floor), 9:00 AM - 12:00 noon, 2:00 - 4:00 PM.

Saturday, 8 January
- Concurrent Sessions. Salons V-VI (3rd floor) and Salons VII-VIII (3rd floor), 9:00 AM - 10:40 AM, 2:00 - 4:20 PM.
- Business Meeting. Salons V-VI (3rd floor), 11:00 AM - 12:30 PM.

Endangered Language Fund

Friday, 7 January
- Open meeting. PDR 4 (third floor), 8:00 - 9:00 AM.

TalkBank Project

Thursday, 6 January
- Workshop: New Methods for Creating, Exploring, and Disseminating Linguistic Field Data. Parlor F (6th floor), 9:00 AM - 6:00 PM.

The workshop will bring together linguists and computational linguists committed to empirical research on large datasets, through the combination of traditional field methods and new technologies for exploring and visualizing complex datasets. The languages under study may range from the undescribed to the well-studied, and the fieldworker may operate in a village or a laboratory. The focus is the exploratory mode of research where elicitation, analysis, and hypothesis-testing form a tight loop. The workshop will contribute to the evaluation and evolution of methodologies that integrate traditional practices with new technologies, leading to increased accessibility, accountability, and stability of empirical linguistics research.

Organizers: Steven Bird (U Penn); Brian MacWhinney (Carnegie Mellon U)

Presenters:
Bill Poser (Yinka Dene Lang Inst): TBA
Jonathan Amih (Yale U): What's in a word? The why's & what for's of a Nahua dictionary
Christopher Cieri (U Penn): Issues & tools for creating & annotating a corpus of sociolinguistic field data
Steven Bird (U Penn): Using the HyperLex system to study the Grassfields languages of Cameroon
Chris Manning (Stanford U): Kinkiri: Experiences with a flexible software interface to indigenous dictionaries
Michael Jacobson (CNRS/LACITO): XML tools for managing linguistic data: The LACITO Archives Project
Ronald Sproose (UC-Berkeley): Two approaches to linguistic fieldwork on the web: The TELL & Ingush projects
Lev Michael (U TX-Austin): Plans for a worldwide web archive of the indigenous languages of Latin America
Mark Liberman (U Penn): Disseminating language data: Experience with LDC-Online
David Nathan (Australian Inst Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Studies): Data design for endangered languages: Increasing the "linguistic bandwidth"
Wally Hooper (IN U): An integrated multimedia dictionary & text processor for the documentation of endangered languages
Larry Hayashi (SIL): Discovering & testing linguistic generalizations using interactive concordances
John Dubois (UC-Santa Barbara): TBA
Mark Liberman (U Penn): Transcriber: A tool for segmenting, labeling, & transcribing speech
David Weber (SIL): Reference grammars for the computational age: From Gleason files to sci-fi grammar
Dafydd Gibbon (U Bielefeld, Germany): The Bielefeld-Abidjan documentation project: Information types & dissemination media
Richmond Thomason (U MI): Towards computerized support for empirical linguistics: Some ideas from computer science
Steven Bird (U Penn): Multidimensional exploration of linguistic databases

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## Concurrent Meetings at a Glance

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For paper titles, see pp. 23-33.
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For paper titles, see pp. 13-22.
Linguistic Society of America
Thursday, 6 January
Evening

*=30-minute paper

Symposium: Women in Linguistics: Celebrating 25 Years of COSWL
Room: Empire Ballroom (1st floor)
7:30 - 9:30 PM

Organizers: Marianna DiPaolo (U UT)
Jennifer Hay (Northwestern U)
Jeri Jaeger (SUNY-Buffalo)

Janet Dean Fodor (CUNY Grad Ctr): Silent prosody?
Iise Lehiste (OH SU): Contemporary Finnish & Estonian realization of folksongs in the Kalevala metre
Penelope Eckert (Stanford U): How social meaning acquires variation: Connecting global distribution to local meaning
Jean Berko Gleason (Boston U): Gender differences in parents' speech to boys & girls

The COSWL 25th anniversary will be observed with a celebratory gala in the Empire Ballroom/1st floor, 9:30 - 10:30 PM, immediately following the symposium

Lexical Semantics
Chair: Judith Levi (Northwestern U)
Room: Grand Ballroom (4th floor)

7:00 Adele E. Goldberg (U IL-Urbana) & Farrell Ackerman (U IL-Urbana): Obligatory adjuncts
7:20 Thomas Becker (U Munich/U WI-Mad): Autohyponyms: Implicature & lexical semantics
7:40 Edith Nicolas (U Melbourne): Verbal classifier or classifying auxiliary in Bardi (Australia)? A challenge to typology
8:00 Michele L. Feist (Northwestern U): Toward a cross-linguistically viable spatial semantics
8:20 Ronald P. Schafer (SIL U-Edw): Possession transfer & Emai's classificatory verbs
8:40 Laurence Horn (Yale U) & Steven R. Kleineidler (Houghton Mifflin Co/U Chicago): Parasitic reference vs R-based narrowing: Lexical pragmatics meets he-man
9:00 Kuniyoshi Ishikawa (Yale U): Duplicated complex predicate involves Davidsonian event
9:20 Saundra Wright (Northwestern U) & Beth Levin (Stanford U): Unspecified object contexts with activity & change of state verbs
9:40 Gail McKoon (Northwestern U) & Talke Macfarland (Northwestern U): Complexity in the meaning & structure of verbs

Phonology: Acquisition and Learning
Chair: John Goldsmith (U Chicago)
Room: Red Lacquer (4th floor)

7:00 Suzanne Curtin (USC): Explaining overlapping stages in prosodic development
7:20 Elyse E. Tamberino (SUNY-Stony Brook): Markedness & wellformedness effects on unfooted syllables in children's speech
7:40 Mitsuhiro Ota (U Edinburgh): Cross-linguistic evidence for moraic phonology in early child language
8:00 Shelley L. Velleman (U MA-Amherst) & Marilyn M. Vihman (U Wales-Bangor): The optimal 'initial state'
8:20 Molly Homer (Brown U): The combinatoric potential of lengthening words
8:40 Marco Baroni (UCLA): Using distributional information to discover morphemes
9:00 Daniel M. Albro (UCLA): A probabilistic ranking learner for phonotactics
9:20 Stefan Frisch (U MI): Sonority constraints on consonant clusters revisited
Friday, 7 January
Morning

Symposium: Linguistics and Related Disciplines in the Undergraduate Curriculum

Room: Wabash (3rd floor)
9:00 - 11:00 AM

Organizer: Michael Flynn (Carleton C)

Ellen Barton (Wayne SU): Linguistics & general education in the humanities
Daniel Finer (SUNY-Stony Brook): Linguistics & ESL
Shoko Hamano (George Washington U): Linguistics & foreign language instruction
Kristin Hanson (U CA-Berkeley): Linguistics & the study of literature
Brian Joseph (OH SU): Linguistics & comparative studies

Case and Agreement
Chair: James Yoon (U IL-Urbana)
Room: Grand Ballroom (4th floor)
9:00 Jaklin Kornfilt (Syracuse U): Locality of agreement in Turkic relative clauses
9:20 Martha Schulze-Nafeh (U TX-El Paso): Against morphological recovery of null subjects in a morphologically rich language
9:40 D. Gary Miller (U FL): Where do conjugated infinitives come from?
10:00 Gaurav Mathur (MIT): Two kinds of constraints on verb agreement in signed languages
10:20 Larisa Zlatin (Synthesys Tech, Inc) & Stephen Wechsler (U TX-Austin): Mixed agreement with second person formal pronouns
10:40 Naomi Harada (UC-Irvine): Licensing nonselected accusative phrases
11:00 Wolfgang Schellinger (U Konstanz): Case after case: Double case-marking in Dravidian
11:20 Christine Sungeun Cho (SUNY-Stony Brook): Korean accusative adverbials
11:40 Kristina Jarosova (U TX-El Paso) & Grant Goodall (U TX-El Paso): The position of the ‘subject’ in Czech indefinite SE clauses

Linguistics and Education
Chair: Carolyn Adger (CAL)
Room: Wabash (3rd floor)
11:00 Catherine Rudin (Wayne SC): Grammar knowledge & attitudes among prospective teachers
11:20 Theresa McGarry (U SC) & Angela Green (U SC): Investigating intelligibility across varieties in English
11:40 Nancy Mae Antrim (U TX-El Paso): Beyond the classroom: A role for linguistics in community-based learning & teaching

Phonology: Distribution
Chair: Joe Salmons (U WI-Mad)
Room: State Ballroom (4th floor)
9:00 Bert Vaux (Harvard U): Flapping in English
9:20 Adam Albright (UCLA), Argelia Andrade (UCLA), & Bruce Hayes (UCLA): Segmental environments of Spanish diphthongization
9:40 Marie Hélène Côté (MIT): A perception-based account of the distribution of schwa in French
10:00 Heidi Fieschbach (UCLA): Initial vs medial epenthesis: An auditory similarity account
10:20 Colin C. Wilson (Johns Hopkins U): Targeted constraints & contextual neutralization in optimality theory
10:40 Gunnar Ólafur Hansson (UC-Berkeley): Laryngeal licensing & laryngeal neutralization in Faroese & Icelandic
11:00 Yongeun Lee (SUNY-Buffalo): Positional faithfulness in nonprominent positions: [Lateral] in Korean
11:20 Abigail Kaun (Yale U): Consonant disharmony & epenthesis in Turkish
Psycholinguistics
Chair: Suzanne Flynn (MIT)
Room: Red Lacquer (4th floor)

9:00  Jessica Maye (U AZ) & LouAnn Gerken (U AZ): Minimal pairs are not necessary for learning phonemes
9:20  Amy J. Schafer (UCLA) & Sun-Ah Jun (UCLA): Prosodic phrasing effects in Korean sentence comprehension
9:40  Eric Raomy (Swarthmore/DU) & Irene Vogel (DU): Compound & phrasal stress: A case of late acquisition
10:00 *Amy J. Schafer (UCLA), Paul Warren (Victoria U, New Zealand), Shari Speer (U KS), S. David White (OH SU), & Shari So/col (U KS): Prosodic disambiguation in ambiguous & unambiguous situations
10:45  Craig Chambers (U Rochester), Michael Tanenhaus (U Rochester), & James Magnuson (U Rochester): Interaction of referential context & real-world knowledge in syntactic ambiguity resolution
11:00  Laura M. Gonnernan (Carnegie Mellon U) & Elaine S. Andersen (USC): Processing complex words: Does morphology matter?
11:25  Jennifer E. Arnold (U Penn), Janet Eisenband (U Penn), Sarah Brown-Schmidt (U Penn), & John Trueswell (U Penn): Distinguishing he from she: The on-line use of gender information for pronoun interpretation
11:45  Michael Walsh Dickey (Northwestern U): Discourse relations & the ambiguity of the English simple past

Poster Session
Room: Lobby (3rd floor)
Time: 10:00 AM - 12:00 noon

Jessica A. Barlow (SDSU): Individual differences in the production of initial clusters in Pig Latin
Debra H. Biasca (U CO): Language development in Jacobsen (lq deletion) syndrome: The interaction of language, cognition, & genetics
Margaret Hall Dunn (S CT SU/Haskins Labs): The gestural structure of geminate consonants
Catherine Hicks Kennard (U AZ), Robert Kennedy (U AZ), & Michael T. Hammond (U AZ): Lexical frequency & the 'rhythm rule' in English
Stephen McCullough (Salk Inst), Karen Enmorey (Salk Inst), & Diane Brentari (Purdue U): Categorical perception in American Sign Language
I-Ping Wan (Natl Dong Hwa U) & Jeri J. Jaeger (SUNY-Buffalo): The phonological representation of Mandarin vowels

Computational Linguistics
Chair: D. Terence Langendoen (U AZ)
Room: Wabash (3rd floor)

2:00  Rens Bod (U Amsterdam/U Leids): What are the structural units of language processing?
2:20  Christopher I. Beckwith (IN U): Defining basic vocabulary: The correlation between frequency & rate of retention
2:40  Susanne Wahl (Harvard U) & Daniel Jurafsky (U CO): Optionality & the mental representation of argument structure
Clinical Linguistics/Neurolinguistics
Chair: Diane Brentari (Purdue U)
Room: Wabash (3rd floor)

3:20 David Kemmerer (U IA): Selective impairments of knowledge underlying prenominal adjective order
3:40 D. H. Whalen (Haskins Labs), Randall R. Benson (U CT), Matthew Richardson (Haskins Labs), & Brook Swainson (Haskins Labs): Testing the existence of a speech-specific processing system: fMRI evidence
4:00 Susanne Gahl (Harvard U): Lexical biases in aphasic sentence processing: Parsing (over)efficiency
4:20 Daniel J. Brauner (U Chicago) & Karen B. Rosenbaum (U Chicago): Assessing the ability of patients with dementia to make decisions using a linguistic model

Phonetics: Duration and Timing
Chair: Chin-Wu Kim (U IL-Urbana)
Room: State Ballroom (4th floor)

2:00 Mónica Prieto (U IL-Urbana): The relationship between the syllable & the duration of segments in Spanish
2:20 Meghan Sumner (SUNY-Stony Brook): Vowels as onsets in Spanish
2:40 Anthony M. Lewis (U IL-Urbana): Synchrony, diachrony, & the acoustical variability of intervocalic stop consonants in Spanish
3:00 Lisa Lavoie (Harvard U): Linguopalatal contact as a measure of lenition
3:20 Stephanie Geonderloos (E MI U) & Beverley Goodman (E MI U): Vowel reduction & syncope in American English
3:40 Jie Zhang (UCLA): Phonetic duration effects on contour tone distribution
4:00 Darya Kavitskaya (UC-Berkeley): Compensatory lengthening through onset loss
4:20 *Eleonora Cavalcante Albano (UNICAMP, Brazil): Abstractness in gestural phonology

Semantics
Chair: Richard Larson (SUNY-Stony Brook)
Room: Grand Ballroom (4th floor)

2:00 *Michael Israel (Max Planck Inst, Leipzig): The family of English indefinite polarity items
2:45 Christine Gunlogson (UC-Santa Cruz) & Daniel Buring (UC-Santa Cruz): Aren't positive & negative polar questions the same?
3:05 René Coppieters (Pomona C): Only in context
3:25 Marianne L. Borroff (SUNY-Stony Brook): Degree phrase inversion in the scope of negation
3:45 Laurel Smith Sivan (U UT): Semantic classes of bare singular NPs
4:05 Jean Mark Gawron (SRI Intl) & Andrew Keeler (SRI Intl): Respective readings & gaps
4:25 EunHee Lee (UCLA): Dynamic meaning of the Korean temporal marker ess
4:45 Peter Hallman (UCLA): Quantified objects as underlying subjects

Friday, 7 January
Evening

Symposium: Field Relationships: Balancing Power and Priorities In Language-Based Fieldwork
Room: Grand Ballroom (4th floor)
8:00 - 11:00 PM

Organizer: Megan Crowhurst (U TX-Austin)
Co-sponsor: Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas

Colette Grinevald (Maison Rhônes-Alpes des Sciences de l'Homme): Goals & informants
Keren Rice (U Toronto): Ethical issues in fieldwork
MaryAnn Willie (U AZ): An inside view of fieldwork
Bret Gustafson (Harvard U): Yambojokikatuyeta Nanenee or, 'How do you say linguistic revitalization in Guarani?'
Barbara Meek (U AZ), Jacqui Messing (U AZ), & Jane Hill (U AZ): Framing indigenous languages as secondary to matrix languages
Jessie Little Doe Fermino (MIT): From a Native American point of view
Business Meeting

Chair: Joan Bresman
Room: Red Lacquer (4th floor)
5:00 PM

Resolutions Committee: Gregory Ward, Chair; Salikoko Mufwene, Keren Rice

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

Rules for Motions and Resolutions

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

Phonology: Features
Chair: Jennifer Cole (U IL-Urbana)
Room: Red Lacquer (4th floor)

8:00 Peter Avery (York U) & William Idsardi (U DE): The laryngeal phonology of Korean
8:20 Marlys A. Macken (U WI-Mad): Underspecification & the feature [voice]
8:40 Olga Petrova (U IA), Rosemary Plapp (U IA), Catherine Ringen (U IA), & Szilárd Szentgyörgyi (U Veszpré, Hungary): Constraints on voice: An OT typology
9:00 Simon Donnelly (U Witwatersrand): [open] vs [ATR] in bidirectional Bantu vowel harmony system
9:20 Katherine M. Crosswhite (U Rochester): How to get rid of mid vowels
10:00 Mary M. Bradshaw (U Chicago): Consonant-tone interaction as downstep: A multiplanar account
10:20 Joshua Guenier (UC-Berkeley): American English [j] is not phonologically a consonant: Experimental evidence
10:40 Robert Kirchner (U Alberta): Spirantization & stridency

Syntax 1
Chair: Jerrold Sadock (U Chicago)
Room: State Ballroom (4th floor)

8:00 Brian Aghayeni (UC-Irvine/CSU-Dom): Two types of optionality
8:20 Kleanthes K. Grohmann (U MD-College Park): Movement vs base-generation in left dislocation
8:40 Felicia Lee (CSU-Fresno): Against right adjunction: Evidence from Zapotec adverbs
9:00 Christine Gunlogson (UC-Santa Cruz): The categorial status of anaphoric one
9:20 Larisa Zlatic (Synthesys Tech, Inc): Slavic possessives: Nouns or adjectives?
9:40 Hidekazu Tanaka (U BC): Floating quantifiers & two types of adverbs
10:00 Haihua Pan (City U Hong Kong): Implicit arguments, collective predicates, & dou quantification in Chinese
10:20 Jingqi Fu (St Mary's C, MD): The syntactic derivation of the adjectival have- construction in Chinese
10:40 Cedric Boeckx (U CT): Arguments reconstructed

First Language Acquisition
Chair: Susan Goldin-Meadow (U Chicago)
Room: Red Lacquer (4th floor)

9:00 Michael Israel (Max Planck Inst, Leipzig), Christopher Johnson (UC-Berkeley/Inil Compu Sci Inst), & Patricia Brooks (C Staten Island-CUNY): From states to events: The acquisition of English passive constructions
9:20 Laura Wagner (U MA-Amherst): The role of aspect in children's early temporal interpretations
9:40 Mari Broman Olsen (Microsoft Corp) & Stephen Crain (U MD-College Park): Conditional acquisition
10:00 Andrea Gualmini (U MD-College Park) & Luisa Meroni (U MD-College Park): Children's universal success with quantification
10:20 Laura Siegel (U Penn): Semantic bootstrapping & ergativity
10:40 Sook Whan Cho (Harvard U/Sogang U, Korea): The emergence of subjecthood: Toward pragmatic bootstrapping
11:00 Misha Becker (UCLA): Production & omission of the copula in child English
11:20 Julien Musolino (U Penn/IRCS): The limits of isomorphism

Saturday, 8 January
Morning

LSA
Incorporation
Chair: Amy Dahlstrom (U Chicago)
Room: Wabash (3rd floor)
11:00 Cathryn Donahue (Stanford U) & Hanjung Lee (Stanford U): Harmonic alignment & incorporation in optimality theory
11:20 Alana Johns (U Toronto): Restricting noun incorporation
11:40 John Stonham (U Hong Kong) & Sze Man Yiu (U Manchester): Woman-buy vs two-have: Two types of incorporation in Nootka
12:00 Sze Man Yiu (U Manchester) & John Stonham (U Hong Kong): 'Good-stocked with mussels': Incorporation on the edge

Persian
Chair: Simin Karimi (U AZ)
Room: Wabash (3rd floor)
9:00 Jila Ghomeshi (U MB): Head-head agreement
9:20 Arsalan Kahanmuyipour (U Toronto): On the derivationality of some inflectional affixes in Persian
9:40 Taylor Roberts (MIT): Second position clitics & agreement - WITHDRAWN
10:00 Karine Megerdoomian (USC/NM SU): Aspect & light verb constructions in Persian
10:20 Golnaz Modarresi Ghavami (U TX-Austin): Compound verbs of experience in Farsi

Phonology/Morphology: Reduplication, Infixation, and Opacity
Chair: Marlys Macken (U WI-Mad)
Room: State Ballroom (4th floor)
9:00 Sharon Inkelas (UC-Berkeley): Infixation obviates backcopying in Tagalog
9:20 Kie Zuraw (UCLA): Aggressive reduplication in Tagalog
9:40 Sean Hendricks (U AZ): Permanent adjectives in Quiche
10:00 John Haiman (Macalester C): Symmetrical compounds in Khmer & other languages
10:20 Caro Struijke (U MD-College Park): Cost free alternations in reduplication: Evidence from Lushootseed variation
10:40 Cheryl Zoll (MIT): Normal application in Klamath intensive reduplication
11:00 Adam Albright (UCLA): ‘The productivity of infixation in Lakhota
11:40 Larry M. Hyman (UC-Berkeley) & Sharon Inkelas (UC-Berkeley): Complementarity & opacity: A challenging continuum in Bantu

Semantics/Syntax
Chair: William Ladusaw (UC-Santa Cruz)
Room: Grand Ballroom (4th floor)
9:00 *Chris Barker (UC-San Diego): The dynamics of vagueness - WITHDRAWN
9:45 David Beaver (Stanford U), Brady Clark (Stanford U), & Maria Aloni (U Amsterdam): Focus (in)sensitivity
10:05 Ryan Bush (UC-Santa Cruz): Broad & narrow scope identification of focus
10:25 Jocelyn B. Cohen (U TX-Austin): Further evidence for two kinds of focus
10:45 Richard K. Larson (SUNY-Stony Brook): ACD in AP?
11:05 Hiroko Yamakido (SUNY-Stony Brook): Japanese attributive adjectives are not (all) relative clauses
11:25 Yuko Collier-Sanuki (U BC): What does it mean that a Japanese relative clause is restrictive or nonrestrictive?
11:45 Barbara Ciuko (SUNY-Stony Brook): Subjunctive free relatives
Saturday, 8 January
Afternoon

Workshop: Linguistic Enterprises 2000: And Now for Something Completely Different

Room: Crystal (3rd floor)
12:15 - 1:45 PM

Organizers: Janet Dean Fodor (CUNY Grad Ctr)
Christine Kamprath (Caterpillar, Inc.)

Pamela McParland-Fairman: Lights, camera, ESL!
Michael Cahill (SIL): Fieldwork: Keeping body & soul together
Joan Bachenko (Ling Tech, Inc): From research assistant to executive vice president
Don Gentile (Ntl Security Agency): Linguists under cover

Phonetics/Phonology: Coarticulation, Neutralization, Prosody
Chair: Catherine Ringen (U lA)
Room: Wabash (3rd floor)
2:00 Marek Przedziewski (Cornell U): Directionality of vowel harmony & vowel-to-vowel coarticulation in Yoruba
2:20 Ann R. Bradlow (Northwestern U) & Lyla Miller (Northwestern U): Coarticulation as a listener-oriented source of variability
2:40 Taehong Cho (UCLA): The effect of prosody on vowel (co)articulation in English
3:00 Adrianne Cheek (U TX-Austin): Handshape coarticulation in ASL
3:20 Zsuzsanna Fagyal (U IL-Urbana): Articulatory release & metrical structure: Phrase-final schwas in Parisian French
3:40 Mafuyu Kitahara (IN U), Ken de Jong (IN U), Robert P. Fort (IN U), Deborah Burleson (IN U), & David Collins (IN U): Metrical alignment of medial syllables in 2- & 3-beat patterns
4:00 Siri G.Tuttle (UCLA): A near-merger in Jicarilla Apache
4:20 Yen-Hwei Lin (MI SU): Rethinking structure preservation: A case study of Mandarin vowels
4:40 Catherine Callaghan (OH SU): Misanalysis of Sierra Miwok

Pragmatics
Chair: Pauline Jacobson (Brown U)
Room: Grand Ballroom (4th floor)
2:00 *Laurence R. Horn (Yale U): Assertoric inertia
2:45 Asi Özyürek (Max Planck Inst, Nijmegen) & Soitaro Kita (Max Planck Inst, Nijmegen): Attention manipulation in the situational use of Japanese & Turkish demonstratives
3:05 Nancy Hedberg (Simon Fraser U): Cakchiquel reference, centering theory, & the givenness hierarchy
3:25 Traci S. Curl (U CO): When a word is an utterance: Isolating the role of prosodic cues in marking pragmatic functions
3:45 Gwang-Yoon Goh (OH SU): Is the tough-subject thematic?
4:05 Maria Palacas (U Akron): Tense as expressive aspect: The insight of a literary theorist
4:25 Ellen F. Prince (U Penn): 'Topic' vs 'topicalization' in English & Yiddish

Second Language Acquisition
Chair: Ronnie Wilbur (Purdue U)
Room: State Ballroom (4th floor)
2:00 Suzanne Flynn (MIT), Claire Foley (Morehead SU), & Barbara Lust (Cornell U): Evidence for grammatical mapping from second language acquisition
2:20 Bonnie D. Schwartz (U Durham) & Rex A. Sprouse (IN U): Parallels across L1 acquisition & child L2 acquisition: Truncation does not suffice
2:40 Motoko Ueyama (UCLA): The effect of L1 prosodic patterns on L2 lexical accent realization: English vs Japanese
LSA Saturday Afternoon

3:00 Pavel Trofimovich (U IL-Urbana) & Wendy Baker (U IL-Urbana): The effect of vowel assimilation on perception & production in Korean/English bilinguals
3:20 Ewa Jacewicz (U WI-Mad): Perceptual-articulatory patterns in the acquisition of nonnative segments
3:40 Glenn S. Levine (UC-Irvine): A comparison of irregular German past tense forms in adult L2 learners & bilingual children
4:00 Hyeson Park (U AZ): When-questions in L2 acquisition
4:20 Larissa Zakletskaia (Georgetown U): On the discourse constraints that govern L2 knowledge of reflexives

Syntax 2
Chair: Patrick Farrell (UC-Davis)
Room: Red Lacquer (4th floor)

2:00 Shiao Wei Tham (Stanford U): 'Split' person across agent nominals in noncanonical Malay clauses
2:40 Amy Weinberg (U MD-College Park): The distribution of expletive elements: Arguments for lexical syntax
3:00 Gina Taranto (UCSD): Unaccusative ger: Evidence for underspecification in complex predicates
3:20 Raúl Aranovich (U TX-San Antonio): Mismatches in unaccusativity tests with Spanish inherent reflexives
3:40 Michael Reider (WV U): On tough movement & clitic promotion in Spanish
4:00 Yukiko Morimoto (Stanford U): Markedness in Bantu inversion
4:20 Deborah Chen (U CT): Sandwiches & spoons: A unified account of SVO & SVOV in ASL
4:40 Thomas Stroik (U MO-Kansas City): Evidence for the light verb hypothesis

Presidential Address
Room: Grand Ballroom (4th floor)
5:00 - 6:30 PM
Joan Bresnan (Stanford U): Optimality in syntax

Sunday, 9 January
Morning

Workshop: Computational Linguistics in the Linguistics Curriculum
Room: Wabash (3rd floor)
9:00 - 11:00 AM
Organizers: Andrew Kehler (SRI Intl)
Daniel Jurafsky (U CO)

Catherine Ball (NSF): Computational linguistics within linguistics: A recipe for nonacademic careers
Erhard Hinrichs (U Tuebingen): Computational linguistics: A European perspective
Daniel Jurafsky (U CO): Computation in the curriculum
Christopher Manning (Stanford U): Linguistics in an age of engineering
Philip Resnik (U MD-College Park): Getting with the program (and I don't mean Chapter 4)
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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>B. Elan Dresher (U Toronto)</td>
<td>Cliticization &amp; phrasing in Tiberian Hebrew</td>
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<td>9:20</td>
<td>Roger Billerey (UCLA)</td>
<td>Language change &amp; optimality theory: Old French codas</td>
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<td>9:40</td>
<td>Eungyeong Kang (Cornell U)</td>
<td>On the asymmetry of align-L &amp; align-R</td>
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<td>10:00</td>
<td>Keiichiro Suzuki (U AZ), Jessica Maye (U AZ), &amp; Kazutoshi Ohno (U AZ)</td>
<td>On the productivity of the lexical stratification of Japanese</td>
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<td>10:20</td>
<td>S. J. Hannahs (U Durham) &amp; Maggie Tallerman (U Durham)</td>
<td>Morphological interactions: The definite article in Welsh</td>
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<td>11:00</td>
<td>K. David Harrison (Yale U)</td>
<td>Velar deletion in Siberian Turkic</td>
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<td>11:20</td>
<td>Jennifer Fitzpatrick-Cole (U Konstanz)</td>
<td>To Bern &amp; Bengal &amp; back</td>
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### Sociolinguistics/Language Contact

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Natalie Schilling-Estes (Georgetown U) &amp; Laurie Zimmermann (Old Dominion U)</td>
<td>On the progress of morphological change: wasn't/weren't levelling in Smith Island English</td>
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<td>9:20</td>
<td>Walter F. Edwards (Wayne SU)</td>
<td>The northern cities chain shift in black &amp; white in Detroit</td>
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<td>9:40</td>
<td>Matthew H. Ciscel (U SC)</td>
<td>The dynamics of diglossia in post-Soviet Moldova</td>
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<td>10:00</td>
<td>Ellen Barton (Wayne SU)</td>
<td>Sanctioned &amp; nonsanctioned narratives in institutional discourse</td>
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<td>10:20</td>
<td>William F. Weigel (UC-Berkeley)</td>
<td>Cultural contact-induced restructuring of semantic domains in Yowlumne</td>
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<td>10:40</td>
<td>Janice L. Jare (Midlands Tech C) &amp; Carol Myers-Scott (U SC)</td>
<td>Structural dominance in codeswitching within minimalism</td>
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<td>11:00</td>
<td>Walt Wofram (U NC-Raleigh), Clare Dannenberg (VA Polytech Inst&amp; State U), &amp; Natalie Schilling-Estes (Georgetown U)</td>
<td>Constructing ethnolinguistic identity in a tri-ethnic context</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
American Dialect Society

Thursday, 6 January
Afternoon

Special Session: The Lexicon
Chair: Wayne Glowka (GA C & SU)
Room: Parlor H (6th floor)

3:00 Robert S. Wacha (U IA): How to design a dictionary of American abbreviations
4:00 Ronald R. Butters (Duke U): Sucks

4:30 Break

Special Session: Perception, Identity, Attitudes
Chair: Ron Butters (Duke U)
Room: Parlor H (6th floor)

5:00 Nancy Niedzielski (Rice U): Construction & perception of a sociolinguistic identity
5:30 Beverly Olson Flanigan (Ohio U): Don or dawn? Perception & production of /-i/ in Southern Ohio
6:00 Susan Tamasi (U GA): Linguistic perceptions of southern folk
6:30 Anne Curzan (U WA): The framing of dialects in children’s literature

Friday, 7 January
Morning

Executive Council
Chair: Walt Wolfram (U NC-Raleigh)
Room: Parlor G (6th floor)
Time: 8:00 - 10:30 AM

Words of the Year, Decade, Century, Millennium
Room: Parlor H (6th floor)
Time: 10:30 AM - 12:00 noon

Friday, 7 January
Afternoon

General Session 1: Dialects of American English
Chair: Joan Hall (U WI-Mad)
Room: Parlor H (6th floor)

1:00 Malcah Yaeger-Dror (U AZ) & Sharon Deckert (U AZ): Contraction in American English: Evidence from the LDC Megacorpus.
1:30 William A. Kretzschmar, Jr. (U GA): Literary dialect analysis with LinguaLinks software
2:00 Naomi Nagy (U NH): Merry, Marry, quite contrary, how does your dialect go?
2:30 Bethany K. Dumas (U IN-Knoxville): Identifying social & regional patterns of American English
Friday Afternoon

General Session 2: English and Other Languages
Chair: Robert Bayley (U TX-San Antonio)
Room: Parlor H (6th floor)

3:30 Anne Marie Hamilton (U GA): Spanish phonetic features in the English of retired Caucasian El Pasoans
4:00 Almeida Jacqueline Toribio (PA SU): Language attrition & innovation in a contact situation
4:30 Janet M. Fuller (SIL U-Car): Discourse markers across genres of discourse: Native vs nonnative speakers

Vote on Words of the Year, Decade, Century, Millenium
Room: Parlor H (6th floor)
Time: 5:15 – 6:30 PM

Reception and Bring Your Own Book Exhibit
Room: Parlor F (6th floor)
Time: 6:30 – 7:30 PM

Saturday, 8 January

Morning

Business Meeting
Chair: Walt Wolfram (U NC-Raleigh)
Room: Parlor H (6th floor)
Time: 8:00 - 8:45 AM

General Session 3: Variation and Change
Chair: William A. Kretzschmar, Jr. (U GA)
Room: Parlor H (6th floor)

9:00 Sali Tagliamonte (York U): "You must talk it, you got to speak it": Insights from the modal auxiliary system in English dialects
9:30 Donald M. Lance (U MO-Columbia): The pronunciation of Missouri: Variation & change in American English
10:00 Lisa Ann Lane (TX A&M U): Ghost town or bustling port? A field report on the status of Texas shrimping communities & their local linguistic norms
10:30 Betsy Evans (MI SU), Rika Ito (MI SU), & Jamila Jones (MI SU): Low-front vowel raising among African Americans, rural residents, & Appalachian immigrants in Michigan
11:00 Break

General Session 4: Variation in ASL
Chair: Bethany K. Dumas (U TN-Knoxville)
Room: Parlor H (6th floor)

11:30 Ceil Lucas (Gallaudet U), Robert Bayley (U TX-San Antonio), Mary Rose (Stanford U), & Alysza Wulf (UC-Berkeley/Gallaudet U): Grammatical conditioning of phonological variation: The case of ASL
12:00 Ceil Lucas (Gallaudet U): Lexical variation in American Sign Language
12:30 Alyssa Wulf (UC Berkeley/Gallaudet U), Paul Dudis (UC Berkeley/Gallaudet U), Robert Bayley (U TX-San Antonio), & Ceil Lucas (Gallaudet U): Variable subject presence in ASL narratives
Annual Luncheon
Room: Parlor F (6th floor)
Time: 1:15 - 2:45 PM

John R. Rickford (Stanford U): Spoken soul in American comedy

General Session 5: African American English
Chair: John Baugh (Stanford U)
Room: Parlor H (6th floor)

3:00 Arthur K. Spears (CUNY): Stressed stay: A new AAVE aspect marker
3:30 Patricia Cukor-Avila (UNTX): Style shifting revisited: Informant roles across interview contexts
4:00 William Stone (NEILU): Syllable structure in AAVE
4:30 Gerard Van Herk (U Ottawa) & James A. Walker (U Ottawa): 'Since my last, things has takeing quite an other aspect': Verbal -s in Early Liberian Settler English
American Name Society

Friday, 7 January
Morning

Session 1
Chair: Donald M. Lance (U MO-Columbia)
Room: Crystal (3rd floor)

9:00 Scott Baird (Trinity U): Gravemarkers: The universal language of grief
9:30 Margaret G. Lee (Hampton U): Class of 2002: An African-American names study
10:00 Isam M. Kayed (Umm-al-Qura U, Saudi Arabia) & Donald M. Lance (U MO-Columbia): A preliminary study of given & family names in Jordan
10:30 Andrea Hildegard Brill (U Bundeswehr, Germany): First names as an indicator for identity: The Jewish community in Munich 1812-1875

Friday, 7 January
Afternoon

Session 2
Chair: Edwin D. Lawson (SUNY-Fredonia)
Room: Crystal (3rd floor)

3:00 Andre Lapierre (U Ottawa): Onomastic change patterns: Evidence from French-Canadian names
3:30 Bjorn H. Jernudd (Hong Kong Baptist U): 'English' personal names in Hong Kong
4:00 Edwin D. Lawson (SUNY-Fredonia): Report on international conferences: Onomastic research in Europe & Israel
North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences

Friday, 7 January
Afternoon

Session 1
Chair: Julia Falk (MI SU)
Room: Parlor A (6th floor)

2:00  Daniel Taylor (Lawrence U): Why the accusative case is called the accusative case
2:30  Maria Tsiapera (U NC-Chapel Hill): The end of enlightenment & the beginning of the age of history
3:00  Kurt Jankowsky (Georgetown U): The place of Alexander Potebnja (1835-1891) in the history of linguistics
3:30  Douglas A. Kibbee (U IL-Urbana-Champaign): The language-species equivalence from organic linguistics to linguistic ecology

Business Meeting
Chair: Julia Falk (MI SU)
Room: Parlor A (6th floor)
Time: 4:15 PM

Saturday, 8 January
Morning

Session 2
Chair: Daniel Taylor (Lawrence U)
Room: Parlor A (6th floor)

10:00  David R. Boe (U NV-Reno): Kantian origins of generative theory
10:30  Joseph Subbiondo (CA Inst Integral Studies): The semantic theory of Owen Barfield: The study of consciousness in linguistic theory
11:00  Erica Benson (MI SU): Early studies of codeswitching in the United States
11:30  Julia Falk (MI SU): Formulating syntax, from Bloomfield to Chomsky
### Creole Prototypes

**Chair:** Geneviève Escure (U MN-Mpls)
**Room:** Monroe (6th floor)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Stéphane Goyette (U Ottawa)</td>
<td>Creole wars: The prototype menace</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>Umberto Ansaldo (U Hong Kong) &amp; Stephen Matthews (U Hong Kong)</td>
<td>The creole prototype &amp; the typology of Sinitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Michel DeGraff (MIT)</td>
<td>On 'prototypes' vs stereotypes: Haitian Creole as 'regular' language</td>
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### Substrate/Superstrate Influences

**Chair:** Jeff Siegel (U New England, Australia)
**Room:** Adams (6th floor)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Malcolm Finney (CSU-Long Beach)</td>
<td>Substratal influence on the morphological properties of Krio</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>Rachel Selbach (McGill U)</td>
<td>Oketa in Solomon Islands Pijin</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Alan Baxter (La Trobe U, Australia)</td>
<td>'Semicroolization'?: The restructured Portuguese of the Tongas of São Tomé, a consequence of L1 acquisition in a special contact situation</td>
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10:30 Break

### TMA Systems

**Chair:** John Rickford (Stanford U)
**Room:** Monroe (6th floor)

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>Marlyse Baptista (UGA)</td>
<td>Tense &amp; morphology in creoles: Properties &amp; syntactic ramifications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:15</td>
<td>Jack Sidnell (Northwestern U)</td>
<td>Progressive, habitual, &amp; imperfective in Guyanese Creole: A case of intersystemic variation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:45</td>
<td>Teresa Satterfield (U MI) &amp; Matthew Murphy (U MI)</td>
<td>Evolving creoles: A computational model of the impact of demographic factors on the 'bioprogram'</td>
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### Creole Phonology

**Chair:** Magnus Huber (U Regensburg, Germany)
**Room:** Adams (6th floor)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>Alicia Beckford-Wassink (U WA)</td>
<td>The vowel systems of Jamaican speakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:15</td>
<td>Ken Decker (SIL)</td>
<td>Vowel &amp; suprasegmental features in Belizean Creole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:45</td>
<td>Diane Chang (NUS Singapore)</td>
<td>Intonation &amp; intelligibility of Singapore English: A preliminary investigation</td>
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</table>
Friday, 7 January
Afternoon

History of Creoles
Chair: Tommetro Hopkins
Room: Monroe (6th floor)

2:00 Sarah Roberts (Stanford U): Morphosyntactic restructuring in pidgin genesis
2:30 Jeff Williams (Cleveland SU): Anguillian English Creole & the Kittian texts of Samuel Mathews
3:00 Michael Aceto (Old Dominion U): Barbudan Creole English: A history with grammatical features

Models of Creole Genesis
Chair: Salikoko Mufwene (U Chicago)
Room: Adams (6th floor)

2:00 Janice L. Jake (Midlands Tech C) & Carol Myers-Scotton (U SC): Only early morphemes need apply: Morpheme doubling in creoles
2:30 Steven Gross (U SC): The 4-M model & the role of abstract lexical structure in the development of Berbice Dutch
3:00 Carla L. Hudson (U Rochester): Variation: When can it be learned & when does it lead to language change?
3:30 Break

Social Aspects of Creoles
Chair: Michel DeGraff (MIT)
Room: Monroe (6th floor)

3:45 Peter L. Patrick (U Essex): Social correlates of the creole continuum
4:15 John Daly (CSU-Northridge): Los Angeles Beliz Creole: The use of cho in argument discourse to mark identities

Creole Development
Chair: Don Winford (OH SU)
Room: Adams (6th floor)

3:45 Renée Blake (NYU): Past tense marking in Barbadian Creole English
4:15 Gerard Van Herk (U Ottawa): 'Them ain’t speaking to me': Lectal range in Barbados
4:45 Elizabeth Winkler (Columbus SU, GA): A gender-based comparison of native & borrowed discourse markers in Limonese Creole

Saturday, 8 January
Morning

Language Contact
Chair: Renée Blake (NYU)
Room: Monroe (6th floor)

9:00 Ronald Kim (U Penn): The first Asian-American pidgin?: Historical connections & consequences of early California Chinese Pidgin English
9:30 Angela Karstadt (IN U): Mobilization of pragmatic particles in Swedish-English language contact
10:00 Heliana Mello (UFMG, Brazil): Personal pronominal forms in Brazilian vernacular Portuguese
Suprasegmentals
Chair: Glenn Gilbert (S IL U-Car)
Room: Adams (6th floor)
9:00 Elzbieta Tlwgood (CSU-Chico): An OT approach to systems in conflict: Baba Malay word stress
9:30 Jeffrey Good (UC-Berkeley): Tone plateauing in Saramaccan: Evidence for tonal morphology
10:00 Ying Ying Tan (Ntl U Singapore): Intonation patterns in the ethnic subvarieties of Singapore English: A substratist analysis
10:30 Break
Contact Phenomena
Chair: Philip Baker (U Westminster, United Kingdom)
Room: Monroe (6th floor)
10:45 Alex Louise Tessonneau (U Paris VIII): Aspects sociaux du créole en France métropolitaine
11:15 Kevin Routel (U WI-Whitewater): Phrasal verbs & language contact phenomena: Data from Louisiana French
Creole Narrative
Chair: Carol Myers-Scotton (USC)
Room: Adams (6th floor)
10:45 Hirokuni Masuda (U HI-Hilo): The rhyming principle: An insight from creole-narrative representation theory
11:15 Carolyn Allen (U W Indies-Mona, Jamaica): 'From who fa yaad?': Codeswitching as creole literary strategy in Jamaican poetry

Saturday, 8 January
Afternoon
Pidgin/Creole Genesis
Chair: Peter L. Patrick (U Essex)
Room: Monroe (6th floor)
2:00 Philip Baker (U Westminster, United Kingdom) & Magnus Huber (U Regensburg, Germany): Atlantic, Pacific, & worldwide features in English-lexicon contact languages
2:30 Zvjezdana Vrzic (NYU): Explaining contact influence in pidgin/creole genesis: The case of negation in Chinook jargon
Focus Constructions
Chair: John Holm
Room: Adams (6th floor)
2:00 Bettina Migge (Goethe U, Germany): The origin of focus constructions in the Surinamese Plantation Creole
2:30 Gerardo Lorenzino (Yale U): Focus constructions in the Gulf of Guinea Afro-Portuguese creoles
Business Meeting
Room: Monroe (6th floor)
Time: 3:30 – 4:30 PM
## Language Change, Typology, and Distant Relationships

**Chair:** Randolph Graczyk (Pryor, MT)
**Room:** Salons V-VI (3rd floor)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Marie-Lucie Tarpent (Mount St Vincent U)</td>
<td>The original structure of Sapir’s ‘characteristic Penutian form of stem’</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Suzanne Gessner (U BC)</td>
<td>Diachronic change in the Fort McMurray dialect of Chipewyan</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Alexandra Kim (Tomsk State Pedagogical U, Russia)</td>
<td>Indians of Siberia: Database on Siberian languages</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Edward J. Vajda (W WA U)</td>
<td>Evidence for a genetic link between Na Dene &amp; Yeniseian (Central Siberia)</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>Eric P. Hamp (U Chicago)</td>
<td>Why long-range genetic comparison isn’t easy</td>
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## Grammatical Relations and Valency

**Chair:** TBA
**Room:** Salons VII-VIII (3rd floor)

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<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Eun-Soolc Kim (U BC)</td>
<td>The morphology &amp; syntax of the -ta suffix in Nuu-chah-nulth</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Jeanette Sakel (Max Planck Inst, Leipzig)</td>
<td>Passive in West Greenlandian</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Nubia Marlene Tobar Ortiz (U de La Guajira, Colombia)</td>
<td>Causatives in Guajiro/Wayuunaiki (Arawakan)</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Frank R. Trechsel (Ball SU)</td>
<td>Obviation &amp; voice in Southern Tiwa</td>
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## Phonetics

**Chair:** Victor Golla (Humboldt SU)
**Room:** Salons V-VI (3rd floor)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Siri G. Tuttle (UCLA) &amp; Willem de Reuse (U N TX)</td>
<td>Acoustic correlates of verb stem tone in Western Apache</td>
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## Syntax I

**Chair:** Karl Teeter (Harvard U)
**Room:** Salons VII-VIII (3rd floor)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Phil LeSourd (IN U)</td>
<td>Problems for the pronominal argument hypothesis in Maliseet-Passamaquddy</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>Rusty Barrett (U TX-Austin)</td>
<td>Definiteness &amp; word order in Sipakapense Maya</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:40</td>
<td>Eleanor M. Blain (Brandon U, Manitoba)</td>
<td>Cree nominal clauses as subordinate clauses?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Semantic and Lexical Categories

Friday, 7 January
Afternoon

Chair: TBA
Room: Salons V-VI (3rd floor)

2:00  Melissa Au/rod (U NM): Categories & oppositions: Tense, aspect, & modality in Koyukon Athabaskan
2:20  Antoine Guillaume (U OR): Affixes of motion & direction in Cavinettì
2:40  Johannes Helmbrecht (Bonn, Germany): Nouns & verbs in Hocak (Winnebago)
3:00  Luis Oquendo (U Zulia, Venezuela): The verbal system of the Japrerìa language
3:20  J. Diego Quesada (U Toronto): The categories of the Teribe verb
3:40  Willem J. de Ruse (U N I X): Evidentials in Western Apache
4:00  Pilar Valenzuela (Max Planck Inst, Leipzig/U OR): Case marking & evidentials in Wariapano: A synchronic & diachronic account
4:20  Verònica M. Grondona (U Pittsburgh): Possession in Mocovì
4:40  Alejandra Vidal (U OR): Filagá (Guaykuruan) as an active-static system: Semantic shift & lexicalization

Phonology

Chair: TBA
Room: Salons VII-VIII (3rd floor)

2:00  Arthur P. Sorensen (White Plains, NY): Stress sandhi & the word in Tukano
2:40  Harold Crook (Nez Perce Lang Prog): Vowel hiatus in Nez Perce
3:00  Evelina Sandrea (Nil Esper U 'Rafael Maria Baralt', Venezuela): Vowel duration & quantity in Guajiro/Wayuunaiki (Arawakan)
3:20  José Álvares (U Zulia, Venezuela): Syllable reduction & mora preservation in Karí'ta Cariban
3:40  William J. Poser (Carrier-Sekani Tribal Council/Heidìlì Tenneh): D-effect related phenomena in Southern Carrier
4:00  Dirk Elzinga (U UT): The representation of the Shoshoni accusative
4:20  Sarah G. Thomason (U MI): M(m) (m): Degemination in Montana Salish?
4:40  Suzanne Urbanczyk (U Calgary): The base(s) of Salish double reduplications

Saturday, 8 January
Morning

Discourse Processes

Chair: M. Jill Brody (LA SU)
Room: Salons V-VI (3rd floor)

9:00  Wallace Chafe (UC-Santa Barbara): Thrice-told tales
9:20  Toshihide Nakayama (Montclair SU): Forms & functions of repetition in Nuu-chah-nulth narratives
9:40  Laura Buzzard-Welcher (UC-Berkeley): The distribution of the preverb ñ in Potawatomi
10:00 William F. Weigel (UC-Berkeley): Switch reference in Yokuts languages
10:20  Randolph Graczyk (Pryor, MT): Switch reference in Biloxi
**Varia**

**Chair:** TBA  
**Room:** Salons VII-VIII (3rd floor)

9:00 *Rocio Domínguez (Carnegie Mellon U):* Quechua-Spanish codeswitching within the determinant phrase  
9:20 *Jule Gómez de García (U CO):* Codeswitching as a mental space builder in Kickapoo/English conversation  
9:40 *Jordan Lachler (U NM), Jule Gómez de García (U CO), Sean Burke (U NM), & Melissa Axelrod (U NM):* Language rejuvenation strategies in the Jicarilla Apache community  
10:00 *Joyce McDonough (U Rochester) & MaryAnnWillie (U AZ):* A feasibility study of Navajo word recognition

**Business Meeting**

**Chair:** Karl Teeter (Harvard U)  
**Room:** Salons V-VI (3rd floor)  
**Time:** 11:00 AM - 12:30 PM

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**Saturday, 8 January**

**Afternoon**

**Syntax II**

**Chair:** Matthew Dryer (SUNY-Buffalo)  
**Room:** Salons V-VI (3rd floor)

2:00 *George Aaron Broadwell (SUNY-Albany):* Second position clitics & clause structure in Zapotec  
2:40 *Ardis Eschenberg* (SUNY-Buffalo): Two kinds of when in Omaha-Ponca  
3:00 *Paul D. Kroeker* (IN U): Possessor focusing in Thompson River Salish  
3:40 *Stephen A. Marlett* (SIL/UC ND): Some facts about all in Seri  
4:00 *Ray Stegeman* (SIL, Guyana): Aspects of Akawaio (Kapon, Cariban) noun phrase syntax

**Morphology**

**Chair:** Sarah G. Thomason (U MI)  
**Room:** Salons VII-VIII (3rd floor)

2:00 *Catherine A. Callaghan* (OH SU): The origin of Miwok metathesis & stem types, with comments on 'epenthesis'  
2:20 *David Beck* (U MI): Person, plurality, & speech act participant in Totonac verbal paradigms  
2:40 *Richard A. Rhodes* (UC-Berkeley): Plural marking in Sayula Popoluca NPs  
3:00 *Donald J. Rosso* (U Chicago): Modifier incorporation in Eskimo-Aleut  
3:20 *Ives Goddard* (Smithsonian Institution): Stem-internal ellipsis & meaning from context in Meskwaki (Fox)  
3:40 *William H. Jacobsen, Jr.* (U NV-Reno): Makah incremental -k: Insertion or deletion?  
4:00 *Amy Dahlstrom* (U Chicago): Affected participants & Fox object inflection
Abstracts of Regular Papers
Michael Aceto (Old Dominion University) (Session 41)

Barbudan Creole English: A history with grammatical features

This paper is the second part of a larger work on the history and linguistic features of Barbudan Creole English (BCE). Barbuda is an island to the north of Antigua in the Eastern Caribbean which has remained undocumented by creolists pursuing fieldwork. Some of the unique sociohistorical and sociolinguistic features which contributed to the emergence of BCE were discussed at the 1998 Society for Caribbean Linguistics conference in St. Lucia. The paper presented here discusses data derived from approximately 12 hours of recorded fieldwork on BCE. Initial examinations of the data reveal that it is a conservative creole language with discrete differences from Antiguan (e.g. de vs dem as pronouns and plural markers) as well as archaic Anglicisms (e.g. mii'food'). This paper focuses on the Barbudan verbal paradigm, presenting an examination of the preverbal markers (e.g. future: Ya ga du dat tumaro? 'Are you going to do that tomorrow?' Mo go du dat tumaro.' 'I'm going to do that tomorrow.' Mo go biit yu ~ moo biit yu. 'I'm going to hit you'; past: i min de kwarl wit Luk. 'She quarreled with Luke.' An de mi hab pleni gol. 'And they had a lot of gold'; progressive: Yu mami a kaal yu ~ yu mada de kaal yu. 'Your mother is calling you.' Ma mami a kaalin yu. 'My mother is calling you.')

Michael Adams (Albright College) (Session 26)

Defining contraband: Specificity & adequacy in current dictionaries of American slang

"What Johnson had to say about the poet is applicable to the definer," wrote H. Bosley Woolf, himself one of our century's preeminent definers. "The definer of the noun 'chair' should not try to list all of the materials out of which chairs are made, and the definer of the noun 'spade' should not try to enumerate all uses to which spades are put." Nevertheless, specificity enhances a definition, insofar as it can be responsibly achieved. Contraband, items with which speakers and readers may be less familiar than, say, with chairs and spades, demands particularly careful defining. For instance, it's more than likely that one who looks 'bong' up in the dictionary has never seen one. So how does one write a definition for 'bong' at once methodologically sound and sufficiently specific to instruct those uninformed in drug-cultural mysteries? Slang dictionaries tend to define 'bong' badly; commercial and scholarly dictionaries define it reasonably well, according to their established defining methods and depending on the available space. Sooner or later, though, somebody should write a dictionary of contraband, semicontraband, and associated terms that balances lexical and encyclopedic information, and instructs both the experienced and the naive.

Brian Agbayani (University of California-Irvine/California State University-Dominguez Hills) (Session 13)

Two types of optionality

This paper explores the nature of optionality in syntax. Two types of scrambling are proposed based on distinct properties in the domains of A-binding and island effects. The two types of scrambling are U(forced)-scrambling, instantiated in Japanese (Saito 1985), and F(forced)-scrambling, instantiated in German and Dutch (Wezelhuth 1992). For U-scrambling languages, optionality lies in the complete absence last resort movement, in which alternative word orderings are allowed through a single numeration. For F-scrambling languages, optionality arises from the possibility of a particular feature to be either strong or weak, where the option lies in the fixing of a numeration from lexical choice of features. It is proposed that the properties of uninterpretable formal features are parameterized to derive each language type. The proposal also seeks to derive many of the nonconfigurational properties of U-scrambling languages (Hale 1983) which distinguish them from configurational F-scrambling languages. This analysis of scrambling advocates for the existence of truly optional movement operations and presents evidence for two types of optionality, thus introducing a new dimension to the current debate on optionality in syntax.

Eleonora Cavalcante Albano (UNICAMP, Brazil) (Session 10)

Abstractness in gestural phonology

Grammatical, statistical, and acoustic-phonetic analyses converge to support a phonological representation which deals with frozen internal sandhi and partially lexicalized speech processes by allowing for binary choices in overlap, undershoot, and shortening of articulatory gestures. An abstract gestural score commensurate with the fuller one needed for speech production bridges the gap between the categorical and gradient versions of such processes. An association between open vowels and lexical stress in Brazilian Portuguese (BP), obligatory in the verb and greater than chance elsewhere, is seen as part of a wider constraint governing the distribution of vowel quality within the word and aligning certain morphological boundaries with either full or undershot vowels.

Stating obligatory undershoot lexically obviates lexical stress statement, which simplifies prosodic modeling by eliminating de-stressing. In addition, palatalization of /t, d/ before /l/, which in BP ranges from weak to strong, is analyzed as a choice among categorically distinct gestural scores, regardless of whether the surface effect is categorical or gradient. This goes together with treating so-called elision as sliding of a full initial vowel over a shortened undershot final vowel. The hidden vowel eliminates recourse to different grammatical components to explain why palatalization never applies to the output of elision.
Adam Albright (University of California-Los Angeles)  (Session 17)

The productivity of infixation in Lakhota

In Lakhota, person agreement is marked by affixes which surface either as prefixes (e.g. the 1sg. wa- in wa-lówan '1sg-sing') or as infixes (as in ma-wd-ni '1sg-walk'). Boas and Deloria (1941) suggest numerous guidelines for guessing whether a Lakhota verb is likely to infix or prefix, but in general the pattern is synchronically unpredictable and must be learned for each verb. Nevertheless, evidence from English (Prasad & Pinker 1993), German (Köpcke 1993), and Italian (Albright 1998) suggests that learners search for connections between morphological irregularity and phonological form. To test the relation between phonological form and infixation in Lakhota, I submitted a database of 824 Lakhota verbs to a computer-implemented neighborhood discovery algorithm, yielding a comprehensive list of phonological environments and the degree to which they favor or disfavor infixation. I then tested the psychological reality of these generalizations by gathering ratings of novel ('wug') words from a native speaker. The responses show that infixation remains productive in Lakhota, and ratings of novel forms are significantly correlated to the predictions of the computer-based analysis (r=.571, p<.0001). This complements findings for English and Italian by showing that irregularities in affix position are also influenced by phonological form.

Adam Albright (University of California-Los Angeles)
Argella Andrade (University of California-Los Angeles)
Bruce Hayes (University of California-Los Angeles)  (Session 5)

Segmental environments of Spanish diphthongisation

In Spanish, stressless [e] and [o] often alternate with stressed [é] and [é]: [sqrntamos] ~ [sqénito] 'we/l sit', [kqntamos] ~ [kwéno] 'we/l count'. Since many stressless [e, o] do not alternate, the pattern must be memorized for each verb. We argue here that in addition to memorizing the behavior of individual verbs, Spanish speakers possess detailed knowledge of the segmental environments that statistically favor diphthongization. To test this hypothesis, we first searched a database of 2,194 mid-vowel verbs, using a machine-implemented algorithm. This found environments that favor diphthongization (for example, /e/ diphthongizes /__ rr/ in 16/18 possible cases), and environments that disfavor diphthongization (for example, /e/ fails to diphthongize /___ rr/ in 17/17 cases). The algorithm also predicted well-formedness scores for diphthongization in each environment. To determine whether Spanish speakers are tacitly aware of these patterns, we carried out a 'wug' test (Berko 1958). We created 33 novel forms with stressless mid vowels ([Ilgrémos] 'we lerr') and asked 98 native speakers to provide acceptability ratings for both diphthongized and nondiphthongized stressed forms ([Iléno]/[Iléno] 'l lerr'). There was a significant correlation between the predicted well-formedness scores and the participants' ratings for novel diphthongized forms (r=.469, p<.01).

Daniel M. Albro (University of California-Los Angeles)  (Session 2)

A probabilistic ranking learner for phonotactics

Knowledge of the legal sound sequences of a child's native language develops at or before 10 months of age. Input for the acquisition of this knowledge (phonotactics) consists of surface phonetic forms (and concomitant meanings, perhaps). Some of these forms are legal sequences in the target languages, but some are not. Current learning algorithms for optimality theoretic grammars are not capable of learning rankings of phonotactic constraints given this sort of input data, due to lack of robustness in the face of noise and/or reliance on knowledge of underlying forms. The Probabilistic Error-Driven Phonotactic Ranking Algorithm overcomes these problems. This algorithm begins with a set of optimality theoretic constraints, divided into faithfulness and phonotactic constraints, and assigns probabilities to each pairwise ranking possibility such that given a set of input data with no noise, the most probable ranking will accept the smallest possible superset of the input data, given the initial constraints. Given noisy input, the ranking space will be such that grammars selected from it will tend to accept sequences that occurred frequently in the input data and will tend to reject sequences that were seldom found in the input data.

Carolyn Allen (University of the West Indies, Mona)  (Session 48)

'From who fa yaad? ' Codeswitching as creole literary strategy in Jamaican poetry

'...at the crux of the struggle to forge a genuinely indigenous literary idiomy...[language] must itself be a dramatic example of the dynamic process of creolization, of the cultural confrontation and creation it attempts faithfully to examine and reflect.' (Roberto Marquez)

In the light of this declaration, the paper will examine codeswitching in selected poems from the anthology From our yard, published in celebration of the 21st anniversary of Jamaica's independence. This extends an ongoing discussion (Pollard, Morris, D'Costa, Baugh, and others) of the relationship between standard and creole in Anglophone Caribbean writing, considering the extent to which writers attempt to adjust or redefine the sociopolitical 'terms of exchange' among the languages available to them, the very terms which inevitably inform the writers' choices. It will become evident that codeswitching is as much a literary technique as a linguistic practice. In the creole language situation, meaning is inherent in the ways in which languages relate and are made to relate to each other. This relationship of tension and reciprocal influence is a fundamental principle of any theory of cultural creolization.
Jose Alvarez (University of Zulia, Venezuela)  
Syllable reduction & mora preservation in Kari'ina, Cariban  

in the descriptions of Cariban languages, crucial mention is made of syllable reduction (SR), a phenomenon creating huge allomorphy in verbs and nouns, whereby certain stem-final CV syllables are lost in suffixation (Gildea 1995). SR has normally been interpreted as involving a two-step process in which the vowel is deleted, and the consonant is debuccalized if it is obstruent, thus originating obstruct neutralization. This paper shows that, at least in Kari'ina, a Cariban language of Venezuela (Mosonyi 1978, 1982), SR and other seemingly unrelated phonological processes can be uniformly described in terms of mora preservation. After reviewing cases of moraic augmentation, mainly used as options to create optimal iambic feet (Hayes 1995), we propose to interpret SR as high vowel deletion with the ensuing loss, not debuccalization, of an unsyllabifiable consonant. The associated mora is left without melodic material, being crucially preserved through its association with a minimal (glottal) consonant. In favor of this interpretation we examine other cases where such surface glottals function to preserve or augment moraic structure, without being possible to posit underlying obstruents for them. Mora preservation also accounts for those cases of opaque glide copying (Mosonyi's *reflejo vocálico*), where we encounter glide copying without a (surface) triggering high vowel in the preceding syllable. The mora formerly associated with the (underlying) triggering high vowel is preserved through consonant gemination. We conclude that the surface glottals present in SR in Kari'ina are inserted, being just one of several strategies used to preserve the original moraic structure.

Umberto Ansaldo (University of Hong Kong)  
Stephen Matthews (University of Hong Kong)  
The creole prototype & the typology of Sinitic  

This paper takes up the challenge posed to creolistics and typology by the structural similarities between creoles and the Sinitic languages. These languages do conform in many ways to the creole prototype (McWhorter 1988). We show this by looking at some of the typical creole structural features found in Sinitic languages including preverbal TMA particles, verb serialization, and semantically transparent derivational affixation. We also address two problems that can be raised concerning the idea of Chinese as a creoloid—the complex tone systems of Sinitic not found in typical creoles and the sociolinguistic and historical environment of Chinese varieties. A deeper understanding of these issues has far-reaching significance for Chinese linguistics in terms of explaining some of the characteristic features of Chinese, as well as for the idea of creoles as a distinct typological class.

Nancy Mae Antrim (University of Texas-El Paso)  
Beyond the classroom: A role for linguistics in community-based learning & teaching  

A continuing concern for linguistics in education has been the viability of undergraduate linguistics programs. One way to further the relevance of linguistics for students is to provide them with opportunities to make a contribution to the field. A recent university-wide effort to increase student retention has involved community-based learning and teaching, an approach which has applications for linguistics by providing a means for undergraduate students to become involved in linguistic research as researchers. Thirty-eight students enrolled in an undergraduate sociolinguistics class during the 1999 spring semester were given the opportunity to design and implement a linguistic research project involving a local elementary school. They examined the linguistic behaviors and attitudes of 133 4th, 5th, and 6th grade students. After compiling the data, the researchers selected and analyzed sets of variables. The issues raised by the research project were tied into the readings and class lectures/discussions. The final analyses were compiled, published, and presented by the students to the principal of the elementary school and to the district's central office. Moving undergraduate students out of the classroom into the field gave the students an actual research experience and provided valuable information to the elementary school and district.

Raul Aranovich (University of Texas-San Antonio)  
Mismatches in unaccusativity tests with Spanish inherent reflexives  

The received view about inherent or quasireflexive clitics in Romance is that they are an indication of unaccusativity. However, when some widely accepted tests for unaccusativity in Spanish—causative constructions with a generic causee and postverbal bare plural subjects—are applied to different lexical semantic classes of quasireflexive verbs, the result is a serious mismatch. Zaenen (1993) has argued that such mismatches with unaccusatives are an indication that split intransitivity is a semantic phenomenon. I will argue that a semantic account of split intransitivity based on Dowty's (1991) proto-role analysis accounts for the mismatches with quasireflexive verbs in Spanish and for split intransitivity in general.

Jennifer E. Arnold (University of Pennsylvania)  
Janet Eisenband (University of Pennsylvania)  
Sarah Brown-Schmidt (University of Pennsylvania)  
John Trueswell (University of Pennsylvania)  
Distinguishing he from she: The on-line use of gender information for pronoun interpretation  

We used a head-mounted eyetracker to investigate whether gender information can influence the earliest stages of pronoun interpreta-
tion and how it interacts with referent accessibility. Previous work on this issue has produced mixed results, and several studies have concluded that gender cues are not automatically used during the initial stages of pronoun interpretation (e.g. Garnham et al. 1992, Greene et al. 1992). Subjects viewed a picture with two familiar cartoon characters in it and listened to a text describing the picture, e.g. ‘Mickey is showing a happy birthday sign to (Daisy/Donald) while some balloons are floating up to the ceiling. He’s wearing a party hat, and it looks like they’re going to have a party.’ The picture made it clear which character was the intended referent of the pronoun. We manipulated whether the two characters had the same or different gender (thus making the pronoun ambiguous or unambiguous) and whether the pronoun referred to the first-mentioned, more accessible, character or second. The results show immediate use of both gender and accessibility, at approximately 400ms after the pronoun onset. Furthermore, the results matched off-line measures of the conditions for felicitous pronoun use. Implications for theories of pronoun resolution are discussed.

Peter Avery (York University)  
(Section 12)  
William Idsardi (University of Delaware)  
The laryngeal phonology of Korean

We present a new model of feature organization that capitalizes on the role of ‘dimension’ nodes in phonological contrasts. We propose that phonology employs only privative features corresponding to gestures. Mutually antagonistic features are organized into dimensions, and dimensions are organized by articulator. For example, the features [high] and [low] are organized into a tongue height dimension under the dorsal articulator. Phonologically, dimension nodes can have only one dependent, capturing impossible feature combinations such as *[high low]. There are three laryngeal dimensions: glottal width (GW), which organizes [spread] and [constricted], glottal tension (GT), which organizes [stiff] and [slack], and larynx height (LH), which organizes [raised] and [lowered]. Concentrating on data from Korean, we show that the terminal gestures [spread] and [constricted] are not available contrastively in obstruents. Rather the surface aspirated stops are underlingly marked only with the dimension node GW, and the 'tense' stops are phonologically long. Obstruents are phonetically completed with the gestures [spread] and [constricted] based on the phasing of the GW dimension with the obstructant constriction. By phonologically specifying only GW, our model provides an elegant account of postobstruent tensification, the surface realizations of fricatives, and the coalescence of /h/ with obstruents.

Melissa Axelrod (University of New Mexico)  
(Section 55)  
Categories & oppositions: Tense, aspect, & modality in Koyukon Athabaskan

The relationship of tense, aspect, and mood has long been recognized as a problematic issue because they comprise categories so diffuse and interlaced that they are often impossible to tease apart. In fact, it has been suggested (e.g. Bybee) that a level of categorization this abstract is less useful than more specific labels for the phenomena included, such as perfect, imperfective, habitual, etc. The argument here is that a category is valid and useful for a particular language if it represents a distinction that has actually been grammaticized in the language. Aspect is too abstract a category to allow rigorous cross-linguistic comparison, whereas a category such as, for instance, perfective, is more amenable to discovering how it grammaticized and from what lexical source across languages. Can a category be valid if it is not grammaticized? At what level of characterization might such a category be valid? Hopper (1991:21) points out that, ‘it is not unusual to find an array of grammaticized and grammaticizing constructions of different ages and sources sharing or competing for overlapping territories’. These 'territories' are the semantic and pragmatic notions most appropriately labeled by cover terms like mood and aspect. The particular complex system of modal and temporal reference of Koyukon Athabaskan illustrates how different grammaticized constructions can be used to express more than one layer of semantic and pragmatic function and how certain of these constructions can be linked both formally and functionally if we allow our descriptions to include more general category labels.

Scott Baird (Trinity University)  
(Section 33)  
Grave markers: The universal language of grief

Gravemarker writing exhibits a limited yet intensive and personal amount of information: the names of the deceased, the dates of their deaths, their ages at the time of death, family ties (or lack thereof), sets of stylized expressions of grief, personalized epitaphs, occupations, lodge affiliations, places of birth and places of death, manners of death. A statistical analysis of a complete census of all 3,500 legible gravemarkers in San Antonio, TX’s, oldest cemetery, San Fernando Cemetery #1, shows that a hierarchy of importance emerges from this information. The surname of the deceased clearly demands highest priority. Secondary importance goes to date of death, then age, then family ties, then personalized epitaphs. Moreover, this predictable pattern of grief (name, death date, age, family ties, and personalized epitaph) occurs in all languages (English, Spanish, German, Italian, French, and Polish) and in mixed code languages (English/Arabic, English/French, English/German, and English/Italian). The remaining pieces of information occur in unpredictable patterns. On the 200 or so English/Spanish, mixed code gravemarkers in this cemetery, however, approximately half of the gravemarkers exhibit the language of grief in quite unpredictable mixtures. Thus I will argue in this paper that these 100 gravemarkers might well attest to the existence of Spanglish as a separate language of grief for more than a century.
Philip Baker (University of Westminster, United Kingdom) (Session 49)
Magnus Huber (University of Regensburg, Germany)
Atlantic, Pacific, & world-wide features in English-lexicon contact languages

This paper investigates the distribution of some 200 diagnostic features among a representative selection of 11 English-lexicon contact languages located in the Americas, West Africa, and the Pacific, drawing both on historical sources and on modern data. This investigation provides new insights into the nature of the historical relationships among these Atlantic and Pacific contact languages, respectively. Even more important, it facilitates a detailed examination of those items which are attested in both zones, enabling the authors to suggest reasons why particular features became established when they did. By paying careful attention to the sociohistorical circumstances in which these languages arose, the paper also throws new light on such ill-defined and ill-researched concepts as 'foreigner talk' and 'nautical pidgin' and is able to clarify the roles of traders and sailors in the origin and diffusion of these contact languages.

Marlyse Baptista (University of Georgia) (Session 39)
Tense & morphology in creoles: Properties & syntactic ramifications

In this paper, I try to show that the position of anterior markers may be symptomatic of a different clausal architecture for the creoles under investigation. At the theoretical level, I argue that creoles with inflectional tense markers may have additional heads and specifiers in their clausal structure accounting for uncommon syntactic constructions (in the realm of creole languages) such as V-raising, subject-verb inversion, and post-Neg subjects. In summary, I explore a constellation of uncommon syntactic constructions that I correlate to the presence of an inflectional anterior marker. Additionally, in the light of the current debate on creole morphology (McWhorter 1998, DeGraff 1999), I will discuss, in the second part of this paper, the morphological properties and processes found in other areas of creole grammar(s).

Chris Barker (University of California-San Diego) (Session 18)
The dynamics of vagueness

WITHDRAWN

Jessica A. Barlow (San Diego State University) (Session 7)
Individual differences in the production of initial clusters in Pig Latin

Accounts of English initial clusters have led some to assume that not all clusters are the same. Based on data from the adult system, acquisition, speech errors, and language games, unusual rules or constraints on subsyllabic structure are posited to account for problematic sequences (such as C/y/ and /s/C). In acquisition, strong evidence supports within- and across-speaker differences in representation for these clusters; yet, such evidence is lacking for adults. This study aimed to determine if differential representation for clusters occurs within and across adult speakers of English. Thirty adult speakers of English were recruited and trained on one of two 'dialects' of Pig Latin using words with singletons and nonproblematic clusters. Generalization to other, more problematic clusters was then measured. Results suggested a differential patterning for the problematic clusters within and across speakers, in terms of consistent production patterns and errors. This differential patterning occurred most often with C/y/ and /s/C, and more so for the former sequences. Orthography also influenced the production patterns in some cases. The results support differential representational structure within and across speakers' individual grammars. The differences may be accounted for with an appeal to constraint-based output-output correspondence between surface and Pig Latin forms.

Marco Baroni (University of California-Los Angeles) (Session 2)
Using distributional information to discover morphemes

To assess the potential relevance of distributional information during the morpheme discovery task, I designed an automated distribution-driven prefix learner, which takes a list of words from a language as its input, tries to discover the prefixes of the language, and decides which input words are prefixed. The learner performs its task by extracting information on the frequency, length, and distribution of words and their substrings from the input corpus. The learner was tested on a list of 25,000 English words from the PHLEX database, and it generated a lexicon containing 12 prefixes, 9 of which are actual English prefixes. Moreover, the morphological parses (prefixed vs nonprefixed) assigned by the learner to potentially prefixed input words are significantly correlated with morphological complexity ratings assigned to the same words by native English speakers. These results show that a distribution-driven morpheme discovery procedure is effective and that it produces results matching humans' morphological intuitions. Given that distributional information can be straightforwardly extracted from data, it is plausible that human learners use a similar strategy in a first stage of morphological acquisition and later refine their early guesses using more sophisticated linguistic knowledge.

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Rusty Barrett (University of Texas-Austin)
Definiteness & word order in Sipapenese Maya

This paper presents details of the relationship between word order and the definiteness of subject and object noun phrases in Sipapenese, a Mayan language of the K'ichean family. England (1991) has shown that other K'ichean languages have a VOS/VSO word order, with VSO occurring only in cases where the object is marked for definiteness or contains a relative clause. Word order in Sipapenese is reversed, with VSO as the primary word order and VOS occurring only in cases with a definite subject and an indefinite object. The possible word order for a given sentence in Sipapenese is dependent on a hierarchy of definiteness that determines which noun phrases may serve as possible subjects. The hierarchy is: definite and unseen or previously mentioned (ri) > unmarked proper nouns > specified indefinite (ri jun) > definite and closer to speaker (wu) > definite and closer to listener (lu) > indefinite (jun). Within this hierarchy, the possible number of word orders increases as the distance between subject and object pronouns increases. Based on textual analysis, it is argued that this relationship between definiteness and word order serves as a discoursal constraint on the introduction of new (and unknown) subject noun phrases.

Ellen L. Barton (Wayne State University)
Sanctioned & non sanctioned narratives in institutional discourse

Research on institutional discourse has shown that narratives can be either sanctioned (well-received by the professional(s) in the encounter) or non-sanctioned (not well-received to the point of professional(s) interrupting or ignoring the contribution). Most of this research, though, focuses on institutional discourses with well-established asymmetrical relations--teacher and students, for example, or physicians and patients. In this paper, I look at the conventions of sanctioned and non-sanctioned narratives from two different settings, comparing a well-established institutional discourse--medical encounters--with a less well-established one--support groups. In medical discourse, sanctioned narratives are specifically invited and non-sanctioned narratives are effectively deflected through standard conventions of invitation, appropriation, and interruption. In support groups, the line between sanctioned and non-sanctioned narratives is considerably blurred, and the conventions for deflecting a non-sanctioned narrative are not necessarily effective: Attempts to interrupt, reformulate, or ignore off-topic and/or off-theme narratives can be successfully resisted by persistent participants who actively contest narrative rights and rights to the floor. This work suggests that asymmetry in institutional discourse is not always assumed, and its conventions do not always apply unproblematically.

Alan Baxter (La Trobe University, Australia)
'Semirectalization'? The restructured Portuguese of the Tongas of Sao Tome, a consequence of L1 acquisition in a special contact situation

The paper discusses aspects of language transmission among the Tongas, the descendants of African contract workers, on the Monte Café plantation where restructured Portuguese developed alongside a Bantu-based koiné. The discussion concentrates on instances of restructuring in first generation Tonga Portuguese (TP), many of which have reflexes in the language of the second and third generations. The restructured features considered include (1) agreement rules (number, gender, and subject-verb); (2) the verb and tense and aspect marking; (3) the signalling of definite and indefinite reference; and (4) negation. These features constitute a variable set whose nonstandard variants resemble, in form and function, structures found in varieties of Creole Portuguese. However, restructuring in TP is only slight in comparison, so the language appears to have been partially creolized. The motivation for restructuring is viewed both from Siegel's perspective of substrate influence (whereby, in this case, certain structures in the Bantu-based koiné are considered) and the perspective of function and markedness-oriented innovation. Finally, discussion turns to Holm's notion of 'semi-creole' and the validity of classifying Tonga Portuguese in these terms; the resemblance of TP to the dialect of the Afro-Brazilian community of Helvécia, Bahia; and the potential of TP as a model of the past development of dialects of isolated Afro-Brazilian communities.

David Beaver (Stanford University)
Brady Clark (Stanford University)
Maria Aloni (University of Amsterdam)
Focus (in)sensitivity

We present original data showing that so-called focus sensitive particles (FSPs) fall into two natural subclasses cross-linguistically, and only one of these is genuinely focus sensitive. We define Class A to include quantificational adverbs (e.g. always) and Class B to include only and even. We firstly observe that researchers have systematically failed to apply any single theory in equal detail to both classes. Then, based on original data from English, German, Swedish, Dutch, and Italian, including the extraction data below, we claim no current theory can account for both classes. (1) Mary knows which man(i) Jane said she (A) always/(B) only looked at (i). (2) Mary knows which man Jane said was such that she (A) always/(B) only looked at HIM. While 1(A) has the reading in 2(A), 1(B) lacks the equivalent reading in 2(B). A similar contrast is observed in Swedish and Italian. No current theory distinguishes between classes A and B, so no theory explains these contrasts. We show that similar patterns emerge 42
on a range of heterogeneous data. We claim that only class B should be viewed as FSPs. In contrast, we claim that class A is made up of anaphoric expressions which are sensitive to discourse topic.

David Beck (University of Michigan) (Session 60)

Languages of the Totonac-Tepehua family show paradigmatic agreement for two verbal actants. With intransitive verbs, transitive verbs with third-person subjects or objects, and transitive verbs with 1- and 2sg subjects and objects, the person-marking system appears to be highly regular and analytical. However, when the two actants of a transitive verb are first- and second persons, and one of the two is plural, the situation becomes a bit more complicated. When 1pl subjects take second-person objects, the expected 1pl subject is replaced by the second person object suffix, -n, and a prefix, ka:-, generally used with plural objects. The same form expresses 1sg subjects with 2pl objects. When 2pl subjects take first-person objects or 2sg subjects take 1pl objects, verbs appear with the reciprocal prefix la:-, and the 1sg object prefix, kin-. This leads to multiple readings for the sentences in (1):

(1) a. ikakatsukni’
    b. kila:tukswi’
    ‘I hit you guys’
    ‘you hit us’
    ‘we hit you’
    ‘you guys hit us’
    ‘we hit you guys’
    ‘you guys hit me’

Such ambiguities, resolved contextually or through use of overt pronouns, seem to be ancient in the Totonacan family. In Tepehua, the la:- pattern extends to the forms in Ia, adding the glosses of Ia to lb. As it turns out, the irregularity in the Totonac person-marking system is only apparent, and the key to understanding these patterns lies in the lack of portmanteau person-number markers in the object paradigm and in the eminently analytical nature of Totonac morphology.

Misha Becker (University of California-Los Angeles) (Session 14)

Production & omission of the copula in child English

In this paper I reveal some interesting and unexpected patterns of omission of be in child English. Be is often overt in nominal predicatives (John is a student) and inherent property adjectival predicatives (John is tall) while be is omitted in accidental property adjectival predicatives (this empty) and locatives (foot in the water). This pattern of be omission is explained by a requirement that permanent or inherent property predicates be licensed by an overt head while accidental or temporary property predicates do not require such licensing. The fact that be is largely overt in existential expressions (there is a man in the room), will instead be accounted for by a predicate-raising account of existentials (cf. Moro 1993, 1997), whereby existential there is a raised predicate that moves out of the postcopular small clause to subject position. This movement lexicalizes the copula (Moro 1993), hence forcing be to be overt in child English in this context.

Thomas Becker (University of Munich/University of Wisconsin-Madison) (Session 1)

Autohyponyms: Implicature & lexical semantics

The word meanings given in dictionaries normally are 'pragmatic meanings', that is, utterance meanings in prototypical situations. Those glosses are perfectly adequate for the needs of the normal dictionary user, but they do not meet scientific standards. Larry Horn has shown in various publications that the presumed meaning of some combines its lexical meaning proper, the existential quantifier, with a scalar implicature 'but not all', which is the exclusion of a stronger alternative. In the same way, the normal 'exclusive' reading of or combines the semantic inclusive reading (compatible with and) and the exclusion of the stronger alternative and by a scalar implicature. The result is 'autohyponymy': The narrow pragmatic readings of these words, restricted by the implicatures, are hyponymous to their wide semantics. Horn has also indicated that autohyponomy cannot only be found with dual logical operators but also with everyday nouns and adjectives like 'rectangular (but not square)'. The purpose of this paper is to show that scalar autohyponymy is pervasive in the lexicon (occurring with verbs, conjunctions, etc.), word formation, and grammar.

Alicia Beckford-Wassink (University of Washington) (Session 40)

The vowel systems of Jamaican speakers

One enduring assumption of linguists conducting inquiry into the phonology of Jamaican Creole has been the phonemic function of vowel length in basilectal varieties (Wells 1973, 1982; Akers 1981). However, the nature and relative role of vowel quality differences in phonemic contrast in Jamaican varieties have remained unclear. This paper reports the findings of sociophonetic study centered around an acoustic examination of the vowel systems of 10 Jamaican Creole- (or basilect-) dominant and 9 Jamaican English- (or acrolect-) dominant speakers and links results with sociolinguistic factors and phonological theory. The complex vowel quality (spectral) and quantity (temporal) relations to be reported extend our understanding of the spectral and temporal characteristics of vowels involved in phonological long-short oppositions in Jamaican varieties, enabling us to address questions such as how different the vowel systems of basilect-dominant and acrolect-dominant speakers are and to examine questions of interest to experimental phonology, including: What might contrastive vowel length 'look like' phonetically?
Defining basic vocabulary: The correlation between frequency & rate of retention

Basic vocabulary is generally considered resistant to borrowing and therefore usable as a test for determining divergent linguistic affiliations. Yet a firm connection between basic vocabulary and retention has never been demonstrated. Large corpora counts reveal that the very highest frequency words in the published lists for English are all inherited not only from Common Germanic, but from Proto-Indo-European. They include only semantically bleached morphemes with heavy functional load. The same is true of other languages examined. Such an absolute correlation is unique in historical linguistics. By contrast, the most frequent English noun is a loanword—people. In fact, many of the highest frequency English nouns are loanwords. Semantically heavier, functionally light words (most nouns, adjectives, etc.) being frequently borrowed, their heritability is unpredictable. Distribution in three modern languages of semantically heavy lexemes inherited from the respective ancestral language is examined (using attested ancient forms), producing a list of words with the highest retention rate. This paper shows which lexical material is virtually impervious to replacement by borrowing and which of the other lexical items tend to be retained. Empirically-founded criteria for judging lexically-based divergent relationship proposals are provided as replacements for the Swadesh test.

Giulia Bencini (University of Illinois-Urbana)
Alberto Nocentini (University of Florence)

Interrogative particles: Diachrony vs typological consistency

A long standing tradition in typology attempts to relate the relative position of question particles (QPs) in yes/no questions with respect to the verb in the main clause to a language's basic word order. For example, Lehmann (1973) proposed a 'structural principle' of typological coherence which predicts that the position of the QP will be initial in VO languages and final in OV languages. However, there are numerous counterexamples to this prediction for which no explanation has been provided. Among VO languages, Mandarin, Vietnamese, and Thai have a final QP, while many Indo-Iranian languages have initial QPs. We identify a set of typical interrogative constructions which are pragmatically motivated and optional in all languages but may (and often do) grammaticize to form the standard coding for yes/no questions in many languages. The origin of a QP provides the explanation for its position. Once the construction containing the source of a QP has grammaticized, the position of the QP remains unchanged. Our explanation is a functional explanation, but it attributes to diachrony the decisive role, in that what determines the behavior of the QP is not the synchronic function of the QP but the preceding function performed by its source.

Erica Benson (Michigan State University)

Early studies of codeswitching in the United States

In spite of myriad publications on the topic of codeswitching, few works have made any mention of the history of the field. Of the studies that have paid tribute to the past, the focus has been on the recent history (see Gal 1987:290-1; Heller 1988:3-15; Jacobson 1998b:52-4; McClure 1981:69; Milroy & Muysken 1995a:7-10; Myers-Scotton 1997:217-20, 1993b:46-7). I endeavor to uncover the neglected roots of codeswitching research by examining discussions of the phenomenon before 1950. Chronologies of codeswitching usually begin in the late 1960s or early 1970s, identifying the pioneers of the field as Blom and Gumperz with their 1972 study of dialects of Norwegian in Hemnesberget, Joshua Fishman with his 1965 article on Puerto Ricans in New York, and Michael Clyne with his 1967 book on German and Dutch immigrants in Australia (Milroy & Muysken 1995a:7-10; Myers-Scotton 1993b:46-7). The prehistory of codeswitching research is generally placed in the 1950s, which witnessed the publication of four now classic works: The Norwegian language in America (1953) and Bilingualism in the Americas (1956) by Einar Haugen (1906-1994), Languages in contact (1953) by Uriel Weinreich (1926-1967), and Diglossia (1959) by Charles Ferguson (1921-1998). Up to now it has largely been taken for granted (with the notable exception of Clyne 1987:455) that no codeswitching studies appeared before that time. In fact, Myers-Scotton (1993b:48) claimed that as a result of the prevailing 'attitudes (and non-attitudes) towards CS [codeswitching] before B[loom] & G[umperz] few linguists may have even noticed CS'. I discovered two types of early codeswitching analyses that appeared between 1911 and 1949—language diaries of bilingual children and anthropological-linguistic investigations of bilingual communities. The well-known language diary by Werner Leopold of his daughter Hildegard included several instances of codeswitching, e.g. 'I can't give you a Kuss because I have a Schmutznase', but little explanation. In another diary study, which investigated the language development of the children of an American family in China, Madorah Smith (1935) not only identified Chinese words that the children used when speaking English (e.g. mei-meii 'younger sister', du-bi 'belly') but also tried to explain their use. Three early anthropological-linguistic studies—Barker 1947, Espinosa 1917, and Espinosa 1911—all based on research from Spanish-speaking communities in the American southwest, stand out in their recognition and treatment of codeswitching. Although George Barker (1912-1958) and Aurelio Espinosa (1880-1957) did not use the term codeswitching, their works nevertheless share many characteristics with modern codeswitching analyses: They examined synchronic language use, distinguished codeswitching from other interference phenomena (e.g. loans and borrowing), and attempted to elucidate the social motivations for codeswitching as well as the factors governing language choice. These early studies predate the works of the 1960s and 1970s, which are typically seen as the first investigations into the phenomenon, by as much as 60 years. In closing I consider why these remarkably insightful analyses have gone unnoticed for so long.
Debra H. Biasca (University of Colorado)  
Language development in Jacobsen (11q deletion) syndrome: The interaction of language, cognition, & genetics

This is a first look at development in Jacobsen syndrome (JS), a rare disorder (<1:100,000) caused by an 11th chromosome microdeletion. It results in distinctive facial characteristics and physical abnormalities and impacts cognition and language. The deletion, though always in the same general area, varies somewhat in size, offering the potential for mapping behavioral outcomes to fine-grained genetic information. Differences noted across language domains and between language and general cognition provide support for a modular theory of language and cognitive development. Specific issues included: (1) extent of language delay and intradomain language differences; (2) deletion size vs language development; (3) language vs nonverbal cognition. Significant delays were observed in language acquisition without significant intradomain differences. Deletion size correlated negatively with language measures. Language was as affected or more affected than nonverbal cognition. Early word combinations were consistent with typical development (TD), then LU exhibited a lengthy plateau before increasing more typically. IpSyn reflected intradomain dissociations. Interestingly, language was better than cognition. A similar profile may apply to other participants with similar deletions size but with language ability beyond our measures, suggesting potential similarity with earlier, controversial, impressions of adolescents/adults with Williams syndrome.

Roger Billerey (University of California-Los Angeles)  
Language change & optimality theory: Old French codas

This paper proposes an optimality-theoretic account of change in coda structure from Gallo-Romance to Old French using a reranking of faithfulness and markedness constraints and critiques the analysis in Jacobs (1995). Gallo-Romance allowed complex coda clusters (corp-s 'body'). In Old French, 'word-final obstruents could only surface if they were not followed by an inflectional s or t' (Jacobs 1995), causing paradigmatic alternations (corp cors 'body'). Jacobs' analysis, based on alignment constraints, fails to assess crucial violations and thus makes incorrect predictions. In my analysis, the change from Gallo-Romance to Old French depends on the promotion of constraints prohibiting complex coda clusters to the top of the constraint hierarchy, interacting with morpheme-preserving constraints (Casali 1997) and sonority considerations. I leave open the question of whether alignment constraints can always be avoided, which may be desirable given their excessive descriptive power and language specificity.

Eleanor M. Blain (Brandon University, Manitoba)  
Cree nominal clauses as subordinate clauses?

Blain (1997) argues that Cree wh- questions are clefted structures which are analyzed as a nominal clause, i.e. Awina ana 'Who is that [one]?', which may stand alone or act as a matrix clause with another subordinate clause, i.e. Awina ana kikki-sipwehtet 'Who is it [CP that left]?'. In all cases, however, the nominal wh- clause itself is the matrix clause. This also occurs with noninterrogative nominal clauses, i.e., Meri ana kki-sipwehtet 'It is Mary [that left]'. In this paper, I look at Cree nominal clauses in a subordinate clause environment. I show that noninterrogative nominal clauses cannot occur as subordinate clauses—the least referential noun must be verbalized. However, nominal wh- clauses (with a wh- word as predicate) may occur in subordinate clause environments, i.e. nikiksiihntet awina ana aapew 'I know who that man is'. Using evidence from Long (1999) involving extraction from regular Cree subordinate clauses vs adjunct clauses, I will try to determine the position of these nominal wh- clauses in the sentence structure.

Renée Blake (New York University)  
Past tense marking in Barbadian Creole English

According to Winford (1992:312), 'Like the copula system, the verb complex of BEV [Black English/Vernacular] has figured prominently in debates over the BEV/Creole connection.' In this paper, I examine past marking in Barbadian Creole English (Bajan), focusing on the unmarked and marked inflections on the perfective verb. I consider the morphological and lexical constraints on past marking in BCE. In addition, I give an account of anterior marking with did and had. I compare my results with the most recent mesolectal creole studies (Patrick 1991, Winford 1992) and BEV dialect studies (Fasold 1972, Weldon 1996) in an attempt to shed light on the role Bajan may play in the on-going discussion of BEV-creole links. For this quantitative study I include both black and white informants. The results from this research, then, also have sociolinguistic relevance to the study of language and ethnicity and, more specifically, the sociohistorical relationship between blacks and whites in Barbados.

Rens Bod (University of Amsterdam /University of Leeds)  
What are the structural units of language processing?

For quite some time, language processing models were always built around 'competence grammars'. Bod 1992 argued that language processing may very well work with representations of previously occurring sentences without invoking abstract linguistic generalizations. The data-oriented parsing (DOP) model described there parses new sentences by combining subtrees from parse trees in a corpus and uses the subtree-frequencies to compute the most probable parse. The DOP model as originally defined imposes no
constraints on the size of subtrees that may be invoked. In this paper, we investigate on the basis of the Wall Street Journal corpus whether it is possible to restrict the subtrees in such a way that the parsing accuracy does not deteriorate. As a baseline, we used subtrees up to depth 13 (smoothed as in Bod 1998) and computed the parsing accuracy with a beam of 10,000 derivations. We then studied the impact of constraining the subtrees by their size, lexicalization, frequency, and number of nonhead words. In all cases we observed a decrease in parsing accuracy. This triggers the thesis that the structural units of language processing should be defined not by a minimal set of rules but by a large redundant set of subtrees.

David R. Boe (University of Nevada-Reno)  
Kantian origins of generative theory

This paper argues that many of the perspectives and innovations of the generative framework, including those of the recent minimalist program (Chomsky 1995), can be traced to the work of the German idealist philosopher Immanuel Kant and especially to his Critique of pure reason (1781), in which he attempted to reconcile the opposing views of the British empiricists (who argued that knowledge is primarily derived from experience) and the Continental rationalists (who argued that knowledge is primarily derived from reason). Throughout his career, Chomsky has articulated a connection to the 17th-century rationalist orientations of Descartes and the Port-Royal grammarians (e.g. Cartesian linguistics, 1666). These views have been used in support of the claim that language acquisition is guided by an innate universal grammar which is part of our biological apparatus and which exists prior to any encounter with sense experience (i.e. language data). Although children quickly reach an attained ‘steady state’ of grammatical knowledge and intuition, it is the initial ‘zero state’ that is of interest to linguists, and a description of this initial state is an account of universal grammar. By invoking rationalism, Chomsky was ultimately able to render the behavioristic/empiricist outlook of his predecessors invalid. Kant’s earlier reassessment of the rationalist and empiricist views, and the consequences of this for 20th-century linguistic thought, however, has received comparatively little attention in the literature. The apparent line of influence from Kantian philosophy to Chomskyan theory is not necessarily a direct one, though. With regard to the developments of generative grammar, there appear to have been two significant waves of critical philosophy prior to Chomsky’s arrival. The first wave, of course, was Kant’s psychological account of the limits of conceptual thought. We perceive the world as we do because we are equipped with a priori categories such as those of time, space, and causation. Any external sensations that we subsequently encounter are filtered through and ordered by these intuitive categories, which exist prior to experience. The second wave of critical philosophy was Ludwig Wittgenstein’s linguistic account of the limits of the meaningful language, as detailed in the propositions of his Tractatus logico-philosophicus (1921). To the extent that language reflects (or ‘pictures’) reality, the logical form of language constrains what can be said, and thus thought, concerning the world. Although Wittgenstein later repudiated many of his initial formulations, the arc of the development of Chomskyan theory, especially regarding the increasingly central role given to logical form, has represented a return to Wittgenstein’s earlier account of meaning. If logical form (LF) is now viewed as a distinct level of linguistic representation which represents the limits of semantic interpretation, and if logical form is constrained by the apparatus of an innate (a priori) universal grammar--or indeed is universal grammar--then we seem to be experiencing a third wave of critical philosophy, one that is both psychological and linguistic. The implications of this proposal are examined in this paper.

Cedric Boeckx (University of Connecticut)  
Arguments reconstructed

Chomsky (1993, 1995) argues that there is no A-movement reconstruction at all. Lasnik (1998a, 1998b, 1999) accounts for this fact by claiming that A-movement does not leave a copy. I show that Lasnik’s arguments against A-movement reconstruction fail and that there is at least some reconstruction residue. I argue that quantifiers do not usually reconstruct because arguments (A-moving elements) bear case, an uninterpretable feature (Chomsky 1995). Case prevents arguments from being interpreted prior to case-checking (in the moved position). Once arguments have undergone A-movement for checking purposes, they become accessible for interpretation. I show how this condition can be obviated in the case of indefinites by appealing to covert insertion of an expletive. I then go on to provide arguments that lowered reading of indefinites involves literal lowering (May 1977, 1985). I show that this movement is subject to relativized minimality, thereby offering further support for the claim that quantifier movement is a syntactic operation.

Marianne L. Borroff (State University of New York-Stony Brook)  
Degree phrase inversion in the scope of negation

While degree phrase (DegP) inversion in comparatives and questions is a relatively well studied phenomenon, other types of DegP inversion have largely escaped notice. This paper deals with a type of DegP inversion possible in some dialects of English, which is characterized by the presence of a c-commanding negative polarity licenser. Examples of this construction are given below.

(1) John’s not [DegP very [AP good]], a [i] student.
(2) Is it [DegP that [AP big]], a [i] deal?
(3) She never was [DegP very [AP good]], a [i] dancer.
In this paper, I show that there is a semantic dependency between the negative element and the DegPs that is analogous to negative polarity. This is supported by examining the subtle differences in the meanings of DegPs which have and have not undergone inversion of this type. This paper presents a type of negative polarity licensing unlike others that have been dealt with previously. In addition, it sheds some light on both the nature of negative polarity and the nature of the nominal phrase as it compares to other categories.

Ann R. Bradlow (Northwestern University)

Lydia Miller (Northwestern University)

Coarticulation as a listener-oriented source of variability

Current speech production models agree that coarticulatory patterns are under talker control, suggesting that contextual variability serves some communicative function. Additionally, several studies have shown that segments resist coarticulation under 'strong' articulation conditions, such as when stressed or at prosodic boundaries, suggesting that hyperarticulation minimizes contextual variability. To further investigate the relationship between contextual variability and hyperarticulation, we examined coarticulation under conditions of explicit hyperarticulation. We measured F2 frequencies in American English /u/ in the context of bilabial and alveolar consonants in conversational and hyperarticulated styles. Results showed the expected effect of hyperarticulation: F2 frequencies were lower in the hyperarticulated style, indicating more extreme articulations. We also found the expected effect of contextual variability: F2 frequencies were lower when preceded by a bilabial than by an alveolar consonant. Critical for this study was the nonsignificant context by style interaction, indicating that the coarticulatory effect was consistent across speaking styles. In other words, when explicitly asked to produce highly intelligible speech, the talkers did not minimize contextual variability due to coarticulation. Rather, this feature of speech production was preserved, presumably because talkers know that listeners expect and make perceptual use of the lawful acoustic variability that characterizes continuous speech.

Mary M. Bradshaw (University of Chicago)

Consonant-tone interaction as downstep: A multiplanar account

This paper explores a case of consonant-tone interaction that traditional approaches cannot handle and for which a multiplanar model is necessary. Most cases of consonant-tone interaction can be handled using a tonal representation that ignores the segmental nature of tone and simply inserts a L tone on the mora following a depressor consonant. However, this approach is inadequate for the Mijikenda languages, Chikauma and Chirihe. As reported in Cassimjee and Kisseberth (1992), depressor consonants trigger a downstep by which following H tones are lowered in pitch to a level intermediate between the original H tone and a L tone. Although downstep is generally analyzed as a floating L tone, it makes more sense in this case to analyze it as a L tone linked segmentally. Within a multiplanar model in which a single monovalent feature represents both L tone and obstruent voicing, the downstepping L is associated to the laryngeal node of voiced obstruents. Although the multiplanar model also permits the linking of L tone to moras, this option is not utilized in Chikauma and Chirihe. Thus, they present a case in which the segmental nature of tone cannot be ignored.

Daniel J. Brauner (University of Chicago)
Karen B. Rosenbaum (University of Chicago)

Assessing the ability of patients with dementia to make decisions using a linguistic model

At present, there is no gold standard for evaluating decisionmaking capacity (DMC) for the increasing numbers of people with Alzheimer's disease and related dementias. We have developed an instrument based on a model of conversational analysis as proposed by Clark and Schaefer for evaluating DMC (Cognitive Science 1989:13). Conversations were analyzed by contributions and rated based on a hierarchy of evidence of understanding. We especially looked for specific contributions which demonstrated global understanding of the decision. We analyzed 30 transcribed interviews of videotaped conversations between trained interviewers and subjects with dementia in which subjects were asked to make decisions concerning a hypothetical research project and choosing a proxy. Twenty-three percent of the subjects understood both questions, 30% understood neither question, 13% understood the decision about the research project but not about the proxy, and 33% of the subjects understood the question regarding the proxy but not the question about participation in the research project. Significant differences were found between the group of subjects whose contribution demonstrated global understanding and those who did not. We have developed a unique instrument based on conversational analysis which provides a framework for evaluating understanding and DMC in patients with dementia.

Andrea H. Brill (University of Bundeswehr-Munich)

First names as an indicator for identity: The Jewish community in Munich 1812-1875

The analysis of first names could provide information about political and cultural identity. Parents who give names to their babies have special motives in their mind which are not free from influences of their surroundings and the time in which they live. So, the selection of special names can demonstrate a certain mental position. The investigation of first names in times when opinion polls weren't available can provide broader knowledge of identity and mentality of the whole society than common sources like letters,
diaries, or memories, which mostly are written of members of the cultural and political elite. The database of the present investigation is the first names of the members of the Jewish community in Munich, 1812-1875. With the 2,255 names additional information like profession of the parents, confession, and year of birth are given. The partition of the names in categories like 'Jewish', 'Non-Jewish', 'Germanic', 'Christian-Sacred', or 'Monarchical' helps to define certain assertions about the political and cultural identity of the name-givers, especially whether they were assimilated, nationalistic oriented, or whether they stand in a deep Jewish-orthodox tradition.

George Aaron Broadwell (State University of New York-Albany)  
*Second position clitics & clause structure in Zapotec*

San Dionicio Ocotepoc Zapotec has a large number of 2nd position clitics, such as /-cha?/ 'maybe', seen in the following examples:

(1)  
Ree-biin  
ngiu-cha?  
U-dau  
gehht  
COM-cat  
tortilla  
'Maybe THE MEN ate the tortillas.'

(2)  
U-dau-cha?  
ree-biin  
ngiu  
gehht  
COM-cat-maybe  
PLUR-person  
male  
tortilla  
'Maybe the men ATE the tortilla.'

In some cases these clitics appear after the first phrase (NP, PP), but in other instances they appear after the first word (V, Neg, Q). Lee (1999) argues that all the items which may precede such a clitic are in fact phrasal and that an initial V (for example) represents a VP from which these arguments have raised. This paper pursues an LF alternative without V or VP movement and shows that the position of such clitics can more accurately be predicted through the interaction of optimality-theoretic constraints.

Ryan Bush (University of California-Santa Cruz)  
*Broad & narrow scope identificational foci*

The need to distinguish identificational and informational foci (e.g. *It's a HAT that Mary bought* and *Mary bought a HAT*, respectively) is relatively well-established. A close study of various identificational foci shows a range of behavior, however. English foci with rising intonation and Georgian focus-moved constituents significantly differ from more familiar identificational foci (like English it-clefts and Hungarian focus-moved constituents): They have no existential presuppositions, and both also and proportional quantifiers can occur in the pivot. These differences can be explained based on their scopal properties. Parallel to the distinction between informational foci with narrow scope (like *What did Mary buy? Mary bought [a HAT]*) and broad scope (like *What happened? [Mary bought a HAT]*)", I claim that identificational foci come in broad and narrow versions as well. The familiar identificational foci have narrow scope (only the pivot in focus; quantification is over individuals: 'the only thing Mary bought was a hat'), while the other identificational foci have wide scope (the whole proposition in focus; quantification is over propositions: 'all I'm asserting is that Mary bought a hat'). The higher level of quantification avoids an existential presupposition and the contradictions that lead to the infelicity of also and quantifiers.

Laura Buszard-Welcher (University of California-Berkeley)  
*The distribution of the preverb *e-* in Potawatomi*

Hockett noted in his work on Potawatomi in the 1940s that the preverb *e-* is a mark of the storytelling style. Since his data came primarily from the analysis of collected texts, he was not able to study conversation, which operates with significantly different (but related) principles. Using new data collected by the author on the conversational style, we are now able to more accurately describe the distribution of *e-* and its semantic contribution in the *e-* plus conjunct verb construction. After delimiting the different uses of the conjunct in these two discourse modes, we are able to further say that *e-* is primarily modal in that it distinguishes hypothetical from nonhypothetical adverbial clauses, factuality/probability vs. possibility in embedded sentence complement clauses, and that the use in narrative thus is primarily a marker of evidentiality. These uses of *e-* will be compared to the use of cognate constructions reported for Fox and Cree.

Ronald R. Butters (Duke University)  
*Sucks*

On April 17, 1991, a 12-year-old junior-high student in Norfolk, VA, was suspended from school for refusing to desist from wearing a tee-shirt on the front of which was printed in very large letters, 'Drugs Suck!' School officials argued that the inscription was 'inappropriate for school attire' because it is 'vulgar,' 'derives from a sexual connotation of oral-genital contact,' and hence is potentially disruptive to the maintenance of order in school. The child's parents sued, insisting that the shirt contained a valuable message of critical importance and that the vernacular language was not 'vulgar' but simply contemporary slang which conveyed the message in a powerful fashion to an otherwise quite impervious audience. The case presents a complex of problems in semantics, pragmatics, semantics, and historical linguistics. Most speakers of American English today know that 'X Sucks!' has a primary colloquial mean-
ing, 'X is bad'. However, many speakers also attach secondary meanings and even putative etymologies to the slang phrase—both connected to fellatio—which they may find deeply offensive; yet (unlike the Norfolk school officials) they have no difficulty accepting the phrase and even using it themselves. I seek to demonstrate (1) that the etymological connection between 'X Sucks!' and fellatio is largely a folk etymology; and (2) that contemporary connotations of fellatio for 'X Sucks!' are foregrounded only when the specific issue of putative etymology is raised, thus allowing speakers to accept a phrase that they would otherwise find inappropriate.

Catherine A. Callaghan (Ohio State University)  
*The origin of Miwok metathesis & stem types, with comments on ‘epenthesis’*  
(Session 60)

It has become entrenched in the literature that Sierra Miwok exhibits widespread /y/ (i) epenthesis, has triconsonantal roots resembling those of Semitic languages, and is a rare case of a language with suffix-induced metathesis. Sierra Miwok actually consists of three closely related languages and is a subfamily of the much larger Utian (Miwok-Costanoan) family spread through much of Central California. I will demonstrate that metathesis can serve as a morpheme in all Utian languages, and I will shed light on its origin and function in the Proto Utian ablaut system. In Sierra Miwok, /y/ is most economically considered a full vowel in all its occurrences. It can be reconstructed for Proto Utian stems and suffixes. It also functioned as a verbalizer after monosyllabic nominal stems, and this verbalizer spread to Eastern Miwok consonant stems.

Catherine A. Callaghan (Ohio State University)  
*Misanalysis of Sierra Miwok*  
(Session 19)

Theoreticians commonly believe that Sierra Miwok is a single language exhibiting suffix-conditioned metathesis only, widespread /y/ epenthesis, and triconsonantal roots resembling those of Semitic languages. Analysis of /y/ as an epenthetic vowel obscures morphophonemic rules and greatly increases the number of stem types. The rest of the above statements are simply false. Sierra Miwok actually consists of three closely related languages—Northern Sierra Miwok (Mins), Central Sierra Miwok (Mics), and Southern Sierra Miwok (Miss). Metathesis is a fully active process which can constitute a morpheme, as in Miss *kutew* ‘messenger’, *kutwe-‘to send a message*. Verbal stems may be bi- or triconsonantal, with glottal stop sometimes (but not always) serving as a filler consonant. Note Mics *'upi-nuku-‘to make dive’ from *appi-‘to dive’ with no filler consonant. Moreover, stems consist of both consonants and vowels, which never constitute separate morphemes, as in Semitic. The sole motivation for placing consonants and vowels on separate tiers is to avoid having to deal with consonant-vowel metathesis, which violates the constraints of some theories. This misanalysis stems from overreliance on tables and failure to examine the closely related Costanoan languages, where expected constraints are more clearly violated.

Wallace Chafe (University of California-Santa Barbara)  
*Thrice-told tales*  
(Session 57)

Repeated verbalizations of more or less the same content by the same speaker on different occasions can reveal a great deal about the nature of mental representations and the ways in which they are converted into language, shedding light on what is universal and what may differ from one verbalization to another. Earlier studies of English retellings have suggested, for example, that ideas of events and their participants, as well as of topics, are relatively stable elements of memory whereas the content of sentences may vary considerably, with sentence boundaries inserted on-line as a person is talking. Specific categorizations of ideas may also vary across tellings, as may the orientations of those ideas in time, space, and epistemology. Here I extend this line of research to two retellings in Seneca. I also compare the Seneca data with a retelling in English by the same speaker of virtually the same content, illustrating the kinds of differences one may find across languages of markedly different structure. I show how material of this kind can shed useful light on relations between language and thought.

Craig Chambers (University of Rochester)  
Michael Tanenhaus (University of Rochester)  
James Magnuson (University of Rochester)  
*Interaction of referential context & real-world knowledge in syntactic ambiguity resolution*  
(Session 6)

Previous findings suggest that the on-line resolution of structurally ambiguous phrases, e.g. the partial PP in 1, depends on referential factors. VP-attachment is pursued when a unique referent for the previous NP can be identified, i.e. when the context contains a single balloon. When multiple balloons are available, NP-attachment is pursued because an unmodified NP would be referentially indeterminate.

(1) Pop the balloon with the...  
  a. nail  
  b. dots

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However, real-world knowledge may directly affect what referents are available. For example, the verb \textit{pop} may limit referential context to objects appropriate for 'popping'. If so, the VP-attachment preference observed with one-referent contexts, and eliminated by two-referent contexts, should be reinstated when two potential referents are available, but only one can be popped (i.e. two balloons, only one inflated). Data from a head-mounted eyetracking experiment revealed greater difficulty with VP-attachment sentences 1a than with NP-attachment sentences 1b when two compatible referents were in the display. The opposite pattern was observed both when only one referent was in the display and, crucially, when two referents were present but only one was compatible with the verb information. Overall, the results indicate that situation-specific knowledge and action-based inferences immediately constrain referential domains relevant for ambiguity resolution.

Diane Chang (National University of Singapore)  
\textit{Intonation & intelligibility of Singapore English: A preliminary investigation}  
(Session 40)

Singapore English (SE) is a blanket term covering a range of different lects, from the basilectal colloquial form to the acrolectal standard form. Singapore Standard English (SSE), the acrolectal variety, is almost indistinguishable from other Standard Englishes in its grammar but is said to have a distinct accent—probably as a result of its contact with numerous local substrate languages, predominantly dialects of Chinese and, to a lesser extent, Malay which, based on anecdotal evidence, makes Singaporean speech difficult to understand. This paper investigates the relationship between intonation and intelligibility in SSE and evaluates the intelligibility of spoken SSE with regard to non-Singaporeans, especially those who had not previously encountered this variety of English. A web-based survey, which included two types of speech recording—one in which the segmental information was obscured, and one in which all information remained intact—was carried out. Respondents were divided into four groups based on their prior linguistic exposure. It was found that there appeared to be a link between intonation and meaning and that the intonation of SSE involved patterns which were similar to intonational patterns of other standard Englishes. However, it was also found that SSE can be quite unintelligible to non-Singaporeans, which, taken together with the previous point, seems to imply that it is not intonation alone, but a feature of SSE other than intonation, or possibly a combination of features which might include intonation, that might be responsible for the unintelligibility of SSE.

Adriannne Cheek (University of Texas-Austin)  
\textit{Handshape coarticulation in ASL}  
(Session 19)

Much attention has been given to coarticulation in speech and to how it is related to general tendencies toward gestural economy observed in all motor activities (Lindblom 1983). Sign and speech use different articulators, yet similarities have been found in motor control for both manual gesture and vocalization (Kimura 1993). In this study, I test whether gestural overlap, or coarticulation, occurs in sign language by analyzing handshape variation between the Index and 5 handshapes in American Sign Language using data from native signers. Reflective spheres were attached to the base of the hand and the tip of the pinky, and data were collected using five infrared-sensitive cameras (Vicon System 250) to capture the movements in three-dimensional space. The distance between the spheres served as the dependent measure for analysis because pinky extension is one way to differentiate Index from 5. I compare sequences of like handshapes (e.g. Index-Index) with sequences of unlike handshapes (e.g. Index-5). My results show significant difference between these two conditions, with Index tending toward similarity with 5 in sequences of unlike handshapes. The presence of coarticulation in sign suggests that coarticulation is cross-modal and reflects general principles of motor control found in all motor systems.

Deborah Chen (University of Connecticut)  
\textit{Sandwiches & spoons: A unified account of SVO & SVOV in ASL}  
(Session 22)

American Sign Language (ASL) allows SOV word order when the verb is a handling verb, as in 1.

(1) \textit{MARY S-O-U-P EAT-WITH-SPoon}  
I refer to such constructions as 'Handling SOV' and argue that they are derived from 'Handling sandwiches', or SVOV constructions, such as 2.

(2) \textit{MARY EAT S-O-U-P EAT-WITH-SPoon}  
Matsuoka (1997) has analyzed Handling sandwiches (her Lexical sandwiches) as incorporation of a handling classifier into the final verb, departing radically from the analysis she proposes for Aspectual sandwiches, or SVOVarp. However, I argue that such a departure is unwarranted, given several striking similarities between Handling and Aspectual sandwiches and their corresponding SOV forms. I propose a derivation for Handling sandwiches and SOV in which verb movement to an Instrumental/Manner phrase results in the sentence-final Handling form of the verb, parallel to Matsuoka's (1997) derivation for corresponding Aspectual cases. Thus we can maintain a unified account of Handling and Aspectual sandwiches, capturing their surface similarities and their apparently parallel relation to their respective SOV forms.
Korean accusative adverbials

Korean noun phrase adverbials expressing duration, distance, and frequency are marked with accusative case like normal objects (1a). But adverbials in other semantic functions are not marked with accusative case (1b). Instead, they are marked with oblique case, licensed by a postposition.

(1) a. Mary-ka ku chayk-ul twu sikan-ul ilk-ess-ta
   M NOM the book A CC two hour A CC read P AS T -DECL
   'Mary read the book for two hours'

   b. Mary-ka ku chayk-ul han si-*hul/eu ilk-ess-ta
   M NOM the book A CC one o'clock ACC-at read P AS T-DECL
   'Mary read the book at one o clock'

I argue that accusative adverbials are argument PPs whereas oblique adverbials are adjunct PPs. In 1a, P incorporates to V and the case feature on twu sikan 'for two hours' is checked by V-P. In contrast, the oblique case feature on han si-e 'at one o clock' in 1b is checked by P. The argument status of the PP in 1a is confirmed by the fact that it undergoes passivization (2).

(2) ku chayk-i twu sikan-i ilk-hie-ci-ess-ta
    the book NOM two hour NOM read PASS-PASS-PAST-DECL
    'The book was read for two hours'

This idea can be extended to the broader position that all Ps appearing to license accusative case do so in concert with V.

Sook Whan Cho (Harvard University/Sogang University, Korea)

The emergence of subjecthood: Toward pragmatic bootstrapping

This study analyzes the communicative intents expressed in early speech in an attempt to investigate how they relate to the grammatical system emerging as children begin to produce ellipted, pronominal, and lexical subjects appropriately. This paper examines longitudinal data from 5 Korean- and 10 English-speaking monolingual children, 14-35 months. The major findings and theoretical implications of this study are as follows. First, it was observed that the distribution of nouns in early speech is highly similar discourse-pragmatically. Second, both early Korean and English were observed to convey an extremely limited set of discourse-pragmatic functions, and it is not very clear whether or not early speech definitely demonstrates a grammatical pro-drop stage, as widely held in the literature. Third, it was also observed that the frequencies of ellipted, pronominal, and lexical noun phrases vary as they gradually become sensitive to language-particular morphosyntactic properties. It is proposed that discourse-functional primitives potentially underlie the emergence of subjecthood.

Taehong Cho (University of California-Los Angeles)

The effect of prosody on vowel (Co)articulation in English

It has been claimed that segments are 'strongly' articulated in two prosodic positions: pitch-accented syllables and domain-initial positions. The current study examines the effect of prosodic positions on vowel articulation. First, it examines how strongly vowels are produced in domain-initial positions, testing whether domain-initial vowels are strengthened, like domain-initial consonants are. Second, this study examines the articulation of domain-final vowels, testing whether domain-final vowels show articulatory weakening like domain-final consonants or strengthening like vowels in other prosodically strong positions. Finally, this study examines how resistant vowels are to coarticulation in prosodically strong positions and tests whether prosodically strong vowels resist coarticulation compared to vowels in weaker positions. The results are as follows: (1) F1 for [i, a] was more extreme for domain-initial vowels than for domain-medial vowels. (2) Domain-final [a] was more extreme in both F1 and F2 while domain-final [i] was more extreme only in F1. (3) The coarticulatory resistance was greater for higher prosodic boundaries. Finally, vowels in accented syllables consistently resisted coarticulation with neighboring vowels in F1 but exhibited speaker variation in F2. The more consistent patterns in F1 suggest that the vowel's openness is more sensitive to prosodic strengthening compared to its backness.

Matthew H. Ciscel (University of South Carolina)

The dynamics of diglossia in post-Soviet Moldova

This paper addresses the potential volatility of diglossia. Data from the Republic of Moldova is used to show that the actual diglossic relations among codes can be influenced by sociopolitical factors, particularly in times of social upheaval. In Moldova, the Russian language dominated the Romanian language of the majority until 1989. In this study, a questionnaire measured the language backgrounds, language attitudes, and language uses of 70 young, educated Moldovans. Results indicate that isolation from Romanian and exposure to Russian over the last half century have altered diglossia in Moldova. Many Moldovans identify linguistically, but neither ethnically nor politically, with their sister population in Romania. At the same time, they maintain elements of their linguistic
Further evidence for two kinds of focus

Analysis of a corpus of recorded interviews with American English speakers has uncovered a phenomenon that presents a challenge for traditional assumptions about semantic focus. While the data provide many examples in which 'textually (and situationally) nonconstructions headed by a wh-pronoun kogo ‘who’ (1), Slavic languages like Polish have SFRs (2), which are headed by a simple wh-pronoun kogo ‘who’, contain a conditional particle by and (obligatorily) a negative marker nie. In spite of these syntactic differences, 1 and 2 receive the same interpretation. Both are interpreted as concessive clauses.

(1) Kogokołwiek zapytasa wskazać ci drogę.
Whoever you ask will show you the way

(2) Kogo byś się nie zapytała wskazać ci drogę.
Whoever you ask will show you the way

In this paper, I provide answers to the following questions: (1) How does one account for the parallelism in interpretation between 1 and 2? (2) What yields the concessive interpretation in both? (3) What is the contribution of subjunctive mood in SFRs? (4) What is the role of negation in SFRs?

Jocely Cohan (University of Texas-Austin)

What does it mean that a Japanese relative clause is restrictive or nonrestrictive?

Miyake (1995) claims that the distinction between restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses (RCs) in Japanese is not only crucial but syntactically explainable even though they are indistinguishable at the surface level. This paper argues that the distinction between the two types is not structural but depends strongly on the contexts in which they are used. In so doing, it will show that Japanese RCs are syntactically, semantically, and functionally more comparable to English adjectives, or ‘property concept words’ (PCWs), that were re-examined in Dixson 1977 and Thompson 1988. For example, Japanese restrictive RCs may be descriptive, or add information that is not necessary for identification, and nonrestrictive RCs may be obligatory (Masuoka 1997) as in the example below:

Shuichi wa *[dooyo suru ni] jibun o kanji-nagara ita
Shuichi, feeling himself, *[who was upset], said

Shuichi, aware of himself being upset, said

This incongruity can be explained by a function of PCWs: ‘an attributive adjective functions predicatively’ (Thompson ibid.). As a conclusion, this paper discusses how the differences between restrictive and nonrestrictive RCs in English and Japanese are due to their differences in word order and the concept of definiteness (Hawkins 1991).
Lisa Conathan (University of California-Berkeley)  
Andrew Garrett (University of California-Berkeley)  
Esther J. Wood (University of California-Berkeley)

*The sound of Costanoan: A preliminary report*

The last known native speakers of Costanoan (Ohlone) languages died over 60 years ago, but in addition to its documentary record (in J. P. Harrington's field notes and elsewhere), a phonetic record of Costanoan survives in the form of wax cylinder and aluminum disk recordings made by A. L. Kroeber in 1902 and by Harrington in 1929-30. Two languages were documented in this form—Chochenyo (East Bay Costanoan) and Rumsen (Monterey Costanoan)—and in this paper we report on our analyses of the recordings. Our results are in two main areas: phonetic detail (surprisingly well preserved in recordings almost a century old) and linguistic anomalies. To illustrate the latter, the form of Rumsen that appears in songs performed by Maria Soto in 1902 sometimes differs from her ordinary Rumsen (as transcribed in Kroeber’s notes), and the difference often apparently reflects the preservation of linguistic archaisms in verse. For example, the word for ‘(deer) meat’ has a final vowel that is well documented in Mutsun (San Juan Bautista Costanoan) but had been lost via a regular apocope in Rumsen itself.

René Coppieters (Pomona College)

*Only in context*

Horn (1996) and Atlas (1996) offer competing analyses of *only* in statements of the form ‘Only a is F’ and ‘Only Gs are Fs’ (*Only Socrates saw moose* and *Only women saw moose*). For Horn, *only* is a negative operator, allowing a unified account of negative polarity items as licensed by a downward monotonic expression (as in *Only Socrates is at all interested*). For Atlas, ‘Only a is F’ is not downward monotonic in the F position, while ‘Only CN are Fs’ is. They also disagree on the traditional equivalence between ‘Only Gs are Fs’ and ‘All Fs are Gs’, accepted by Horn but rejected, for the wrong reasons, by Atlas. Evidence presented here shows that both are wrong: *Only-NPs* are neither downward monotonic nor straightforwardly negative: Unlike negative QPs, positive QPs can introduce new referents in discourse. *Only-NPs* behave like positive QPs. Assuming that ‘Only CN are Fs’ is downward monotonic leads to a paradox; there can be no across the board equivalence between ‘Only Gs are Fs’ and ‘All Fs are Gs’ because relevant domains of quantification are determined differently. An image-schematic analysis of *only* will be proposed to supplement current logico-pragmatic analyses.

Kearsy Cormier (University of Texas-Austin)

*How does modality contribute to linguistic diversity?*

Studies on linguistic diversity generally sample a wide variety of languages from many different stocks and families, with the assumption that a more diverse sample leads to a more explanatory description/typology (e.g. Greenberg 1963, Nichols 1992). Unfortunately, such studies have focused only on spoken languages. New insight into linguistic diversity can be gained by including languages in other modalities (such as the visual-gestural modality of signed languages), thus adding modality as yet another determinant of linguistic patterning. In this paper I examine the distribution of one particular morphological feature, inclusive/exclusive marking, among both spoken languages and signed languages. This study shows several interesting differences between spoken and signed languages with regard to inclusive/exclusive marking. Perhaps the most striking difference is that while the inclusive/exclusive distinction in spoken languages is an areal and genetic phenomenon, the inclusive/exclusive distinction may exist in all signed languages examined to date. The fact that this morphological feature patterns so differently in spoken and signed languages highlights the importance of including signed languages in studies of linguistic diversity. Any language typology that does not include signed languages may be making inaccurate generalizations about the world’s languages and about the possibilities of human languages in general.

Marie-Hélène Côté (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

*A perception-based account of the distribution of schwa in French*

The distribution of the French schwa depends on a number of phonological factors: (1) the segmental context—number and nature of the surrounding consonants; (2) the prosodic structure—schwa omission correlates with the strength of the adjacent prosodic boundary; (3) stress—schwa omission correlates with distance from main stress. Existing analyses focus on the number of consonants and fail to adequately define and integrate the other factors. Those based on the syllable are also problematic since schwa omission does not depend on syllabification possibilities. I propose a new approach to the distribution of schwa that naturally integrates these factors. It is based on perceptual factors and denies the role of the syllable. Schwa is inserted to provide additional cues to a consonant that lacks perceptual salience. The likelihood of schwa omission correlates with the quality of the auditory cues available to the surrounding consonants—contextual cues provided by adjacent segments and internal cues inherent to consonants (factor 1), both subject to enhancement in prominent prosodic positions, i.e. at edges of prosodic domains and under stress (factors 2-3). Cues are integrated into markedness constraints, whose interaction with constraints dealing with faithfulness, stress, and the prosodic structure predicts the behavior of schwa.
Three types of hiatus and hiatus-like conditions occur in Nez Perce words. The resolution of these conditions may be in terms of glide insertion, glottal stop insertion, coalescence, or metathesis. The type of resolution is determined by the level of the morphology involved (derivational or inflectional), the type of vowel, the presence or absence of glottalization in the following syllable, and the presence of the feature [Round]. The feature [Round] is always preserved in the resolution of hiatus, but [High] is not. Main stress allows certain types of hiatus-like conditions to remain unresolved. The analysis following the description will account for the spectrum of results in terms of a ranking of optimality constraints, including uniformity, linearity, maximize feature, and spread feature.

Katherine M. Crosswhite (University of Rochester)

How to get rid of mid vowels

In many languages, mid vowels are avoided in unstressed positions. However, different languages use different strategies for avoiding unstressed mid vowels—attested patterns include raising of both mid vowels (/e/→[i], /o/→[u]), lowering of both mid vowels (/e, o/→[a]), and asymmetric patterns involving both lowering and raising (/e/→[i], /o/→[a]; /e→[a], /o→[u]). I propose that the direction of neutralization observed in a given language is determined by the ranking between a vowel reduction constraint and vocalic faithfulness constraints. A factorial typology utilizing this approach predicts the attested patterns and also rules out certain superficially similar but unattested patterns. This contrasts with work on consonantal neutralizations, where place neutralizations seem to respect a cross-linguistic place markedness hierarchy.

Patricia Cukor-Avila (University of North Texas)

Style shifting revisited: Informant roles across interview contexts

This paper explores speakers' roles in different interview contexts and how these roles affect linguistic data. Previous research on the dynamics of linguistic interviews has focused on audience roles (Bell 1984) or on the effect of interviewer characteristics, for example addressee status (Baugh 1979, Coupland 1984), gender (Walters 1989), insider vs outsider status (Russell 1982, Rickford 1983), or the interviewer's race (Rickford & McNair-Knox 1994). However, analyses of interviews over time with the same speakers (Cukor-Avila & Bailey 1997) reveal that participants' roles vary. The present study examines this variation through an analysis of two types of interview contexts: (1) traditional sociolinguistic interviews where the fieldworker is present and the role of the informant is that of interviewee, and (2) recordings made by community members where the fieldworker is not present and the informant's role is that of fieldworker. The analysis compares African American Vernacular English (AAVE) grammatical features used by two 'participant fieldworkers' in both interview contexts. Preliminary results suggest that while speech varies according to participant role, the consequences of this variation are not found in the use of AAVE features. Moreover, the fieldworker's presence or absence does not significantly affect the use and distribution of these features.

Traci S. Curl (University of Colorado)

When a word is an utterance: Isolating the role of prosodic cues in marking pragmatic functions

Recent research shows that prosody has a strong effect upon the dialog act that an utterance performs. Isolating the contribution of specific aspects of prosody to creating meaning, however, remains difficult. In this study, I control for the effects of lexical content and syntax by looking at the intonation of a single word, yeah, which comprises a complete intonation contour. Data from a corpus of naturally-occurring conversations was transcribed using the tones and break indices system and shows that certain functions tend to occur with distinctive contours. An instrumental analysis of the F0 readings was also performed, and logistic regression modeling identified the aspects of the contour that contribute significantly to distinctions among the discourse categories: Onset F0 and minimum F0. This study shows that there are significant associations between discourse function and the form of the intonation contour even when the utterance is stripped of context and that we can identify certain aspects of intonation that can be used to signal the function of utterances. By identifying the components of the intonation contour that have the strongest effects on discourse function, we can begin work on integrating these effects with lexical semantics, syntax, and context.

Suzanne Curtin (University of Southern California)

Explaining overlapping stages in prosodic development

Many analysts have proposed discrete stages of prosodic development (Fikker 1994, Demuth 1996, Curtin 1999). While this is a useful abstraction, the child language data actually show that these stages overlap. Overlapping stages occur when at a particular age the child produces utterances consistent with more than one stage. For example, Catoote at age 1:10.25 produces utterances from different stages in the same session.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>adult form</th>
<th>child form</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stage 2:</td>
<td>pa'pir</td>
<td>'pipa'</td>
<td>'paper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 3:</td>
<td>ba'ton</td>
<td>[bɔ:'tɔn]</td>
<td>'balloon'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This optimality theory analysis (Prince & Smolensky 1993) of prosodic development captures the phenomenon of nondiscrete stages using partial ordering of constraints, a theoretical device independently required to explain variation in adult grammar (Anttila & Cho 1998). Overlap between stages can be viewed as first a simple demotion of constraints (Smolensky 1996) which leads to partial ordering of constraints. Thus, overlapping nondiscrete stages arise when the number of rankings decreases, and clear-cut stages arise after exhaustive constraint ranking. Interestingly, this process is similar to pathway of diachronic change. This approach provides a simple and elegant account of overlap. Moreover, it accounts for the weighting of productions during development and correctly predicts regression to earlier stages found in child language.

Anne Curzan (University of Washington)
Session 27
The framing of dialects in children's literature

Whether or not children hear dialect variation in the voices of their elementary school classmates, a number of their books import the notion of dialect variation, as well as dialects themselves, into the classroom along with the process of learning to read and write. This paper examines the written presentation of dialects to elementary school children in both prescriptive and descriptive contexts. It begins by surveying treatments of dialect and Standard English in children's dictionaries, spelling books, and grammars. It then turns to children's literature, specifically the books in the American Girl Collection, to analyze the ways in which these texts incorporate American dialects. For example, some of the stories weave Spanish words into the prose while others include dialogue among Black English speakers. The paper concludes by addressing the larger, pedagogical question that arises out of the study of these specific texts: whether or not teachers and parents are equipped with an adequate understanding of language variation to navigate these representations of dialect and to make these books effective teaching tools.

Amy Dahlstrom (University of Chicago)
Session 60
Affected participants & Fox object inflection

This paper examines three constructions in Fox (Algonquian)—possessor raising, noun incorporation, and so-called 'relational' verbs—in which verbs are inflected for an object which is not a semantic argument of the verb. The object marking instead registers a participant who is directly or indirectly affected by the action of the verb; such objects may be first, second, or third person. These constructions provide further evidence for the important role played by subjective discourse notions in Fox morphosyntax; the marking of affected participant interacts in interesting ways with the opposition of proximate and obviative within third person.

John Daly (California State University-Northridge)
Session 43
Los Angeles Belize Creole: The use of cho in argument discourse to mark identities

In South Central Los Angeles, Belizean young men maintain a form of Creole English (hereafter LABCE) as their language of choice in numerous social settings. The topic of this paper is the element cho, a marker in that language. It is argued here to have three discourse uses, distinct, but closely related to one another. Cho importantly marks Belizean identity, allowing the speaker to label himself as a member of the community and an LABCE speaker. Secondly, cho is used as a life stage marker (in the sense of Eckert 1988, 1994), identifying the speaker as an adolescent male. It is in the context of conversations that we find the third function of cho. The form marks utterances in the speech act of verbal competition. Embedded in such argument discourse, the use of cho provides an opportunity for adolescent boys to exhibit verbal skills, hence showing their passage to manhood. The appearance of cho in this verbal sport—which I argue is an instance of 'Tok Ros'—provides us with a view of the interaction of the three functions attributed to cho. Its use in Tok Ros at once marks the status of an utterance as an entry in the verbal exchange and identifies the speaker's membership in the Belizean community. Using what I am identifying as Tok Ros, the speaker is also indicating his life stage, thus using linguistic structure simultaneously in the service of multiple communicative goals (Le Page 1980, Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985).

Marcia Damaso Vieira (National Museum/Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)
Session 59
On the nature of double verb constructions in Asurini do Trocara & Mbya Guarani

We discuss the status of double verb constructions in two Tupi-Guarani languages: Asurini do Trocara and Mbya Guarani. Such structures have been treated in the literature in two different ways. For some investigators, they involve a lexical verb and an aspectual auxiliary verb (that is, a functional element). For others, they constitute verbal serialization (Jensen 1998). We will investigate these two hypotheses, based on criteria established by generativists for the recognition of functional categories (Abney 1986) and on Collins' (1997) proposal for serial verb constructions, which involves multiple licensing by functional heads. Without understanding the nature of double verb constructions, it is neither possible to postulate the correct clause representation for the two languages nor to observe the properties of their functional categories responsible for parametric variation.
Ken Decker (Summer Institute of Linguistics)

Vowel & suprasegmental features in Belizean Creole

There are several published (Daily 1979, Greene 1999, Escure 1978, Hellinger 1973) and unpublished (Braun 1987, Decker 1995, Van Valkenburg 1977, Young 1973) studies of Belizean Creole which have included descriptions of the phonology. All of their claims regarding various features of vowels have been based on impressionistic transcriptions. None of these studies have used instrumental analysis to examine the data, such as measurements of vowel length, amplitude, and pitch. This paper attempts to verify, and expand upon, many aspects of the previous research through measurements of vowel length, amplitude, and pitch. All vowels in a sample text of 38 clauses were measured for these features. Main findings include a predictable relationship of pitch and amplitude with vowel length and evidence of separate roles for pitch, amplitude, and vowel length. This study thus adds to the understanding of the relationship of phonetic and suprasegmental features of the phonology of Belizean Creole. It is hoped that more thorough descriptions of all Atlantic creoles will provide better data for language comparison and research in creole genesis.

Michel DeGraff (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

On ‘prototypes’ vs stereotypes: Haitian Creole as ‘regular’ language

Over the last three centuries, creole morphology has been handed down (at least) five types of (quasi?) death sentences which misrepresent its true nature: absence, transparency, lapidescence, incipience, and exclusive substrate correspondence. (See http://web.mit.edu/linguistics/www/degraff/aix99.pdf) These sentences have been handed down by august representatives of nearly every intellectual circle interested in creolization: first the European colonists, adventurers, missionaries and polymaths; then an endless series of bona fide and amateur ethnographers, philologists, linguists, etc.—whether creolophone or not, croolotist or not, descriptivist or theoretician or else. (See Pellegrin 1655, Saint-Quentin 1872, Balissac 1880, Schuchardt 1909, Jespersen 1922, Bloomfield 1933, Hjelmslev 1938, Sylvain 1936, Faine 1936, D’Ans 1968, Hall 1953, Taylor 1953, Tinelli 1970, Fétère 1974, Valdman 1978, Dejean 1977, Bickerton 1984, Seuren & Wekker 1986, Lefebvre 1998, McWhorter 1998, Baker 1999, etc.). The (apparent?) consensus is that creole morphology can be classified as insignificant and/or deviant as compared to ‘regular’/more advanced’ (i.e. noncreole!) languages. Only the latter show ‘rich [morphological] paradigms’, ‘semantically evolved derivation’, evolved [affixal] idiosyncracy’ whose interpretation requires ‘a certain degree of metaphorical imagination’ and ‘metaphorical inference’ (McWhorter 1998); and other lexical ‘luxuries’ such as ‘idiosyncratic exceptions’, ‘highly specialized lexical items’, and ‘richer expressive means’ (Seuren & Wekker 1986). Thus, creoles would not offer paradigms that demand large-scale analysis of ‘morphology by itself’... I hereby stand as creolophone amicus curiae....

Willem J. de Reuse (University of North Texas)

Evidentials in Western Apache

Evidentiality in Athabaskan has only recently come to the attention of linguists (de Haan 1999, DeLancey 1990, Potter 1995, Webster 1999, Willie 1996), although Pliny E. Goddard had pointed it out almost a century ago in California Athabaskan languages and Chipewyan. In Western Apache, a Southern Athabaskan language of east central Arizona, I discovered a rich array of sentence-final evidential particles: three experientials (present visually perceived, present perceived otherwise, past), two inferentials (one for visually perceived indirect evidence and one also acting as a mirative [expressing surprise on the part of the speaker] functioning exactly like and cognate with the Hare evidential discussed by DeLancey 1990), and two quotatives (one for knowledge acquired through instruction or storytelling and one for knowledge acquired through gossip). There is some evidence that extra-perceptual cognition, such as certain types of thought, can be marked as such by a special perceptual evidential, which would tie in with the prominent status given to ‘thought’ in Apachean culture. The Western Apache evidentials interact in interesting ways with tense marking, marking of other types of epistemic modality, direct quotation marking, and yes-no question marking. The category of evidentiality has been ignored in Southern Athabaskan presumably because it is never obligatory and is more fully displayed in conversation than in narrative, which has been the type of discourse traditionally studied by linguists and anthropologists.

Tania Clemente de Souza (Federal University-Fluminense/National Museum, University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)

Facts of Bakairi phonology: The voice feature

Bakairi is a language of the Cariban family, spoken in Central Brazil by the people of the same name. One of the distinctive characteristics of Bakairi phonology is a type of consonantal harmony that takes place throughout the phonological system. This phenomenon raises the possibility of regarding both the feature [-voice] and the feature [+voice] as specified at the level of lexical representation since they both participate in the rules of assimilation and dissimilation. I attempt to demonstrate from Bakairi data that the absence of laryngeal features does not result in the underspecification of the [-voice] feature and that the voiced/voiceless dichotomy must be interpreted as part of the lexical entries as ‘floating’ features. Finally, I consider how to account for the distribution of the voice feature in Bakairi in the light of typological distinction that predicts spread glottis languages vs voice languages.
Discourse relations & the ambiguity of the simple past

Discourse relations between adjacent past-tense sentences strongly influence the temporal connections between them (Lascarides & Asher 1993).

1. a. Max stood up. John greeted him. (Narration)
   b. Max fell. John pushed him. (Explanation)

Reverse order cases like 1b—where the inferred order of events is reversed from the more common 1a order—pose a severe problem for traditional anaphora-based theories of temporal relations (Partee 1984, Hinrichs 1986). This paper presents cross-linguistic evidence from English, Dutch, and German showing that reverse order cases arise because the simple past in English is ambiguous (Kratzer 1999). It also presents psycholinguistic evidence from two comprehension studies examining when this ambiguity is resolved. The results from these studies argue for a different role for discourse relations from the one usually assumed: They directly contribute to sentence-level temporal interpretation, indicating which aspect operator is spelled out by ambiguous tense morphology. The results also show that the choice of an aspect operator is delayed until discourse information is present.

Rocio Domínguez (Carnegie Mellon University)  

Quechua-Spanish codeswitching within the determiner phrase

The present study was conducted to examine from a linguistic perspective Quechua-Spanish codeswitching (Q-S CS) between the head of the DP, the demonstrative, and its complement, the NP. Data were collected from 30 illiterate adult bilingual speakers of Quechua (L1) and Spanish (L2) living in Ayacucho (Peru), aged 25-58. Subjects performed two language production tasks and a perception task to provide data. Directions were given in Quechua. The data were analyzed for the occurrence of Q-S CS within the DP using the UG framework (Chomsky 1993). In particular it used Longobardi’s (1994) analysis of the DP. Following Longobardi, all D positions are universally generated with an abstract feature +/-R suggesting “referential”, which must be f-selected with respect to at least one of its values. He also states that if +R is strong, D may contain a lexical determiner. I show that this feature is strong in both Quechua and Spanish. That is to say that DP in both Quechua and Spanish may contain a lexical determiner. Thus, I postulate that Q-S CS is possible within the DP because in both languages the demonstrative shares the same value with respect to this abstract feature. Results of my study showed both cases of CS: demonstrative (Q)-noun phrase (S) and demonstrative (S)-noun phrase (Q). This might provide empirical evidence for Longobardi’s analysis of the DP. It also represents evidence against the functional-head constraint (FHC) postulated by Belazi, Rubin, and Almeida (1994). Furthermore, the study provides new insights about functional features.

Simon Donnelly (University of the Witwatersrand)  

(open) vs [ATR] in a bidirectional Bantu vowel harmony system

The southeastern Bantu language Phuthi has nine vowels (1) and displays two marked vowel harmonies:

Left-to-right, superclose V5 triggers V4-raising (2); V4 is default.

Right-to-left, word-final V2 extends laxness in adjacent mid vowels leftwards (3a-c); V3 is default (3d-f).

I argue from within optimal domains theory that a bivalent ATR-driven feature-filling account fails in several ways (e.g. in resolving the two conflicting ATR feature defaults). Instead, the nonintersecting harmony processes are neatly modelled here with ranked antagonistic alignment and faithfulness constraints which address feature domains parsed by the stacked [open] feature. This integrated account of the Phuthi harmony data provides compelling evidence for abandoning the adhocness of invoking [±ATR].

(1) Phuthi vowel inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V5</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>+ATR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V4</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>-ATR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>-ATR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>-ATR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Left-to-right (stem-driven) superclose harmony

a. ku-bi-fse-a to help/make call
b. ku-bi-fs-ja-a to call intensively
c. ku-thiis-fs-a to cause to help
d. ku-thiis-fs-is-a to help intensively

(3) Right-to-left (positionally driven) mid harmony

a. bá-bón-é they should see
b. bá-bón-él-é they should see for
c. f-bón-é view, sight
d. ku-bón-a to see
e. ku-bón-él-a to see for
f. bá-bón-él-an-é they should see for one another
Language-particular markedness effects have not received a unified explanation in current syntactic theory. This paper investigates how language-particular markedness effects can be accommodated in a formal theory of grammar through pronominal and nominal incorporation in Bantu languages and head-marking Australian languages. It has been observed that morphologically encoded arguments cannot exhibit a mismatch in prominence among prominence hierarchies (e.g. relational hierarchy, semantic role hierarchy, animacy hierarchy, etc.) (Hawkinson & Hyman 1974, Morolong & Hyman 1977, Bresnan & Moshi 1990, Rosen 1990, Evans 1997, etc.). But to date no general theory has been proposed to explain the fact that within a single language NP arguments and morphologically incorporated arguments show different sensitivities to prominence hierarchies and that the effects of prominence hierarchies vary depending on types of constructions. A central problem then is how to formally link the mode of argument expression (i.e. phrasal vs morphological) with relative markedness of structures (i.e. active vs passive) in a way that acknowledges what is universal and at the same time permits for a range of language-particular variation. We present an optimality-theoretic account of incorporation in Bantu and head-marking Australian languages. Central to our approach is the use of harmonic alignment (Prince & Smolensky 1993, Aissen 1999) and local conjunction (Smolensky 1995, Aissen 1999) in OT. Markedness constraints derived through harmonic alignment and constraint reranking provide the formal means to express Givon's (1994) insight that morphosyntactic prominence is assessed along a number of different dimensions which will routinely conflict and that the resolution of these conflicts is determined in parochial ways. Furthermore, constraint conjunction allows us to formally characterize the relative markedness of structure, capturing the pattern of universal markedness reflected in pronominal/nominal incorporation that a structure which is marked in two respects are assessed as more marked than one which is marked in one respect.

B. Elan Dresher (University of Toronto)
Cliticization & phrasing in Tiberian Hebrew

Many studies of prosodic word formation (aka clitic group formation) have tended to assume a bottom-up process whereby prosodic words serve as input to phonological phrase formation. Evidence from the Tiberian pointing of the Hebrew Bible shows, to the contrary, that cliticization in Biblical Hebrew interacts with prosodic phrase formation in more complex ways than can be accounted for by either bottom-up or top-down phrase formation. Thus, these data provide an excellent testing ground for theories of phonology-syntax interaction. The Tiberian system of accents is a highly elaborated prosodic representation that organizes the text into hierarchical groupings of verses, phonological phrases, and prosodic words (Janis 1987, Dresher 1994). The generalizations I will present are adapted from the detailed study of Breuer (1982), supplemented with my own observations. Cliticization applies to small words, to simplify the phrasing and to avert a stress clash. These cliticization rules interact in various ways with other constraints on phrasing. Optimality theory (Prince & Smolensky 1993) is well-suited to model this kind of interaction, though it appears that the phrasing may have to be derived in stages.

Bethany K. Dumas (University of Tennessee-Knoxville)
Identifying social & regional patterns of American English

There can be no definitive answer to the question, 'How many dialects of American English are there?' Answers depend upon the linguistic level focused on, the research perspective of the linguist, and the degree to which change in progress is considered. A popular lay perception is that there are two, 'Southern' and 'General American'. Linguistic Atlas materials have long suggested that there are three: Northern, Midland, and Southern. And if social dialects were included, we have at least four: Northern, Midland, Southern, and AAVE. Randolph discovered that Ozark and Southern Appalachian speakers speak a subcategory of Southern. What do we do with other subcategories of Southern and patterns west of the Mississippi–Charleston English and Virginia Piedmont English, to name but a few of the contenders. Hispanic English has been widespread in the southwestern U.S. for a long time, and it is growing rapidly in importance in the southeast. If we add discourse practices, the complexity of the pattern is increased. This paper explores the rationale for concluding that there are 12-15 social and regional patterns of American English that require description in any comprehensive response to the question, 'How many dialects of American English are there?'

Margaret Hall Dunn (Southern Connecticut State University/ Haskins Laboratories)
The gestural structure of geminate consonants

This study examines the gestural structure of geminate consonants in different languages in the framework of articulatory phonology. The hypothesis was that geminates consist of overlapping identical single consonant gestures. Speakers of Italian and Finnish were fitted with lip and jaw electrodes; the movements of these articulators were recorded simultaneously with speech as they uttered a set of intervocalic bilabial consonants, mostly nonsense words, of the form 'tapa' and 'tappa' in carrier phrases. The two lip movement traces were subtracted to create a lip aperture trace. The Haskins Laboratories Articulatory Control Editor identified peaks and plateaus in the lip aperture data, isolating sections of the lip movement gestures. We expected that if a geminate consisted of overlapping conso-
nant gestures, the closing portions of the single and the geminate gestures would be equivalent. Of the four Italian speakers, three showed movement patterns supporting the overlapping gestures hypothesis. The productions of the Finnish speakers were governed by vowel quantity. Singles and geminates following short vowels supported the overlapping gestures hypothesis, and singles and geminates following long vowels also supported this hypothesis, but the sets of pairs differed, suggesting that different gestures were employed in the different vowel quantity conditions.

Walter F. Edwards (Wayne State University)
The northern cities chain shift in black & white in Detroit

This paper discusses the NCCS in the speech of 11 Detroiters--3 working class whites, 7 working class African American, and 1 middle class African American. The results include the following: Two of the white speakers displayed no evidence of the NCCS in their speech; they produced untensed, lower front pronunciations of /æ/ in words including /kænt/, /læst/, /gæs/, and /læfs/; pronounced the words invalid, spirit, and sin with nonlowered versions of /i/; and had nonlowered /æ/ in /heavn/, /rizen/, and /fæl/. However, one of the white speakers has several pronunciations of the word can(t) with a raised and tensed /æh/ allophone, and the word erts was pronounced as /ær/ts/ displaying a fronted allophone of /a/ as the NCCS anticipates. Most of the African American speakers have counter directional pronunciations including /diyd/ for /did/, /glt/ for /get/, /klydz/ for /kldz/, /wiyn/ for /wln/, and /nkks/ for /nks/-patterns which indicated that their lax front vowels are rising and tensing, contrary to the NCCS principles. This paper concludes that both African American and white speakers are participating only minimally in the NCCS.

Dirk Elzinga (University of Utah)
The representation of the Shoshoni accusative

Previous descriptions of Central Numic (Uto-Aztecan) languages have posited at least four separate allomorphs of the accusative suffix. In this paper I propose that at least two of the four allomorphs of the accusative suffix in Shoshoni can be collapsed to a single representation -Ca, where 'C' represents a consonant without place features. There are three arguments in favor of this representation. First, nasals normally lenite when intervocalic. Thus, /m/ becomes [w3], and /n/ becomes [y3] following front vowels and [R3] elsewhere. However, stem-final /h/ doesn't lenite when the accusative suffix is attached and is sometimes geminated, suggesting that upon suffixation of the accusative, a geminate is formed which is immune to lenition; one half of the geminate is provided by the stem-final /h/; the other half is provided by the empty consonant of the accusative suffix. Second, accusative inflection for nouns with the absolutive suffix -pin is -pi-tta, where the final /h/ of the accusative suffix is 'overwritten' by the geminate /t/ of the accusative suffix. The appearance of the geminate in the accusative suffix again suggests that two segments are involved at some more abstract level of representation. The source of the /h/ is historical, reflecting a Proto-Uto-Aztecan absolutive suffix; in many Uto-Aztecan languages the absolutive-accusative sequence *,-t-a has been reanalyzed as an accusative suffix (Langacker 1977). Finally, the accusative suffix is otherwise the only vowel-initial suffix in the language. Assuming an initial consonant for the accusative brings it in line phonotactically with the other suffixes in the system.

Ardis Eschenberg (State University of New York-Buffalo)
Two kinds of when in Omaha-Ponca

Omaha-Ponca, a Mississippi Valley Siouan language, contains a number of subordinators. This paper examines two particular subordinators, erek and kki, which are both often translated into English as 'when'. While they do significantly overlap in semantics, the two can be distinguished through careful analysis of both syntactic and semantic behavior while considering historical development. Syntactically, subordinated elements formed with erek never contain the quotative marker while those formed with kki do. In main clauses, erek also functions as a modal operator, the optative (Koomitz), modifying at the core level. Hence, it is unsurprising that in its other role it functions as a subordinator of cores. Semantically, kki can be seen to be a true time adverbial while erek is never used with such constructions. Rather, it is used with human activities such as 'when he came down' or 'when he met a woman', and often is translated as 'since', 'having', and 'so'. Again, the original function of erek as a main clause operator helps explain this discrepancy. Such a modal would be used to describe actions (particularly of humans) and would not occur in the time adverbials where kki can be found. Thus, erek and kki can be distinguished by the type of syntactic element they subordinate (core vs clause) as well as by the possible semantics of that element (human actions and physical markers of time vs human actions only). The differences in behavior can be attributed to the fact that erek arose from a modal operator.

Betsy Evans (Michigan State University)
Rika Ito (Michigan State University)
Jamila Jones (Michigan State University)
Low-front vowel raising among African Americans, rural residents, & Appalachian immigrants in Michigan

African Americans in Lansing, Appalachian immigrants in Ypsilanti, and rural residents in south-central Michigan are all latecomers to the urban-centered Northern Cities Shift, yet all three groups are participating to some extent in at least the first stage of this shift—low-front vowel tensing and raising. This presentation compares and contrasts these three groups in the area of social embedding of the first stage of the shift. What demographic characteristics (age, sex, status, and network in particular) characterize advancement in this shift? Do all three groups show similar progress in such groupings?
We discuss the tonal phenomena found in languages analyzed as having a true tonal system and in those considered as having a prototypical pitch-accent system. The languages under examination here are spoken in the Amazonian area (Tikuna-isolated language; Marubo and Matses–Panoan family; Barasana–Tukanoan family) and in the Intermediate area (Teribe-Chibchan family). The tonal phenomena exhibited by the languages under investigation will be treated in the light of optimality theory so that we can not only discuss the possible differences between pitch accent and tone but also check the typological predictions made by this framework.

Zsuzsanna Fagyal (University of Illinois-Urban)

Articulatory release & metrical structure: Phrase-final schwas in Parisian French

Word-final schwas, considered silent since the 17th century, seem to be back in Parisian French. However, they also emerge in words that never contained a schwa, contradicting their analysis at the word level. Schwa-like vowels were perceptually identified in the speech of two female and two male speakers, randomly selected from Labovian-style sociolinguistic interviews. The acoustic analysis determined that these schwas were full vowels with no devoicing, and occurred IP-finally. Their formant structure was compared to IP-medial, open-syllable schwas preceded by the same single consonant. Higher F1 and lower F2 values were measured in IP-final schwas preceded by [R]. F3 values indicated less rounding in IP-final than in IP-medial positions after both [R] and [l]. (French schwas surface as labial vowels.) At major prosodic boundaries, the release of the inherently moraic final consonants becomes strong enough to produce a full vowel. This vowel forms the nucleus of a new syllable, with the last consonant resyllabified as the onset. Since this syllable follows the primary stressed syllable, it forms a fundamentally new development in the predominantly iambic metrical structure of French: It transforms the final iambic foot into a trochee.

Julia S. Falk (Michigan State University)

Formulating syntax, from Bloomfield to Chomsky

For the two decades, from Bloomfield's Language (1933) to Chomsky's early publications on syntactic analysis (e.g. Chomsky 1953), modern historiographic literature has focused on the work of Zellig Harris (especially Harris 1951) as the approach that began in a Bloomfieldian tradition and led to early generative grammar (e.g. Hymes & Fought 1981, Matthews 1993, Seuren 1998). The discussion of other work in syntax during those years is generally restricted to occasional references to the tagmemes of Kenneth Pike and the now-classic article on immediate constituents by Rulon Wells (Wells 1947). There are two additional major contributors to syntactic analysis whose work is widely overlooked. In 1946 Bernard Bloch's Studies in colloquial Japanese II: Syntax, was one of the first accounts of the syntax of any language within the American structuralist tradition to provide for both hierarchical structure and syntactic categories, a fact recognized by Paul Postal in his Constituents structure: A study of contemporary models of syntactic description (1964). Perhaps it was Bloch's lack of formalization that led some historians to ignore his work on syntax, but the syntactic studies of Eugene A. Nida have also been largely overlooked, with retrospectives focusing on his morphology, apparently unaware of his extensive efforts during the 1940s to formulate both the procedures and the findings of syntactic analysis. Nida's doctoral dissertation, A synopsis of English syntax (University of Michigan 1943), is best known in its later form (Nida 1960), published in response to the interest in syntax occasioned by Chomsky's Syntactic structures (1957). The dissertation followed a model of immediate constituent analysis, drawn from suggestions in Bloomfield (1933) and on-going work by Nida's mentor, Kenneth L. Pike (see Pike 1943). But this was by no means Nida's only work on syntax. A section of his Morphology (1949-86-95) was devoted to immediate constituent analysis, with representation of syntactic structure in the form of an inverted tree diagram. Even earlier, Nida had sought ways of formalizing syntax, e.g. in the mimeographed volume Syntax: A descriptive analysis (1946), and then later in An outline of descriptive syntax (1951). In addition to the work of his mentor Kenneth Pike, at both Michigan and at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Nida pointed to Bloch's Japanese syntax work as an important effort in 'formulating grammatical analysis in terms of immediate constituents' (Nida 1948:168). Not unlike Otto Jespersen in Analytic syntax (1937), among the relatively few linguists in America working on syntax in the late 1940s and early 1950s several were actively seeking appropriate means of formalizing, or formulating, the syntactic structures and patterns of human languages. Some of the formulae and diagrams that were proposed are complex, difficult, and idiosyncratic; others reveal a link between the implied tree diagrams of Bloomfield (see Percival 1976) and the phrase markers (labeled tree diagrams) that began to appear in generative syntax in the mid 1950s.

Michele I. Feist (Northwestern University)

Toward a cross-linguistically viable spatial semantics

I describe a unified approach to the semantics of spatial relational terms (e.g. in and on) motivated by an examination of their uses in multiple languages. Previous attempts at characterizing the semantics of spatial relational terms are based on examination of an individual language and place primary importance on either geometric (Herskowitz 1986, Bennett 1975) or functional information (Vandeloise 1991). However, neither geometric nor functional information alone can account for every use of a given term. I propose that the lexical entries for spatial relational terms are built upon a universal hierarchy of attributes of spatial scenes. At the top of the hierarchy are attributes such as geometry and functional relations; attributes such as qualitative physics, e.g. support against gravity.
(Bowerman & Pederson 1992), are lower in the hierarchy. For each term, the preferred values of the attributes are encoded in the lexical entry. Because appropriate uses of spatial relational terms depend on many attributes of spatial scenes, uses contraindicated by one attribute are still able to be explained within the framework. As a result, this approach accounts for exceptions unexplained within frameworks dependent on only geometric or only functional information.

Charles J. Fillmore (University of California-Berkeley/International Computer Science Institute) (Session 7)
Collis F. Baker (University of California-Berkeley/International Computer Science Institute)

*Lexical representation in the FrameNet project type*

We report developments in a theory of lexical representation emerging from experience in building the ’FrameNet’ database (soon to be made public). FrameNet designs tools for displaying the semantic-syntactic valence of English words, supported with annotated corpus examples. Valence is expressed as configurations of linked grammatical functions, phrase types, and (frame-specific) semantic roles (‘frame elements’). Lexical entries give the semantic frames supporting each sense, attested syntactic means of frame element instantiation and annotated examples of each valence pattern; annotations show constituents labeled according to their semantic and syntactic relation to the target word; valence descriptions for individual word-senses are generated automatically from the annotations. Recent enhancements include handling of (1) implicit arguments, especially pragmatically licensed null instantiation (She found out); (2) simultaneous evocation of a frame and instantiation of a frame element (She is my replacement); (3) frame element fusion, cure [a leper] vs cure [someone] [of leprosy]; and (4) frame blending, e.g. both criticize and scold blend the judgment and speaking frames, but only scold binds judgment, value to topic, addressee. We will give both graphic and formal representations of these phenomena and show samples of the FrameNet database itself, comparing it with other lexical resources and showing relations with other lexical-semantic frameworks.

Malcolm Finney (California State University-Long Beach) (Session 38)

*Substratal influence on the morphological properties of Krio*

Krio has evolved morphologically as a result of interaction with languages of West Africa with which Krio shares a number of morphophonemic properties. Bickerton (1975, 1977), among others, argues for a general display of universal morphological attributes by creoles which are typical of early stages of L1 development. Similarities between morphological properties of Krio and initial morphological output of children in first language development is mainly superficial. Krio rather exhibits a much more complex morphological system that is arguably the result of direct influence from neighboring languages. I present examples from grammatical and derivational morphemes, including the configuration of auxiliaries and tone marking in compounding and reduplication, to illustrate the link between the morphological systems of Krio and West African languages.

Jennifer Fitzpatrick-Cole (University of Konstanz) (Session 24)

*To Bern & Bengal & back*

The intonation of Bern Swiss German (BSG) is impressionistically more ‘alpine’ than that of Northern Standard German (NSG) and, in fact, in some respects is more similar to Bengali. For instance, the characteristic rising pitch accent in BSG (L*+H) is more like Bengali (L*+H) than NSG (H*+L). More surprisingly, in SOV constructions without narrow focus on the verb, BSG apparently places a special pitch accent on the verb (H+L*), much like Bengali (H*) but unlike NSG (no pitch accent). However, the tone on BSG verbs is best analyzed not as a pitch accent but as a boundary tone (L% or L.*) or a phrase accent (L or L- or Lp) which can align to a postnuclear stressed syllable. This has recently been proposed elsewhere for NSG, but the phonetic realizations of the two patterns are strikingly different. In a typological framework that taxonomizes language-specific cross-linguistic differences as phonetic, phonological, semantic, or systemic, BSG and NSG differ in terms of tones (a semantic difference in the sense of the meaning or use of phonological tones) and their realizations (a phonetic difference) but not in tune-text association (a phonological difference) or accent placement (a phonological/semantic/syntactic difference).

Beverly Olson Flanagan (Ohio University) (Session 27)

*Don or dawn? Perception & production of fa-Wh in Southern Ohio*

Labov (1999) has observed that informants regularly differ in the degree to which they perceive and produce vowel contrasts. For example, feel and fill are merged in both perception and production by some subjects, merged in perception only by others, and kept distinct in both modes by still other subjects. Using a simplified IPA in introductory linguistics classes, the author frequently gives test items which are transcribed by Northern/North Midland speakers with [a] but are transcribed by students from southern Ohio with [ɔ], the nearest equivalent to the untaught [ə] which they actually produce. A Don/dawn story test given in two versions elicits (in answer to a question after the reading) either Don or dawn from merging North Midlanders if [dan] is read; but it gets only Don from nonmerging Northerners, and usually Don from Southern Ohioans, who are sensitive to the distinction made by others even if they would use [d n] for both words themselves. Contrariwise, if [don] is read in the passage, Southern Ohioans vacillate between Don and dawn, Northerners hear [d] and write dawn, and North Midlanders accommodate to the Northern pattern and choose dawn as well. Results of the test suggest that users of one variant recognize other users' alternate variants only to a limited degree.
Heidi Fleischhacker (University of California-Los Angeles) (Session 5)
Initial vs medial epenthesis: An auditory similarity account

The prothesis-medial epenthesis pattern is characterized by vowel insertion before fricative-stop (ST) clusters but into obstruent-sonorant (TR) clusters, e.g. Wolof espoor 'sport', kalaas 'class' (Ka 1985). This pattern is observed in various languages (Broselow 1992) and has emerged under experimental conditions for English and Swedish (Wingstedt & Schulman 1988, Pierrehumbert & Nair 1995). This paper argues that the site of vowel insertion is chosen to minimize the auditory difference between the nonepenthesized input and the output: Epenthesis takes advantage of auditorily vowel-like properties at the T-R juncture, but there are no such properties to exploit at the S-T juncture. Experimental results support the view that output patterns of vowel insertion which sound more like the input are preferred over output patterns which sound less like the input. Twenty-six English speakers rated vowel-inserted variants of English cluster-initial words for auditory similarity to the original form; 23 speakers assigned preference ratings to the vowel-inserted variants. For both groups, TR > ST (rated higher than); ST > ST; and STSR > STR > STT (all significant at p<.01). An analysis of the pattern is proposed in which faithfulness constraints which distinguish between more and less obtrusive epenthesis sites interact with constraints regulating contiguity of input segments, etc.

Suzanne Flynn (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) (Session 21)
Evidence for grammatical mapping from second language acquisition

Under one account of language development, change over time is due to the need to integrate language-specific features with UG principles. Under this account, (1) all else being equal, the free relative clause should be a developmental precursor in L2 acquisition of English, as earlier results have shown for L1. However, (2) the more direct the link between the free relative and the lexically headed form in the L1, the easier the construction of the lexically headed form should be in the L2. We report results confirming (1) and (2). First, the English free relative emerged as a developmental precursor for adult speakers of Japanese, where there is no close match between free and headed forms. Second, the English free relative did not emerge prior to the lexically headed form for adult speakers of Spanish, where there is a closer match between free and headed forms. We argue that in their L1, Spanish speakers may have constructed a lexically headed form based on a closely matched free relative, making the L2 acquisition of lexically headed forms easier. Japanese speakers are not able to draw upon a similar experience, and their results therefore reflect a primacy of the free relative.

Stefan Frisch (University of Michigan) (Session 2)
Sonority constraints on consonant clusters revisited

It is well-known that there are strong cross-linguistic tendencies in permissible consonant clusters. The broadest constraints on permissible consonant clusters can be described with reference to sonority, an abstract property of a consonant that roughly corresponds to the degree of vocal tract constriction and its acoustic correlate, intensity. Explanations of sonority sequencing range from completely formal accounts to accounts invoking perception or production-based functional motivations. The phonotactic description of possible clusters in a language includes a specification of the smallest permissible degree of difference along the sonority hierarchy that a consonant cluster may have. However, the descriptive utility of the sonority hierarchy can be extended. Statistical analyses of a large number of consonant sequences in Italian and German corpora reveal that differences in sonority also influence the frequency of occurrence of consonant clusters in the lexicon. Between the formal and functional accounts of sonority sequencing, the statistical nature of consonant cooccurrence patterns is more straightforwardly explained by a functional pressure toward larger sonority differences in the evolution of the lexicon.

Jingqi Fu (St. Mary's College of Maryland) (Session 13)
The syntactic derivation of the adjectival have- construction in Chinese

This paper discusses a productive pattern in Mandarin that exhibits a mixture of syntactic, morphological, and prosodic properties. The verb you have and its bare noun complement can be ambiguously understood as a verb or an adjective. Thus, you+qian (have+money), besides its verbal meaning 'have money', also has an adjectival meaning, 'rich'. I shall show that while the verbal meaning corresponds to a VP, the adjectival meaning corresponds to an adjective. The adjective words can be connected to their phrasal counterparts in three ways, depending on the analysis: Words may be formed presynthetically, syntactically, or phonologically. I shall argue for an account combining syntactic head movement and phonological merger, similar to the Head adjacency principle in Riemersdijk (1998), not only because it best captures the phrasal properties of the words but also because it derives the otherwise mysterious word order similarity between words and phrases in the language.
Janet M. Fuller (Southern Illinois University-Carbondale)  

Discourse markers across genres of discourse: Native vs nonnative speakers  

This study investigates two aspects of discourse marker (DM) use in interviews and casual conversations: genre differences and native speaker (NS)-nonnative speaker (NNS) differences. Preliminary analysis shows that NSs use certain DMs at different rates according to speech genre. Most striking is the use of the DMs *well* and *y’know: well* was used at a much higher rate in the casual conversation data, and *y’know* was used more frequently in the interview setting. This finding may be linked to the function of *y’know* as a strategy to establish common ground with the interviewer, whom they knew only slightly. The data from NNSs indicate that they do not use discourse markers to mark genre of discourse. While NSs use *y’know* to establish common ground, NNSs appear to use it more as a general filler or turn-holding strategy in all genres of discourse. Also, NNSs used DMs which mark casual interactions for the NSs (*okay and like*) at approximately the same rates in both interviews and casual conversations, indicating that they do not view these DMs as stylistic markers.

Susanne Gahl (Harvard University)  

Lexical biases in aphasic sentence processing: Parsing (over)efficiency  

Lexical factors in sentence comprehension have been the focus of much recent research in psycholinguistics (see e.g. papers in MacDonald 1997). We report results of an experiment investigating effects of transitivity biases—the likelihood with which a verb will be transitive rather than intransitive—on aphasic sentence comprehension. Fluent and nonfluent aphasics were tested in a plausibility judgment task. Transitive and intransitive sentences containing two types of verbs were tested: verbs with a strong transitive bias and verbs with a strong intransitive bias. In one condition, the sentence type (transitive or intransitive) matched the lexical bias of the main verb. In a second condition, the transitivity of the sentence was the opposite of the verb’s bias. Our results show fluency, rather than clinical category or overall comprehension ability, to be the best predictor for the degree of sensitivity to lexical bias. Recent studies have explored the possibility that a failure to utilize lexical information may contribute to abnormalities in sentence processing (see e.g. Berndt 1998). The present study argues that processing abnormalities in aphasia can also ensue precisely because the parser is relying on lexical information when this information is at odds with the syntactic context.

Susanne Gahl (Harvard University)  
Daniel Juralsky (University of Colorado)  

Optionality & the mental representation of argument structure  

Frequency, probabilities, and argument omissibility play central roles in modern theories of verb representation. Estimates of verb biases (the probability with which a given verb will appear in a given syntactic frame) have been shown to be strongly dependent on the method and the data sources used for computing them (see e.g. Roland & Juralsky 1998). In this paper, we show that corpus counts on transitivity biases yield different results when the semantic roles of the verb’s subject and object are taken into account than when the count is based solely on surface syntactic criteria. If corpus counts are based on surface syntactic patterns, sentences in which objects are omitted under zero anaphora (cf. Fillmore 1986, Resnik 1996) are counted as intransitive. These differences affect certain classes of verbs more than others. Our corpus counts from the British National Corpus show that zero anaphora is extremely common with some unaccusative verbs, such as *pour*, but not others, such as *disintegrate*. The adjusted corpus counts for 25 unergative and unaccusative verbs show that semantic roles and argument omissibility biases, along with structural factors, exert an influence on the observed processing properties of these verbs (see e.g. Stevenson & Merlo 1997).

Jean Mark Gawron (SRI International)  
Andrew Kehler (SRI International)  

Respective readings & gaps  

Whereas collective and distributive readings require predicating over sets, respective readings also require a correspondence function between those sets. Example 1 (from Dalrymple & Kehler 1995) shows that these sets and correspondence functions may be contextually-determined.

1. Though the Trail Blazers won this series in six games from Phoenix, they were far from dominant. Their margins of victory were 2 points, 1 point, 6 points, and 3 points (respectively).

2. I finally met Susan, Marilyn, and Lucille yesterday. They are the three sisters that Bob married, John is engaged to, and Bill is dating, respectively.

The traces in the conjoined clauses are not coindexed with the constituent on which they depend, counterexemplifying analyses that derive such dependencies from movement and requiring that coindexing constraints in accounts without movement be weakened (e.g. HPSG, Pollard & Sag 1994). Assuming that the meanings of gapped clauses are properties, we show how the semantics of such examples are accounted for with a new property summing operator analogous to Link’s (1983) individual summing operator.
Stephanie Gelderloos (Eastern Michigan University)  
Beverley Goodman (Eastern Michigan University)  
**Vowel reduction & syncope in American English**

The reduction and deletion of unstressed vowels in word-medial syllables in words such as *chocolate* [ka:nʌ] ~ [ka:lɪ], *celery* [ˌsɛləri] ~ [ˈsɛləri], and *camera* [ˌkæmərə] ~ [ˈkæmə], is well-known in American English. However, in words such as *arsenal*, syncope may or may not apply, and in a word such as *Lazarus*, syncope probably will not apply for most speakers. We propose that the interaction of three prosody-based well-formedness constraints shape the result of medial syncope. The output of syncope must be fully syllabifiable according to phonotactic requirements holding of English onsets, and trans-syllabic consonant sequences and the result of syncope must be fully footed. Based on preliminary phonetic examination, not only does syncope sometimes fail to occur, but the degree of vowel reduction is also variable. While we find no direct relationship between the prosodic constraints and the reduction or deletion of medial vowels, the constraint set contributes cumulatively to the likelihood of full deletion or the degree of reduction of medial unstressed vowels. A ranked constraint-based analysis provides a novel perspective as well as insight into the variable nature of English vowel reduction and medial syncope.

Suzanne Gessner (University of British Columbia)  
**Diachronic change in the Fort McMurray dialect of Chipewyan**

My research on the previously undocumented Fort McMurray, Alberta, dialect of Chipewyan (Northern Athapaskan) has revealed several significant changes in the consonant inventory compared to the dialect documented by Li (1933, 1946) and other previously documented dialects. First, Athapaskan languages are traditionally described as having three types of stops: voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, and glottalized. Some Northern Athapaskan languages have been reported to have voiced rather than voiceless unaspirated stops, and Chipewyan can be added to this list. Some (but not all) stops are consistently voiced, and the alveolar and palatal plain affricates are intermediate cases. However, the stop series continue to pattern together phonologically, showing that the voicing feature in the stop series is not distinctive phonologically. Second, in Fort McMurray dialect the nonglottalized interdental affricates were perceived to be fricatives (contrasting with Fort Resolution, as reported by Rice, where the interdental affricates merge with the dental stops). However, these fricatives continue to pattern with the stops in phonological processes such as continuant voicing, a development that has controversial implications. Third, the merger of the two coronal affricate series, with alveolar becoming palatal reported by Cook in the Fort Chipewyan dialect, is also evidenced in Fort McMurray, but appears to be incomplete. Since the alveolar series is hypothesized to have developed from the Proto-Athapaskan palatal series (Leer 1979), this merger is essentially reversing the historical change. Finally, the velar fricative is often replaced by other consonants in various contexts but it is usually maintained intervocically.

Golnaz Modarresi Ghavami (University of Texas-Austin)  
**Compound verbs of experience in Farsi**

Compound verbs of experience (CVE) are a class of intransitive verbs in Farsi whose arguments are classified with transitive patients rather than with intransitive agents. Initially addressing the structure and the historical development of CVE, this paper discusses the issue of CVE in Farsi within the framework of universally observed case marking patterns. The fact that the argument of some intransitive verbs is classified with transitive agents and the argument of CVE with transitive patients indicates that we are dealing with a case of "split intransitivity" (Mithun, *Language* 67:510) in Farsi. Split intransitivity is governed by an agent-patient distinction in this language, the critical feature being the degree of affectedness of the argument of the verb.

Jila Ghomeshi (University of Manitoba)  
**Head-head agreement**

In many languages in which verbs can take sentential complements, there is often a subset whose complements cannot have an overt subject. Such constructions often exhibit other properties (e.g. clitic climbing in some Romance languages, long passives in German) that call into question whether they should be treated as biclausal at all. A recent proposal by Wurmbrand (1998) suggests that such restructuring verbs (RVs) should be analyzed as taking complements that are not fully clausal, lacking a TP and VP projection and, crucially, a subject position. In this paper evidence is presented for a class of RVs in Persian, and it is shown that their properties can be accounted for by assuming they take bare VP complements. However, unlike the languages in which RVs take infinitival complements, in Persian such complements appear in the subjunctive and bear agreement morphology. Thus, we are led to an apparent paradox where verbs lacking subjects nevertheless bear subject agreement. The explanation offered here involves head-head agreement (or agreement concord) under which verbal heads within a single extended projection must agree for F features. It is shown that this proposal has further desirable consequences such as explaining the properties of the periphrastic progressive in Persian.
Ives Goddard (Smithsonian Institution)  
Stem-internal ellipsis & meaning from context in Meskwaki (Fox)  
(Session 60)

A strictly concatenative account of the composition of complex Meskwaki (Fox) stems within a separate morphological component is generally serviceable, but in some cases the derivation of stems can only be understood within the larger context in which they are used (Goddard 1988, 1990). Some stems have meanings that cannot be accounted for starting from the meanings of their component parts. In one particularly striking type there is ostensibly ellipsis of semantically salient elements that are present in the preceding discourse context. These examples challenge both the concatenative model of stem derivation and the modular separation of grammatical levels. Textual examples and possible solutions will be presented.

Gwang-Yoon Goh (Ohio State University)  
Is the tough- subject thematic?  
(Session 20)

The goal of this paper is to show that although the tough- subject in the English tough- construction (TC) can be considered thematic in that a tough- sentence (TS) can have a certain additional meaning such as 'responsibility' assignable to the tough- subject, this additional meaning is not inherent in the TC and can be pragmatically explained. First, the connotation of responsibility cannot be found in many TSs (e.g. Books are easy to locate in this library). Second, the additional meaning can easily be canceled by adding further context (This exam will be difficult to pass--because I did not study for it at all). Third, some tough-type predicates such as worth and cause no difference in meaning between TSs and their it- analog sentences. Finally, the additional meaning can be pragmatically explained. With a TS, we normally determine the degree of ease/difficulty of the event by comparing the referent of the tough- subject with other comparable individuals in a pragmatically determined 'comparison set'. Since, in TSs, the tough- subject alone determines where in the comparison set the event ranks in ease/difficulty, it may be considered fully responsible for the resulting judgment of ease/difficulty.

Adele E. Goldberg (University of Illinois-Urbana)  
Farrell Ackerman (University of Illinois-Urbana)  
Obligatory adjuncts  
(Session 1)

This paper extends work by Ackerman and Goldberg (1996) on nominal modification to account for cases of clausal predication in which adjuncts appear to be obligatory:  
(1) a. #The house was built.  
      b. The house was built yesterday/on the hill/with care.  
(2) a. #This car drives.  
      b. This car drives easily.

The account hypothesizes that predication of an argument cannot be wholly redundant with the information that is already implied by that argument in a particular context of use, i.e. predication must be informative. This constraint is argued to follow from a combination of Atlas and Levinson's (1981) principle of informativeness and Horn's (1984) R-principle. The account of obligatory adjuncts accounts for a wider range of data than previous accounts, follows from pragmatic principles and therefore requires no grammatical stipulation, and explains why contrastive situations and changes in tense or modality alleviate the need for adjuncts.

Lucía A. Golluscio (University of Buenos Aires/National Council for Scientific and Technological Research, Argentina)  
Valency, semantic roles, & grammatical relations in Mapudungun  
(Session 52)

Mapudungun or Araucanian is currently spoken with different degrees of vitality in Southern Chile and Argentina. It tends to be a pronominal argument language, with its core arguments realized as suffixes. The Mapudungun referential system depends on a person-oriented hierarchy of participants. This topicity scale in combination with a direction-marking system dominates the ranking of thematic roles and seems to be almost independent of grammatical relations. This paper is concerned with a special subset of verbal suffixes, i.e. -nma and -(-)el, which are closely related to that inflectional system. Some features taken into account in the analysis:  
(1) Both morphemes are generally associated with valency increase, allowing the introduction of a new argument which appears overtly expressed by a NP complement. Evidence of double occurrence has been recorded in Chile.  
(2) They are not coreferential with the introduced argument (a patient/theme); instead, they act marking the affectation of the recipient (which is manifested by a suffix on the verb).  
(3) There is a close semantic association (possession, kinship, or other relation of 'belonging to the domain of'), between the item introduced as patient and that introduced as recipient.  
(4) In addition to the noncorrespondence between thematic roles and grammatical relations defined above, the presence of -nma and -(l)el causes special changes on those categories. Particular cases regimented by topicality, such as inverse constructions from 3rd or 2nd to 1st person participants and some type of 1st person reflexives, are explored.

Jule Gómez de García (University of Colorado)  
Codewitching as a mental space builder in Kickapoo/English conversation  
(Session 58)

This paper is an analysis of codeswitched English locative telescoping produced by a single speaker in a single turn as she describes an outbreak of blisters on a child's body. The discourse piece occurred spontaneously during a Kickapoo/English bilingual conversation.
in a discourse in which Kickapoo was the dominant language. The paper explores the notion that such codeswitching is a cognitively constructed exploitation of the two language varieties, with the speaker making optimal use of the two codes available to her to build mental spaces that progressively limit her interlocutor's focus by moving from a general to a specific location of the blisters on the child's body. Faustonnier (1997:40) defines space builders as a grammatical expression that either opens a new space or shifts focus to an existing space. This paper explores the notion that the act of codeswitching itself is the space builder, preempting even the locative material, the grammatical expression, in the space-building function.

Laura M. Gonnerman (Carnegie Mellon University)  
Elaine S. Andersen (University of Southern California)  
Processing complex words: Does morphology matter? (Session 6)

We present results from three cross-modal, lexical decision experiments that support a view of morphology where knowledge is distributed across simple, neuron-like processing units that encode information about the sound and meanings of words and morphology arises from the correlations between these codes. Experiments 1 and 2 showed significant priming for 'pseudo-suffixed' words that do not share morphological stems (trivial-trifle), as well as for 'onomatopoeic' pairs (snarl-sneer). Crucially, such priming only occurs if the words overlap sufficiently in meaning and sound. Furthermore, our approach predicts that semantic and phonological similarity, not morphological type, should influence processing. Results from Experiment 3 demonstrate that highly related word pairs (preheat-heat) prime twice as much (42 vs 20 msec) as moderately related pairs (midstream-stream), and unrelated pairs (rehearse-hearse) do not prime. This pattern is strikingly similar to effects for suffixed words, where highly related items (teacher-teach) produced 40 msec priming effects, moderately related items (dresser-dress) 19 msec, and unrelated items (corn-corn) did not prime. These graded priming effects generalize across morphological types, holding for morphologically unrelated, prefixed, and suffixed word pairs. These results are awkward for accounts in which morphological decomposition is an all-or-none phenomenon but follow naturally from a distributed connectionist perspective.

Jeffrey Good (University of California-Berkeley)  
Tone plateauing in Saramaccan: Evidence for tonal morphology (Session 46)

Saramaccan Creole has a three-way tonal contrast: high, low, and unmarked. Unmarked tones are realized by default as low tones. However, under certain conditions, they may be realized as high tones. Rountree (1972) has characterized this tone raising as a form of phonologically conditioned 'plateauing' wherein unmarked tones are realized as high tones when they are between two high tones. New data, however, suggest that some instances of unmarked tone raising must be treated as morphological marking. The critical data come from serial verb constructions. Rountree observed that tone raising occurred between serial verbs even when an object intervened between them. She took this as evidence that objects were 'invisible' to the plateauing rule. However, verbs with specified low tones in serial constructions still trigger raising in adjacent verbs even though the phonological environment for plateauing is not there. These data have two important consequences: First, they show there is tonal morphology in Saramaccan—something which was previously unknown to exist. Second, it is evidence for the hypothesis that Atlantic creoles bear genetic relation to languages in Africa since Saramaccan serial verb tone raising is very similar to phenomena observed in some east African languages.

Stéphane Guyette (University of Ottawa)  
Creole wars: The prototype menace (Session 37)

McWhorter (1998) proposes a synchronic definition of creole: It is proposed that a prototypical creole is a language which makes little or no use of inflectional morphology, makes little or no use of tone, and has semantically transparent derivation. The goal of this presentation is to offer a new and, it is hoped, more adequate definition of the creole prototype. It is proposed that a prototypical creole lacks bound morphemes and is a root language. By 'root language' is meant a type of language which has a highly restricted number of monomorphic lexical morphemes. An examination will also be made of how and why creole languages depart from this prototype. Attention shall also be paid to the data presented by Degraff (1999) regarding Haitian Creole morphology: Far from contradicting the proposed prototype, it instead may be said to confirm it.

Randolph Graczyk (Pryor, MT)  
Switch reference in Biloxi (Session 57)

Over the past several years several linguists have presented convincing evidence for the existence of switch reference in Siouan languages (Graczyk 1987 for Crow; Mixco 1996 for Mandan; Boyle 1997 for Hidatsa). In this paper I put forth evidence for the existence of switch reference in Biloxi, based on an analysis of Dorsey and Swanton's Biloxi texts. Like the other three languages, Biloxi has a switch reference system with one clause-final morpheme marking continuity of subject between clauses and another marking change of subject. All four languages also have sentence connectives that incorporate the switch reference markers and mark continuity or change of subject between sentences. Thus these Siouan languages have complementary systems, with one set of forms marking switch reference between clauses and another related set marking switch reference between independent sentences.
**Kleanthes K. Grohmann** (University of Maryland-College Park)  
(*Session 13*)

**Movement vs base-generation in left dislocation**

Left dislocation (LD) constructions offer an interesting testing case for (1) whether left-peripheral elements are derived by movement or base-generated and (2) whether the relation between antecedent and resumptive is derived or construed. On the basis of German data from contrastive left dislocation (CLD) and hanging topic left dislocation (HTLD), I present five arguments in favor of movement of the LDed element in CLD, but not HTLD: (1) CLD but not HTLD obviates weak crossover effects. (2) Principle A effects can be observed only with HTLD. (3) Principle C effects arise in CLD, but not in HTLD. (4) Idiomatic expressions may be CLDed, but not HTLDed. (5) HTLD only allows crossing of island boundaries. I propose an analysis of CLD in German under which the element to be LDed is the originally merged item undergoing the standard movements (satisfying the $Theta$ relations if applicable, case/agreement etc.). It then topicalizes, via movement to the specifier of TopP, and moves further to the clause-peripheral position CP; the resumptive in the morphological form of the demonstrative pronoun enters the derivation as the 'feature spell-out' of the copy in topic position, a notion warranted independently, thus arguing in favor of a derived relation in CLD.

**Verónica M. Grondona** (University of Pittsburgh)  
(*Session 55*)

**Possession in Mocovi**

This paper will provide a detailed description of alienable and inalienable possession in Mocovi (Waikuru, Argentina). The notions of alienability/inalienability presented in the literature will be discussed, and evidence will be presented to support the classification of nouns in Mocovi into three basic classes based on their structural differences, which in turn depend on whether the referents of the nouns must, may, or cannot be possessed. I will then examine the semantic notions that are involved in the alienable/inalienable distinction in Mocovi and that are common to the nouns in each of the classes. I will compare the notions that determine semantic membership in the inalienable class in Mocovi to the implicational hierarchy representing semantic membership of the inalienable (closed) class presented in Nichols (1988).

**Steven Gross** (University of South Carolina)  
(*Session 42*)

**The 4-M model & the role of abstract lexical structure in the development of Berbice Dutch**

Berbice Dutch, a language spoken in Guyana, has been shown to be unusual among Caribbean creoles in that a high percentage of basic vocabulary and several inflectional morphemes are inherited from a single West African language, Eastern Ijo (Smith, Robertson, & Williamson 1987). The goal of this paper is to explain the presence of Eastern Ijo inflectional morphology in Berbice Dutch. The theoretical models framing this analysis are the 4-M model and the abstract level model (Myers-Scotton & Jake 1999). Myers-Scotton and Jake (1998) propose that only conceptually-activated morphemes, i.e. content morphemes and early system morphemes from the varieties in contact, are available in creole formation; late system morphemes cannot occur in creoles except as frozen forms. Yet, Berbice Dutch shows evidence of late system morphemes from both the initial lexifier, Dutch, as well as the substrate, Eastern Ijo. Two hypotheses are proposed to account for these apparent exceptions to Myers-Scotton and Jake's creole formation hypotheses: the morpheme perception hypothesis and the homogeneous substrate hypothesis.

**Andrea Gualmini** (University of Maryland-College Park)  
**Luisa Meroni** (University of Maryland-College Park)  
(*Session 14*)

**Children's universal success with quantification**

Investigations of sentences with the quantifier *every* have led to qualitatively different conclusions about children's linguistic knowledge. For example, Phillips (1995) reported that children often reject *Every boy is riding a donkey* as the description of a picture in which every boy is riding a donkey but one donkey is not ridden by any boy. Gordon (1996) attributed the differences in children's responses across studies (see Crain et al. 1996) to the salience of the objects presented to children. Two truth-value judgment experiments were conducted. Two groups of children were presented with sentences like (1) *Every Smurf who chose an apple or a banana got a jewel* and (2) *Every Smurf chose an apple or a banana with highly salient 'extra' objects*. Eleven children (age 3.07-6.02) accepted sentences like (1) 91% of the times, and 11 children (age: 3.04 to 6.08) accepted sentences like (2) 52% of the times, but whenever they rejected it they pointed to the use of the disjunction rather than to the extra fruit, an unexpected result under the 'salience' approach. Another proposal (Drozd & van Loosbroeck 1998) according to which *every* is interpreted by children as a weak quantifier will also be considered.

**Joshua Guenter** (University of California-Berkeley)  
(*Session 12*)

**American English [r] is not phonologically a consonant: Experimental evidence**

American English [r] is not phonetically a consonant but a glide like [yw]. However, [r] is frequently treated phonologically as a consonant and not like other glides. Some linguists, however, have treated [r] as comparable to [yw] in all respects. This paper provides experimental evidence showing that this latter view is correct. In one study, speakers of California English were played pairs of English words and asked whether they had the same vowel. The results show that pairs in which one of the words had a [Vr] rhyme

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patterned like pairs in which one of the words had a diphthong, not like pairs in which the words had the same vowel but different codas. In another study, data were gathered from speakers of California English pronouncing words having rhymes comprising all English vowels followed by all allowable consonants. Acoustic measurements of these vowels show that the vowels before [r] fall outside of the range of the standard vowels in the same way as the nuclei of the diphthongs [ay aw ay]. Recommendations are that [r] be treated phonologically parallel to the other glides and hence that diphthongs ending in [r] be treated like those ending in [y w].

Antoine Guillaume (University of Oregon)  
Affixes of motion & direction in Cavinéña

Cavinéña (Pano-Tacanan, Bolivia) is a highly agglutinative language in terms of its verbal morphology. Among the possible inflections a verb can take, many have to do with notions of motion. This paper is an attempt at analyzing these motion inflections. Basically, I claim that Cavinéña has a set of associated motions and a set of directionals. I give distributional and semantic evidence for such a distinction. I also make reference to other languages that have such types of verbal inflections.

Christine Gunlogson (University of California-Santa Cruz)  
The categorial status of anaphoric one

A long-standing argument for nativism and for the existence of intermediate X-bar categories involves the syntactic status of anaphoric one. I argue that nominal one is a syntactic N, contrary to the claim of Baker (1978), Hornstein and Lightfoot (1981), and others that one is a phrasal anaphor (in X-bar terms, a pro-N-bar). As Sadler and Arnold (1994) remark, treating one as an intransitive N accounts equally well for the contrasts adduced by Baker et al. I introduce additional data showing that the intransitive analysis is the only viable one. Consider two versions of the N-bar claim: (1) One requires an N-bar antecedent. (2) One is itself an N-bar.

Claim 1 fails to account for the contrast in 1 and 2 below:

(1) Which [student] did you see?  
   a. The one with long hair.  
   b. *The one of physics.

(2) (observing several students)  
   a. The one with long hair is in my class.  
   b. *The one of physics is in my class.

Claim 2 provides an explanation, but it is no different than saying one is an intransitive N. Semantically, I propose that nominal one denotes the unit property, holding of every element in the count domain.

Christine Gunlogson (University of California-Santa Cruz)  
Daniel Buring (University of California-Santa Cruz)  
Aren't positive & negative polar questions the same?

This paper offers an account of negated vs nonnegated polar interrogatives in English and German. Positive and negative polar interrogatives are not interchangeable in use, even though under many theories of question meaning they have identical truth-conditions. We identify restrictions on use for both the positive and negative varieties and propose a unified analysis in terms of evidence, using an enriched Stalnakerian model of context change. The guiding observations are that positive polar questions (PPQs) can be uttered in the absence of any contextual bias while negative polar questions (NPQs) cannot be; on the other hand, if contextual evidence is present, the content of a PPQ must be consistent with the evidence while a felicitous NPQ (on the relevant reading) expresses a conflict with it. In our analysis, a speaker using a polar interrogative authorizes the addition of the (nonnegated) propositional content to the common ground. We propose a generalized condition on use that is sensitive to the polarity of the interrogative, assuming a representation of polar interrogatives as <proposition, polarity>. The representation is further motivated by facts involving the distribution of kein and nicht ein in German.

John Haiman (Macalester College)  
Symmetrical compounds in Khmer & other languages

Like many other languages, Khmer has a large number of symmetrical compounds like razzle dazzle or shilly shally. Like other Southeast Asian languages, Khmer marks the phonological symmetry of the members of the pair not by rhyme or by ablaut, but by alliteration. Thus, for example, *bej lae 'famous' is constructed on bej 'famous'. This pattern is virtually unattested elsewhere in the world. The structural basis for this areal feature may be that some of these SE Asian languages, notably Khmer and Thai, belong to the extremely rare exclusively prefixing type. Relative to roots, affixes are located in areas of low cognitive salience; and in parallel constructions, identical portions of minimally contrasting objects will also be located in areas of low cognitive salience. Aligning low cognitive salience with identity will favor rhyme in exclusively (or predominantly) suffixing languages and alliteration on exclusively (or predominantly) prefixing languages.

Peter Hallman (University of California-Los Angeles)  
Quantified objects as underlying subjects

This paper presents a novel solution to the problem of object quantifiers and provides evidence from participle formation. Generalized
Quantifiers (GQs) denote a relation between a subject and a predicate. But what predicate does a GQ relate an object to? A solution is proposed in which objects are in fact subjects of underlying stative resultative predicates so that transitive sentences have the form [Det NP V [Det NP VI]]. The two V's fuse at PF. Quantifiers relate NPs to predicates uniformly. Independent evidence for the lower layer of structure comes from the distribution of the participial marker -ed. It applies to the lower V, preserving the resultative meaning. Ergative expressions like the arrived train and the melted ice are therefore correctly predicted to be grammatical (cf. valency reduction) since these verbs have a lower layer (they license a deep object). Passivization is a distinct operator that eliminates the higher layer (and its argument). Passives of ergatives, which do not have a higher layer (no external argument) are correctly predicted to be ungrammatical (*The train was arrived). The distinct layers are visible to the morphology, supporting the analysis of in situ objects presented here.

Anne Marie Hamilton (University of Georgia)

*Spanish phonetic features in the English of retired Caucasian El Pasoans*

El Paso, TX, has always been characterized by the influx of new inhabitants, but it was not until large scale immigration from Mexico following World War II that Hispanic culture began to dominate the city's character. As expected, the English of native Caucasian El Pasoans who came of age during World War II shows little influence from Spanish even though they are exposed to Spanish daily. What is most interesting is that this generation shows any Spanish influence at all. This paper analyzes the occurrence of Spanish phonetic features, such as realization of [-s] as [s] where [z] is expected, in the speech of a sample of 40 native Caucasian El Pasoans, 65-85 years old. The discussion suggests explanations for the presence of Spanish phonetic features in the speech of individuals and the sample as a whole.

Eric P. Hamp (University of Chicago)

*Why long-range genetic comparison isn't easy*

We know that with language divergence information becomes more difficult to retrieve, and superficial similarity pales (phonetic segments, morpheme sequences, etc.). Scanning word-lists gets more risky, and crippingly so. We hear little about our decrement in this ability, Why? Analytic criteria are too little enunciated. Actually, the evidence doesn't disappear; it gets reshaped. Thus while numbers of members in evidential sets descend, we must exploit more, and crucially, idiosyncratic junctions. Suppletion and defective paradigms become surrogate correspondences. Juncitons suffer mis-segmentation. The more difficult, the more diagnostic. Much syntax helps little. Simple equations of correspondences must increasingly be supplemented by dynamic nested diachronic implicational series. Illustrations are from Algonquian Otonomaguan and Indo-European.

S. J. Hannahs (University of Durham)

Maggie Tallerman (University of Durham)

*Morphological interactions: The definite article in Welsh*

An apparently simple morphophonological alternation between three forms of the definite article in Welsh presents surprising intricacies, raising questions about the interaction of morphology with both phonology and syntax. (1) illustrates the distribution of the three alternants. The environment for 'r takes precedence over the other two forms--neither a nor s is grammatical in (c) and (d): *o a r afon, *o a bad. 

(1) a. r before a V-initial word: or a fon 'the river' 
b. a before a C-initial word: a bad 'the boat' 
c. 'r after a V-final word (and preceding V): or a fon 'from the river' 
d. 'r after a V-final word (and preceding C): or r bad 'from the boat' 

Examining both derivational and optimality theoretic approaches, we conclude that the distribution is not phonologically determined. We argue that article 'r is a *special clitic*, occurring obligatorily wherever its structural description is met. Evidence includes: (1) 'r isn't an optional contraction of some full form. (2) 'r cannot be straightforwardly derived by phonological processes from an underlying form. (3) 'r is obligatory even when an existing C-final allomorph of the preceding word could be used--cf. tua r a fon 'towards-the river' vs *tua s ag ar a fon.

Gunnar Ólafur Hansson (University of California-Berkeley)

*Laryngeal licensing & laryngeal neutralization in Faroese & Icelandic*

Licensing by cue (Steriade 1997), proposed to account for cross-linguistic distributional patterns of laryngeal neutralization, predicts that contrast suspension is more likely where fewer or less salient perceptual cues are available. Intervocalic position is particularly rich in cues; nevertheless, most Icelandic dialects neutralize an aspiration contrast on stops in precisely this position. In dialects where neutralization is in favor of the aspirated member, recent borrowings have 'undone' the neutralization pattern. I argue that cue distribution does not directly dictate the static phonological distribution of neutralization patterns; rather, it predicts where neutralizing sound change occurs. The Icelandic pattern is not due to merger and hence does not contradict the predictions of the cue-based approach. I suggest that licensing based on segmental complexity (Harris 1997) may better capture the essence of the synchoronic
pattern. In certain Faroese dialects, the same laryngeal neutralization pattern is found, but the phonetic realization is dependent on the preceding vowel. Intervocalic onset stops are plain or postaspirated after high vowels but preaspirated after nonhigh vowels. I propose an optimality-theoretic analysis of this pattern in terms of the interaction between constraints on gestural timing and constraints preserving the perceptual integrity of adjacent vowels.

Naomi Harada (University of California-Irvine)
*Licensing nonselected accusative phrases*

It has been observed that the domain of direct case assignment cross-linguistically extends to nonselected phrases. Wechsler and Lee (1996) show that nonselected phrases are case-licensed as long as they are situation delimiters. Drawing upon novel data from Japanese, I argue that nonselected accusative (NSA) phrases are licensed by aspect and function as a part of complex predicate. The accusative case marker -o generally attaches to a theme/patient argument in Japanese. However, as noted by Harada 1973, Kuroda 1978, and Saito and Hoshi 1993, some locational phrases are also marked by -o. The pronominal binding test, VP-fronting, and weak island effects involved in scrambling reveal that NSA phrases do not pattern with canonical locative phrases marked by a postposition de. However, NSA phrases cannot be licensed as a situation delimiter, as Wechsler and Lee (1996) would claim, since Japanese predicates do not have delimited reading in general. Building upon a previously unnoticed fact that addition of an aspectual verb renders the example grammatical where a NSA cannot occur in certain cases, I propose that NSA phrases are licensed by aspect and function as a complex predicate like a verbal noun with suru 'do' in Japanese.

K. David Harrison (Yale University)
*Velar deletion in Siberian Turkic*

Siberian Turkic languages Tuvan, Tofa, and Xakas (collectively S. TURKIC) show complex patterns of velar deletion in intervocalic environments. Deletion applies robustly but is blocked in a nonuniform class of environments where velars appear to enjoy structural immunity. Several analyses have been proposed for the analogous intervocalic velar deletion of Turkish. Most include a universal dispreference for intervocalic velars, (formalized as *VGV*), and mechanisms that license deletion. Orgun (1996) proposes that morphemes may belong to different cophonologies (e.g. deleting or nondeleting). Lubowicz (1997) conjoins *VGV* with an alignment constraint, ensuring the offending segment is deleted only when it resyllabifies. We argue that immunity is largely epiphenomenal in that independent processes conspire to block deletion in a nonuniform set of environments. Velars gain immunity not only from featural or positional properties but in environments where deletion would hinder lexemic recoverability. Blocking effects arise from independently motivated recoverability constraints. These apply in minimally different ways in S. TURKIC languages. We demonstrate the inadequacy of proposed models to handle the more complex facts of S. TURKIC. Our analysis generates both S. TURKIC and Turkish velar deletion patterns. We rely on well-established notions of positional faithfulness (Beckman 1998), moraic structure, and lexeme recoverability.

K. David Harrison (Yale University)
Gregory D. S. Anderson (University of Chicago)
*Turkic languages of the Altai-Sayan: A report from the field*

The Altai-Sayan languages (including Altai, Tofa, Tyvan, Xakas) comprise a geographically coherent subgroup of the Turkic family. These languages remain distant from the other Turkic languages in a number of respects. They share unique areal features (vowel harmony, pitch accent, etc.) that prove important for typological studies. The Altai-Sayan languages also provide a laboratory in which to study the effects that long-term, intimate contact with Russian has had on minority and/or endangered speech communities of Siberia. In our fieldwork, we adopted a technique of parallel documentation to capture variation within and among these languages. At the microlevel of individual speakers and communities, we found many fine-grained minimal variations across the Altai-Sayan areal group. For example, vowel harmony systems of Tofa, Tyvan, and Altai exhibit incremental, minimal differences spanning an east-west continuum. At the macrolevel, we looked at cases of language endangerment (Xakas) and language shift (Tyvan). We documented parallel speech communities of monolinguals, bilinguals, and semi-speakers within a single language to assess patterns of contact-induced change. Speakers with Russian-influenced speech patterns in turn provided valuable insights into Altai-Sayan grammatical structures. Parallel documentation allowed us to capture incipient language change (and obsolescence) in real time.

Nancy Hedberg (Simon Fraser University)
*Cakchiquel reference, centering theory, & the givenness hierarchy*

This paper brings to bear on reference tracking in a Native American language, centering theory (Walker, Joshi, & Prince 1998), and the givenness hierarchy (Gundel, et al. 1993). The text is from Cakchiquel Mayan. It is a 1500 word, 215 clause retelling of the film *El norte* by a native speaker. The purpose is to apply and compare both theories. Centering theory isolates one referent per clause as the most salient discourse entity; the backward-looking center (Cb). Determination of the Cb depends on an algorithm which takes into consideration a grammatical relations hierarchy of the preceding utterance. The givenness hierarchy codes all referents encoded by an utterance for relative salience, not just a single referent per clause. Cakchiquel differs from English in that referents of English
unstressed full pronouns must be in the focus of the addressee's attention, whereas Cakchiquel full pronouns can either be in-focus or activated. This paper shows that centering theory can account for the basic distinction between zero anaphora and full-pronominal or full-nominal forms of referring expression, and it shows that the givenness hierarchy can account for referring-expression selection in cases where selection is underdetermined by centering theory.

Johannes Helmbrecht (Bonn, Germany)

Nouns & verbs in Hočak (Winnebago)

The distinction between nouns and verbs in Hočak—a Siouan language of Wisconsin better known as Winnebago—has never been a topic of research. The two principal grammatical descriptions available so far, A. Susman (1943) and W. Lipkind (1945), both recognize the difficulty of identifying nouns and verbs as lexical categories in Hočak. Nevertheless both writers presuppose such a distinction in their treatment of the language, based more on intuition than on linguistic reasoning. I propose to fill this gap with this paper. First, I give a brief introduction to PermaMnl adjectives in Quiche.

Sean Hendricks (University of Arizona)

Permanent adjectives in Quiche

In Quiche, a Mayan language spoken in the highlands of Guatemala, there is a pattern of affixation which marks the 'permanent adjective' (Larsen 1988). This pattern is illustrated below:

- **tak-at-ik**: sur-us-ik
- **standing**ADJ-SUFFIX: nearly.sphericalADJ-SUFFIXX

'ball', 'stiff, rigid'

As the data show, the root is followed by a copy of the first vowel of the root, followed by a copy of the first consonant of the root. This ADJ suffix, in turn, is followed by a phrase-final affix -ik. If the material following the root were characterized as a reduplicant, it would violate one of the reduplicative principles observed by Marantz (1982). This principle is that one edge of the reduplicant must match that edge of the unit to which it corresponds. This condition is treated in optimality theory by the ANCHOR constraint schema (McCarty & Prince 1995). The material in the ADJ suffix does not satisfy either condition. I propose that only the copy of the initial consonant is the reduplicant while the vowel is the result of epenthesis and vowel harmony, vowel harmony being a productive phonological process in Quiche.

Molly Homer (Brown University)

The combinatoric potential of lengthening words

There are two ways to increase the number of contrastive forms available to a lexicon: enlarge the segmental inventory or allow longer words. I argue that allowing longer words is more efficient. Using basic combinatorics, I show that lengthening words just a little can generate more lexical forms than doubling the segmental inventory. A language can compensate for a small segmental inventory by having slightly longer words whereas the least reduction in word length is only offset by a large increase in the segmental inventory. One should not be surprised then by Nettle's (1995) study which indicates that large differences in segmental inventories (Hindi: 41 segments vs Hawaiian: 18) tend to be balanced by small differences in mean word length (Hindi: 5.75 segments vs Hawaiian 7.08). Although Nettle's goal is to support a particular functional model of language structure, I show that his results can also be derived from combinatoric principles and that combinatoric reasoning actually leads to more specific predictions than the model Nettle adopts.

Laurence R. Horn (Yale University)

Assertoric inertia

Only sentences with subject focus have been treated symmetrically as conjunctions (Only a VPs = a VPs & no non-a VPs) or asymmetrically, with the negative component taken as an entailment and the positive component as (at most) a presupposition or implicature. While the former view captures the intuition that *Only a is B* is false if nothing is B, it cannot explain why only NP licenses negative polarity items and exhibits other negative diagnostics. The downward-entailing analysis of *only a accounts for its polarity*- and inversion-licensing properties but misses the positive entailment. Similarly, *barely* is an NPI licensor despite its positive meaning component (*Kim barely won entails Kim won*) while *almost* blocks NPIs, notwithstanding its salient negative component...
(Kim almost won entails Kim didn’t win). Symmetric, conjunction-based analyses of these particles predict the (parenthesized) entailments while ignoring the polarity data; asymmetric, presuppositional treatments predict the polarity facts but not the entailment effect. Crucially, however, any entailed material falling outside the scope of the asserted, and hence potentially controversial, aspect of utterance meaning is assertorically inert, hence transparent to NPI-licensing and related scalar diagnostics. The notion of assertoric inertia helps disentangle two classic oppositions in the theory of meaning: presupposition/entailment vs presupposition/assertion.

Laurence Horn (Yale University)  
Steven R. Kleinessler (Houghton Mifflin Co./University of Chicago)  
Parasitic reference vs R-based narrowing: Lexical pragmatics meets he-man

For Moulton (1981), the development of (pseudo-)generic man instantiates parasitic reference, patterning with high status brand names (jello, kleenex) that generalize to superordinate category labels, replacing the neutral generic. In the taxonomy of Horn 1984, such genericization instantiates R-based broadening, wherein a term denoting a category’s culturally salient member comes to denote the superordinate category itself. But while Moulton’s analysis extends appropriately to (you) guys, it fails to mesh with the known chronology of man, where an earlier superordinate sex-unspecified meaning yielded to the cognitively prototypic sense denoting adult males. This diachrony reveals the usurpation of the generic that characterizes R-based narrowing, the socially motivated restriction of a set-denoting term to its culturally salient subset or member. The gradual restriction of guy(s) to a male-specific value provides a parallel to man. Our analysis supports the view that bare singular manlike sex-indefinite he is neither truly generic or purely male-referential but corresponds to a Roschian prototype. Given the traditional default of adult males as the prototype members of the category HUMAN, the so-called generic man is reasonably acceptable only when a male image can verify a proposition. However, when world knowledge bars verification by (adult) male exemplars, the pseudogeneric is excluded, regardless how strongly local context encourages generic interpretation.

José I. Hualde (University of Illinois-Urbana)  
On the loss of ergative displacement in Basque & the role of analogy in the development of morphological paradigms

Finite verbs in Basque agree with subject, direct object, and indirect object. Argument agreement is complicated by a phenomenon known as ergative displacement (ED). Ergative subjects are encoded by suffixes or prefixes depending on the tense. The ED phenomenon has been lost in Bermeo, where past forms are now formed by adding -n to the corresponding present forms without altering the order of the agreement affixes. Both dialectological and diachronic evidence show that the situation found nowadays in Bermeo is the final result of a process whereby etymological forms are replaced one by one, starting from the least commonly used forms. This results in morphological systems which are more difficult to describe than the original one because it is not possible to give a single rule to define the position of agreement affixes in a given paradigm. The loss of ED in Bermeo cannot be interpreted as a change in the rules of word formation. The evidence leads us to the position that speakers employ analogies to derive less common from most common forms but without complete morphological analysis and without regard to the cohesiveness of the whole system.

Carla L. Hudson (University of Rochester)  
Variation: When can it be learned, and when does it lead to language change?

Currently popular theories of creolization which propose processes of second language (L2) acquisition, and thereby adults, as the source of the linguistic structure found in creole languages explain only part of the process of creole genesis. Adult L2 acquisition is known to be imperfect and variable. Therefore, although these theories may explain how particular structures were introduced into the language, they do not explain how the structures came to be incorporated as a regular part of the grammar of the language. Several researchers have suggested that nativization may fill this role. That is, they view nativization not necessarily as a source of innovation but as a possible source of regularization. This paper examines the available literature, linguistic and psychological, looking for evidence of children’s (possibly unique) ability to perform such regularization, and finds conflicting evidence for the idea that children regularize variable input. Children, it seems, do regularize under some conditions but veridically learn their variable input in others. The conditions leading to the two different outcomes are examined in more detail. This examination shows that the conditions under which children are likely to regularize their input correspond most closely to a pidgin-as-input situation. That is, when the input is characterized by variability characteristic of late-learners (as a pidgin would be), children change the language. In contrast, when the input, although variable, contains subregularities which are consistent across speakers, children are less likely to change it. This finding lends support to theories which propose children’s involvement in the creolization process.

Larry M. Hyman (University of California-Berkeley)  
Sharon Inkelas (University of California-Berkeley)  
Complementarity & opacity: A challenging continuum in Bantu

This paper analyzes three cases of [I-d] complementarity in Bantu and documents a previously unknown type of opacity avoidance: (1) Perfect complementarity, with [I] occurring before [i] vs [d] elsewhere (Yaka -baal-a ‘become hard’ and -baad-is-a ‘harden’), easily captured in OT: *li >>*d. (2) Type 2 opacity: li → di, but [d] also occurs before [e, u, o, a] (Yao), where Faith-d >> *li >> *d. (3)
Types 1 & 2 opacity: Ruund (Nash 1992) has [l-d] alternations (bal 'strike', bud-ish 'cause to strike'), but both lexical [l] and lexical [de, du, do, da] are found, requiring the ranked constraints: Faith-d, 1 >> *l >> *d. In most dialects (Ruund1), type 2 opacity also arises through a general rule of vowel deletion: di-a → [da] 'eat'. In other dialects (Ruund2), vowel deletion is blocked, just in case the output would be opaque, hence di+a → [da]. Despite the gradual breakdown of [l-d] complementarity, Ruund2 still treats opaque [d] < /dl (or /l/ different from [d] < /dl not followed by /l/. Thus, reliance on the elsewhere relationship (*l >> *d) isn't sufficient. Rather, a constraint 'if-d-then-di', though duplicating information about the distribution of [l] and [d], is required to capture this interesting case of avoidance of type 2 opacity.

Sharon Inkelas (University of California-Berkeley)

**Inflixation obviates backcopying in Tagalog**

This paper reanalyzes putative reduplicative backcopying in Tagalog, with resulting implications for correspondence theory (CT) (McCarthy & Prince 1995). Of existing reduplication theories, only CT can describe backcopying overapplication. In standard overapplication, the reduplicant reflects alternations conditioned only in the base. In backcopying, the base reflects the reduplicant. One of McCarthy and Prince's examples is Tagalog stem reduplication, exemplified by the famous pas-Mu-mutul 'for cutting' (< putul, 'cut') (Bloomfield 1933). The only source for the [n] of mutul is the nasal of the prefix /paN-/ (in Tagalog, NCI fuses into NI). But /paN-/ is string-adjacent to only the reduplicant, not the base. McCarthy and Prince, assuming a Pfx-RED-Stem morphological structure, solve the problem with backcopying. Nasal fusion affects the reduplicant and is backcopied to the base. In serial theories without correspondence, backcopying is impossible as reduplication cannot alter its input. If backcopying really occurs, CT's extra power is supported; otherwise, CT deserves reappraisal. This paper argues that there is no case for backcopying in Tagalog. McCarthy and Prince miss the evidence that what is occurring is not backcopying, but infixation. Phonological and morphological evidence clearly show the true morphological structure to be RED-Pfx-Stem. Nasal fusion is already present in the input to reduplication.

Kuniyoshi Ishikawa (Yale University)

**Duplicated complex predicate involves Davidsonian event**

I argue that in duplicated complex predicates (DCPs) in Japanese (see below), the first duplicate is optional, a semantic predicate realization of a Davidsonian event argument of the main verbal elements.

AthletesTOP

Senshu-wa shiaigo ryocr-o tabe-ni
tabe-ta.

Athletes devoured dishes after the game

I draw on an analysis of cognate objects (COs) which supports the involvement of event arguments of the verbs. Certain phenomena observed in COs in English and other languages in fact apply to DCPs in Japanese: ban on passivization, indefinite effects, impossibility of unaccusative verbs, and properties shared with light verb construction. I claim that, with the introduction of event arguments, similarities can uniformly be accounted for. Specifically, I argue for copying of the lexical content of the main verb into a V-adjointed position of the first eat. Whole predicates including DCPs represent events as one unit, which is characteristic of the denoted meaning in the construction. Thus, the indefiniteness of objects is the consequence of DCP's evitable nature.

Michael Israel (Max Planck Institute, Leipzig)

**The family of English indefinite polarity items**

The family of indefinite polarity items includes words like any, some, ever, and at all. Members of this family express parallel meanings, exhibit recurring patterns of polysemy, and are subject to similar distributional constraints. This paper seeks the semantic core which holds the family together. I argue that indefinite polarity items are scalar operators. Their indefinite semantics predisposes them to conventional scalar-rhetorical functions which motivate their patterns of polysemy and explain their restricted distributions. The scalar analysis explains a variety of small mysteries, among others why the PPI some cannot form a generic NP and why ever is an NPI on some uses but a PPI on others. Relations among family members strongly support a univoval analysis of any, as a variety of uses (in particular, neutral vs emphatic and free choice vs polarity sensitive uses) are shown to have pragmatically conditioned parallels among the other indefinites. The family as a whole illustrates the importance of indefiniteness as a semantic category and the important role this category plays in various sorts of scalar construal. The scalar analysis lends support to the view that apparently very different sorts of polarity items share a common scalar semantics.

Michael Israel (Max Planck Institute, Leipzig)

Christopher Johnson (University of California-Berkeley/International Computer Science Institute)

Patricia Brooks (College of Staten Island-CUNY)

**From states to events: The acquisition of English passive constructions**

This study examines the development of passive constructions in the spontaneous speech of seven English speaking children. We argue that the passive is learned gradually, beginning with generalizations about the meaning and distribution of passive participles.
Janice based on 'closeness' study does not (proceeding from adjectival to verbal uses) and culminating in the identification of the particular constructions which license these participles. The data reveal a progression from early stative uses, where participles are indistinguishable from ordinary adjectives, to true verbal passives, in which auxiliary be + participle constructions receive a dynamic construal. The passive is productive before it is truly eventive, as evidenced by early productions of novel participles and alternations between active and participial uses of a verb. We hypothesize that stative participles are learned early because states reliably co-occur with the forms that express them in children's input, while state changes are often instantaneous and can only be talked about after the fact. More generally, the gradual progression from adjectival to verbal passives suggests how syntactic categories and grammatical constructions can be learned gradually on the basis of earlier, simpler structures.

Ewa Jacewicz (University of Wisconsin-Madison)
Perceptual-articulatory patterns in the acquisition of nonnative segments

Learning nonnative segmental contrasts in adulthood involves initial perceptual and articulatory assimilation of the target distinctions to the established native language patterns. For vowels, the models of perceptual learning developed by Flege (1995) and Kuhl and Iverson (1995) suggest that the proximity in the common acoustic space has an effect on perceptual outcome. The general prediction is that the closer the target vowel is located to the equivalent category in the native language the more it is assimilated by it. This study does not support the acoustic proximity view. Perception of selected German vowels by native speakers of English is examined in their natural consonantal environment, representing a sample of German phonotactics. For a direct comparison, the perceptual experiment is followed by a production study using the same stimulus material. The results clearly show that for nonnative distinctions, location in the acoustic space does not predict perceptual patterns. Rather, speakers seem to be sensitive to matches between their own nonnative acoustic output and similar forms in input speech. The normalization procedure employed here is not based on 'closeness' of the vowels in the acoustic space but reflects a more complex perception-production relationship, in which acoustic-auditory factors play the primary role.

William H. Jacobsen, Jr. (University of Nevada-Reno)
Makah incremental -k: Insertion or deletion?

The Makah language has undergone a sound change consisting in the insertion of -k after a short vowel of a word-initial syllable when this is followed by a semivowel -w- or -y- followed in turn by a vowel. This might be called a 'velar increment' on the analogy of the 'laryngeal increment' found in three Northern California families. Two morphological processes remove aspects of the conditioning environment and thus even synchronically preclude this -k: 'lengthening by ablaut of the first vowel of a word and reduplication, which adds an extra syllable at the beginning of the word. The synchronic descriptive choices for -k among infixed morpheme, morphophonemic insertion, or morphophonemic deletion are considered, with the last of these being preferred.

Janice L. Jake (Midlands Technical College)
Carol Myers-Scotton (University of South Carolina)
Only early morphemes need apply: Morpheme doubling in creoles

By examining the structure of creoles, this paper provides evidence that there is a class of functional elements that patterns more with content elements than other functional elements. This evidence also supports a model that classifies morphemes according to how they are elected in language production. Under this model, there are four types of morphemes—content morphemes and three types of system morphemes. This is the 4-M model. The evidence cited is the occurrence of certain functional elements from the lexifier that double the semantic/pragmatic content of other lexifier morphemes in creoles. The model also predicts that early system morphemes, 'early' system morphemes, participates in 'doubling'. For example, in al skul boi-s na gel-s 'the school boys and girls', from Tok Pisin, plural is marked by two early system morphemes: ol and -s (cf. Romaine 1992:237, cited in Siegel 1997:191). The reason early system morphemes can be doubled is that the pair is accessed by different routes. The 4-M model predicts that such morphemes as aspect, plural, and definitiveness may be doubled because they are early system morphemes. The model also predicts that late system morphemes will not be doubled because they are not activated at the same level as their content morpheme heads.

Janice L. Jake (Midlands Technical College)
Carol Myers-Scotton (University of South Carolina)
Structural dominance in codeswitching within minimalism

Recent research argues that the minimalist program can explain codeswitching (CS) without recourse to specific grammatical constraints designed only for bilingual data, rejecting additions 'beyond what is required for monolingual derivations' (Boeschoten & Huybregts 1999). These approaches block nonconvergent (illicit) CS derivations by feature checking. This paper identifies four problems that feature checking alone does not solve. The problems of some current approaches addressed here are: (1) Some approaches only work if singly-occurring forms are not considered as CS. (2) The significance of asymmetry regarding direction of switch is ignored. (3) Approaches without a dominant language overpredict, allowing different languages to contribute functional
We claim that incorporating verbs are not regular verbs but instead contain only operators, i.e., they are devoid of lexical content. Under this view, both the syntactic properties and the restricted lexical subset of verbs which incorporate are explained. A finite number of operators predicts a restricted set of verbs and explains the nonexistence of incorporating verbs with meanings such as 'break' or 'kill'. Incorporating verbs are similar to light verbs (see Grimshaw & Mester 1988). Thus the verb translated as 'eat' in 1a can be applied to either food or drink and does not contain any manner implications such as chewing. Finally, this analysis provides a nonmovement analysis for noun incorporation (see also Van Geenhoven 1998, Massam 1999).

Brian D. Joseph (Ohio State University)  
*On Modern Greek evidence for [+SELF +R] anaphoric expressions*

Anagnostopoulos and Everaert (A & E) (1999) argue that Modern Greek reflexive phrases with the noun *eafso* 'self' + possessive pronoun, e.g. o *jannis frondisz ton eafso tu* 'John cares-for himself' (= 'the-self-of-him') are +SELF/+R (referentially independent), and that more anaphoric expression types are needed beyond the three Reinhart and Reuland (R & R) 1993 propose based on the properties +/SELF, +/-R. A & E's analysis depends on R & R's incorporation at LF, whereby SELF-anaphors form complex predicates; the possessor of *eafso* is thus 'promoted', and the whole reflexive NP inherits the possessor's index. A & E claim support for incorporation from Greek sentences with multiple reflexives: o *jannis dióne [ton eafso_k tu]k na katastrépsi [ton eafso_q tu]q 'John didn't let himself destroy himself', assuming the intended coreference relations in LF link each *tu* and each reflexive NP unit with *jannis* but have a distinct index for each *eafso*. I argue, however, that A & E were misled by using only third person forms. Parallel sentences with non-third-person reflexives have a different coindexing schema, though one that still supports A & E's claims. Further, they show previously unrecognized syntactic effects of +/-R, since syntactic reflexivity is 'switched off' in the lower clause.

Arsalan Kahemuypour (University of Toronto)  
*On the derivationality of some inflectional affixes in Persian*

The distinction between derivational and inflectional affixes has been the subject of long debate in morphological theory. However, some categories are generally considered to be inflectional, such as adjectival degree and nominal number. Using Persian examples and Stump's (1998) five criteria for the inflection/derivation distinction, I show that Persian adjectival degree and nominal number are to some extent derivational. Facts about Persian stress too suggest that these suffixes are treated as derivational: These suffixes as well as all the derivational ones are nonextrametrical (attract stress) whereas all the other inflectional suffixes are extrametrical. Other linguists have questioned the discrete distinction between inflection and derivation in general (e.g. Dressler 1989, Bybee 1985). Adopting the idea of a continuum, I propose that in Persian the line is drawn such that the suffixes under discussion fall on the derivational side. This proposal has consequences for syntax. Ritter (1992) argues for a functional projection *NumP* between *D* and *NP*, the head of which is the locus of number. I suggest that in Persian, number is specified on the head of the NP and there is no *NumP*. The consequences of this proposal are explored.

Eunyeong Kang (Cornell University)  
*On the asymmetry of align-L & align-R*

The family of alignment constraints within the generalized alignment theory (GA) (McCarthy & Prince 1993) has been formalized to allow for the symmetric alignment between various morphological and prosodic categories at the left and right edges. However, in reality, an asymmetry has been suggested with stronger alignment at the left edge than the right edge (McCarthy & Prince 1993, Cohn & McCarthy 1994). Using the stress patterns of Auca and Cahuilla, I argue that the alignment at the left and right edges is not intrinsically asymmetric. Auca displays symmetry of the left and right edges while Cahuilla exhibits a stronger alignment at the right edge. In Auca, symmetric alignment constraints at the opposite edges, Align-L(MWd, PrWd) and Align-R(MWd, PrWd) are proposed to be equally ranked, forcing stem initial and suffix penult syllables to bear stress. In Cahuilla, the footing is evaluated by Align-F(R(Foot, PrWd) and that the bidirectionality effect comes from the dominant constraints Align-R(Sem, PrWd) and Align-L(Root, PrWd). Such cases show that any asymmetries that exist in GA must follow from the interaction of GA with other constraints.

Angela Karstadt (Indiana University)  
*Mobilization of pragmatic particles in Swedish-English language contact*

This paper examines the mobilization of pragmatic particles in a contact variety of English spoken by elderly Swedish immigrants. Frequency analysis of pragmatic particles reveals that immigrant speakers hypercorrect host community norms. Discussion explores the functions of the additional particles, specifically with respect to interaction with syntactic variables such as relativization. Sociosymbolic aspects of pragmatic particles are also addressed, with the aim of examining the sociolinguistic integration of elderly immigrants into a Midwestern city. This case study investigates the long-term consequences of unguided second-language acquisition and discusses evidence for pidginization in the confluence of two Germanic languages in sustained language contact.
elements in succeeding mixed constituents in the same CP, an untested phenomenon. (4) Recognizing that one language is more dominant also explains a compromise strategy, light verb constructions. Examples relevant to these four problems from the available CS literature are considered. A modified minimalist approach to CS is only viable if a dominant language is recognized, explaining CS data by principles also constraining monolingual grammars.

Kurt Jankowsky (Georgetown University)  
*The place of Alexander Potebnja (1835-1891) in the history of linguistics*

Alexander Potebnja, well known as an accomplished linguist in his native Ukraine, is hardly known in Western countries. He became acquainted with the works of, for instance, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Heyman Steinthal, and Hermann Lotze, using their ideas, yet always adapting them to his own needs and developing them independently in his linguistic research work mainly on Ukrainian. The paper will investigate Potebnja's major writings, especially those on historical syntax, his ideas on the interrelationship of linguistics and poetry, and his position towards the Neogrammarians. Some aspects of his work will be examined in the light of their value to the establishment of structuralism. Potebnja vigorously opposed Friedrich Max Mueller's concept of myth as a 'disease of language' and developed his own elaborate ideas, which are very much worthwhile to look into. Even today Potebnja is not fully appreciated outside his Ukrainian home country, largely because he was assigned to obscurity during the years of the Soviet Union. An attempt will be made to answer the question whether reasons other than purely political reasons were behind this unwillingness to acknowledge Potebnja's remarkable contributions to his scientific profession and to the intellectual life of his country.

Kristina Jarosova (University of Texas-El Paso)  
*The position of the 'subject' in Czech indefinite SE clauses*

Raposo and Uriagereka (1996) argue that in the 'indefinite SE' construction in Portuguese, SE is the external argument, and it checks null case in SPEC/T before cliticizing onto the verb. The internal argument DP, which has nominative case and triggers agreement on the verb, must then check its case/Φ-features in a projection higher than TP. Thus, they claim that what looks like a subject here in terms of case and agreement is actually not in the canonical subject position (SPEC/T). In this paper, we argue that Czech can provide new evidence that Raposo and Uriagereka's claim is on the right track. Czech also has a construction in which clitic SE has an 'indefinite' reading and the internal argument DP has nominative case and agrees with the verb. But unlike ordinary subject DPs, when this nominative DP is pronominal and in an embedded clause, it cannot be coreferential with an element in the matrix clause. This suggests that it is in a higher position than an ordinary subject (high enough for binding theory to treat it as if it were in the matrix clause). Additional binding facts and a comparison with obviation provide further support for this view.

Bjorn H. Jernudd (Hong Kong Baptist University)  
*English* personal names in Hong Kong

Little if anything is systematically known about names other than Chinese-language names among Chinese-speaking populations. Some work has been done on Chinese immigrant populations (e.g. *Chinese American names: Tradition and transition*, Emma Woo Louie, 1998), but I am not aware of work on 'Western' naming practices among Chinese in Asia. English names are the male 'Danny', and female 'Phoenix' held by individuals who also have a Chinese name, e.g. 'Ng Sheung Ying'. While the Chinese name is written by characters and may be transliterated, the former are written by Roman letters. They are typically not registered at birth. The acquisition of a name is normally but not necessarily associated with the individual's acquisition of English. When English names are not given at birth, people feel free to change them. Individuals can often motivate their choice or change of English name. This freedom leads to a freedom of selection from the general vocabulary of words for names with desired meanings. One strong motivation, more readily apparent in pronunciation than in writing, is for the English name to be similar to the person's Chinese name. The use of English names is not limited to co-occurrence with the use of English as a language of discourse. The paper will discuss an array of factors (social settings, etc.) that make one or the other choice of name likely.

Alana Johns (University of Toronto)  
*Restricting noun incorporation*

Noun incorporation in the Inuit language has been shown to display syntactic properties (Sadock 1980). However, movement is not straightforward since a verb either obligatorily incorporates, as in 1a, or cannot incorporate, as in 1b.

1. a. pitsi- lu-vunga  
dried.fish-consume.indic.1s  
'I'm eating dried fish'

b. *pitsi- nig-i-vunga  
dried.fish-eat-indic.1s  
'I'm eating dried fish'
Consonant disharmony & epenthesis in Turkish

Initial consonant clusters in Turkish loanwords are broken up by a high epenthetic vowel. While the epenthetic vowel is usually harmonic with the first full vowel (siyano 'steno,' siyar 'star'), following a velar the epenthetic vowel must be back (kəravar 'necktie,' kərīz 'crisis' (*kərīz)), and following a lateral the epenthetic vowel is often front (ʒəflamingo 'flamingo'). When these consonantal interactions conflict, the velar pattern prevails (ʒələsnost, 'glasnost' (* ʒələsnost)). This paper investigates the primacy of the velar effect over the lateral effect and the fact that the lateral effect evidences considerable interspeaker variability. The account exploits the fact that elsewhere in Turkish tautosyllabic velars and vowels must agree in backness, and the [+back] ('dark') lateral must follow a back vowel. These patterns are modeled as OT constraints which interact with constraints governing harmony and epenthesis. Variability in epenthesis involving a lateral arises from the ambiguous interpretation of the constraint DARK-L, which dictates that following a back vowel, only dark [l] may occur. The epenthetic vowels are extremely short and thus may not be interpreted as providing a tongue-backing gesture of sufficient magnitude to support the occurrence of the velarized lateral.

Compensatory lengthening through onset loss

One of the most widely discussed types of compensatory lengthening (CL) processes is when lengthening of the vowel is correlated with deletion of the following coda consonant. Moraic theory makes a strong prediction that the loss of onsets cannot cause lengthening of following vowels. However, there is a number of cases where deletion of a clearly nonmoraic onset segment triggers CL. Interestingly, all these cases involve deletion of onset [r], as in Samothraki Greek (Newton 1972), Onondaga (Michelson 1986), Dyirbal (Dixon 1990), and Winnebago (Steriade 1990). I claim that the explanation of the peculiar behavior of r's is connected with the acoustics of rhotics. An approximant [r] has no sharp discontinuities in respect to the adjacent vowels and also is known for its ability to 'color' adjacent vowels and to have syllabic variants (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996); thus the parsing of this segment as prevocalic or postvocalic is difficult. For this reason the loss of [r] prevocally (or intervocally) can cause CL of the following vowel, which implies that CL in this case is not dependent on the moraic status of a deleted segment.

A preliminary study of given & family names in Jordan

As a preliminary study, the primary author of this paper collected a corpus of personal names of 139 persons living in Jordan (104 males, 35 females), principally from two extended families. The oldest was born in 1908 and the youngest in 1996. The corpus consists of native Jordanians and individuals who were born in the West Bank and spent much of their lives there before moving to Jordan. Because the second and third names of individuals are the same as those of the father and grandfather, it is possible to extrapolate beyond the time period represented by the oldest members in the corpus. Preliminary analyses of the data show an increase in use of religious names early in the century, with a peak to about 80% around 1930, followed by a drop in popularity to about 30% into the 1940s and another peak to about 50% in the 1950s. By the 1980s the use of religious given names was greatly reduced. This presentation will also discuss variation reflecting gender and place of birth and will outline plans for future research on names in the Middle East.

Selective impairment of knowledge underlying prenominal adjective order

Some semantic features of adjectives are relevant to the order in which they occur before a noun whereas other features are not. For example, 'size' adjectives typically precede 'color' adjectives (cf. big brown dog vs *brown big dog), but the specific size or color information encoded by an adjective does not affect its linear order (cf. big/little brown/black dog). This study tested the hypothesis that grammatically relevant and irrelevant features of adjective meaning are segregated in the mind/brain. Six of 16 left-hemisphere brain-damaged subjects were impaired on an adjective order judgement test. However, all of the subjects performed well on a test involving the grammatically irrelevant semantic features of the same adjectives and a test involving basic NP syntactic structure. These results suggest that the subjects who failed the first test have impaired knowledge of grammatically relevant semantic features that influence prenominal adjective order but have well-preserved knowledge of grammatically irrelevant aspects of adjective meaning and of basic elements of NP syntax. This study therefore supports the view that there is an independent level of representation in the mind/brain for grammatical semantics.
Catherine Hicks Kennard (University of Arizona)  
Robert Kennedy (University of Arizona)  
Michael T. Hammond (University of Arizona)  

*Lexical frequency & the 'rhythm rule' in English*

This paper explores the effects of lexical frequency and morphological complexity on the rhythm rule in English. We report three experiments exploring how the frequency of the modifier in adjective-noun combinations affects rhythm. The rhythm rule (Liberman & Prince 1977, Prince 1983, Hayes, 1984) is a leftward shift of a modifier’s stress in response to the stress of a following noun. For example, *thirteen* has a final primary stress, which shifts to the left before a monosyllabic noun, as in *THIRteen men*. Replicating Hammond (1999), we obtain a significant effect of both complexity (‘unkind’ vs ‘abstract’) and frequency (‘abstract’ vs ‘arcane’). In a second experiment, we investigate effects of different kinds of frequency, comparing adjectives with high prenominal frequency to adjectives with low prenominal frequency (‘intense’ vs ‘contrite’). This allows us to test for an interaction of prenominal frequency with overall frequency. That is, for low-frequency adjectives, we compare typically prenominal adjectives, like *parquet*, with typically nonprenominal ones, like *contrite*. A final experiment investigates the role of phrasal frequency, contrasting fixed phrases like *burlesque dancer* with less frequent phrases like *burlesque opera*. We predict that phrasal frequency affects rhythm and interacts with the adjective’s frequency and complexity.

Douglas A. Kibbee (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)  

*The language-species equivalence from organic linguistics to linguistic ecology*

The equivalence of a language to a species is a standard part of linguistic theorizing during the ‘organicism’ period of historical and comparative linguistics in the 19th century. Darwin himself often used language as an image of the type of evolutionary processes he described (see Alter 1999), and linguists of the period 1860-1870 were quick to see this as a justification of the place of linguistics in the realm of the sciences. When the organic view of languages was effectively squelched in the 1870s and 1880s, the equivalency disappeared from the scientific literature, even though it retained some appeal in popularizations. It has reappeared with a vengeance in the literature relating to endangered languages and ‘linguistic ecology’ (Hale, Mühllhäuser, etc.). In this paper I will argue that the theoretical underpinnings for such an equivalency are as weak now as they were a century ago.

Alexandra Kim (Tomsk State Pedagogical University, Russia)  

*Indians of Siberia: Database on Siberian languages*

Evidence from linguistics, folklore, and ethnography suggests that some Siberian indigenous peoples have a number of points in common with indigenous peoples of the Americas. There appear to be linguistic connections between the Yeniseian family of Central Siberia and the Na-Dene family of Northwestern North America. M. Ruhlen (1998) establishes 36 sets of apparent cognates between Yeniseian and Na-Dene. L. Feinberg (1981) discusses archaeological and linguistic parallels between Nganasan and various Inuit groups and proposes that some of these can be traced back to a common ancient substratum or else explained through ancient contacts between the Samoyeds and Inuit. Cognate lexical items and grammatical markers may be found in Siouxi (Dakota) and Uralo-Altaic. Some parallels have been traced between Tungus and Maya (Karinimilin 1993). On the basis of such evidence it would seem that the Bering Strait was not an insurmountable obstacle between Asia and America. Thus Keis, Samoyeds, Tungus, Jakuts, Dolgans, and others are, to some extent, ‘Indians of Siberia’. A unique collection of words, geographical names, grammatical features, and folklore of eight Siberian peoples was gathered during 50 years in Tomsk by Professor A. Dulson and his students. The database of Siberian and American indigenous languages may be useful for comparative studies. On the basis of these materials common rituals may be identified in the sphere of cults, peculiarities of metaphor, folklore, in addition to the linguistic substratum. There will be some illustration of the relevance of Siberian materials.

Eun-Sook Kim (University of British Columbia)  

*The morphology & syntax of the *-pat* suffix in Nuu-chah-nulth*

Nuu-chah-nulth, a Southern Wakashan language, has a passive-like suffix, *-pat*, with a questionable syntactic status. Rose and Carlson (1984) argue that it is a passive sign, but Whistler (1985) claims that it is an inverse marker. Nakayama (1997) claims that it serves neither as a passive nor as an inverse, arguing that it just affects the semantics of the predicate. Their approaches are mainly based on morphology and semantics, which has left the issue unresolved. In this paper, I analyze the suffix in terms of syntax as well as morphology and attempt to show that it should be analyzed as a passive marker.

Ronald Kim (University of Pennsylvania)  

*The first Asian American pidgin? Historical connections & consequences of early California Chinese Pidgin English*

This paper uses primary and secondary sources for the English-based contact language of Chinese immigrants to California in the mid to late 19th century to determine the relationship of California Chinese Pidgin English (CCPE) to Chinese Pidgin English (CPE) and
other Pacific English-based pidgins. Analysis of morphological features reveals a pattern similar to that of CPE texts of the mid 19th century but also some notable divergences in usage. Among other Pacific English-based pidgins, Spirantization problem of transmission of CPE across the Pacific and among Chinese in California, and possible influence of (C)CPE on early Hawaiian Pidgin English from Chinese who left California for Hawai'i.

Robert Kirchner (University of Alberta)  
Spirantization & stridency

Surveys of segment inventories indicate that strident fricatives (e.g. [s]) are unmarked relative to nonstridents (e.g. [h]). Under standard markedness assumptions, then, if a phonological process results in a fricative, it should normally be strident. However, a survey of lenition processes reveals a contrary generalization: Unaffricated stops never synchronically spirantize to strident fricatives. A resolution of this paradox, and formal capture of the generalization, require a distinction between articulatory markedness (i.e. effort minimization), which favors the nonstrident continuants, and perceptual markedness, which favors the stridents. I propose that spirantization is driven by a scalar, optimality theoretic effort minimization constraint, LAZY. Ceteris paribus, a stop is more effortful (incurs a greater LAZY violation) than a corresponding continuant, due to the greater articulatory displacement in the former. Strident fricatives, however, require a precise, sustained close constriction, in order to generate highly turbulent airflow. I present modelling results indicating that the effort cost of such a sustained constriction is greater than that of the corresponding stop. Given these relative effort costs, no ranking of the relevant constraints permits an input stop to map to a strident fricative.

Mafuya Kitahara (Indiana University)  
Kenneth de Jong (Indiana University)  
Robert F. Port (Indiana University)  
Deborah Burleson (Indiana University)  
David Collins (Indiana University)  

Metrical alignment of medial syllables in 2- & 3-beat patterns

Liberman (1975) proposed that linguistic metrical structure arises from the mapping of linguistic structure onto general cognitive rhythmic structure, described with a metrical grid. We present data from a metronome-controlled phrase-repetition task (Cummins & Port 1998) which allows us to manipulate rhythmic structure and measure its effect on the timing of syllables. Speakers produced phrases with a 2-beat pattern and a 3-beat (waltz) pattern. Phrases, like *get* Doug's boot and *getting* Doug's boot, had initial and final stressed syllables and variable intermediate material. When *get* occurs on the first beat, and *boot* occurs on the third beat of a 3-beat pattern, another beat is implied. Since this beat is not implied in a 2-beat pattern, we predicted less variation in the timing of *Doug* in 3-beat than in 2-beat productions. Results confirmed this prediction when medial syllables were stressed. Speakers, however, varied in their treatment of unstressed syllables such as the. Some speakers were sensitive to the lexical grouping of the unstressed syllables, apparently treating strong-weak lexical items as single rhythmic units. These results show that metrical structure can be examined experimentally and that phonological structure constrains how rhythm interacts with speech.

Jaklin Kornfilt (Syracuse University)  
Locality of agreement in Turkic relative clauses  

Some Central and West Asian languages exhibit nonlocal agreement between the subject of the modifying clause and the head in left-branching relative clauses (RCs) (Turkmen, Uzbek). Otherwise, left-branching RCs have either no agreement (Karaim) or local agreement between the clausal predicate and its subject (Turkish). Nonlocal Agr analyzed: The modifying clause in all Turkic languages moves leftward within DP. Evidence: The clause precedes modifiers and determiners. The clause and the agreement particle have different categorical status across cognate languages. (1) For local agreement: The clause is an agreement phrase with a suffixal head. (2) In RCs lacking subject agreement, the clause is a bare aspect phrase. (3) In RCs with nonlocal agreement, the clause is also a bare aspect phrase but with a clitic-like ‘agreement’. Moving the AspP strands the clitic, which cliticizes to the RC head; nonlocal agreement results. (4) Typology: Correlation between locality of agreement and the agreement particle’s status. (5) Diachrony: 2 to 3 to 1. Syntax: nonlocal > local agreement. Morphology of agreement: full pronoun (2) > clitic (3) > suffix (1). (6) For Turkic nonlocal RCs, the present analysis explains the construction’s morphological and syntactic properties synchronically and diachronically.

William A. Kretzschmar, Jr. (University of Georgia)  
Literary dialect analysis with LinguaLinks software  

Finding appropriate software is a common problem when attempting to conduct computer analysis of textual data. Some usable programs, like WordCruncher, have not been regularly supported and available; other programs, like TACT, have remained available but are difficult to use. We have attempted to use LinguaLinks software (LL), available from and well-supported by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). LL provides a full-featured environment for linguistic field work. However, we used it as a platform for my PhD seminar students to analyze nonstandard language in literary works, such as Twain’s *Huckleberry Finn*, Morrison’s *Beloved*,
Hurston's *Their eyes were watching God*, Stowe's *Uncle Tom's cabin*, and other works. The key to effective use of LL for this purpose was help from SIL's Gary Simons to enable SGML files to be uploaded to the program. While the learning curve for LL was difficult, the final papers for the course demonstrated a command of the facts of the use of literary dialect in the subject works which exceeded that found in the published literature.

Paul D. Kroeber (Indiana University)

*Possessor focusing in Thompson River Salish*

Thompson River Salish (central southern British Columbia) often employs a special possessive construction in predicative nominal expressions (including the upper-clause predicate of cleft-like constructions used, e.g. to form wh-questions). The possessed noun lacks the usual possessive pronominal affix and instead hosts a special proclitic, and the possessor in turn precedes this complex. This construction evidently puts the possessor into some sort of focus; thus it is a typical way of questioning a possessor. The possessor-focusing proclitic has as its cognate in other Salish languages a derivational prefix added to a noun (N) to produce an intransitive verb meaning 'have N'. The Thompson construction probably developed from one in which the 'have N' derivative was the predicate of the relative-clause-like portion of a cleft construction and the possessor was the clefted constituent; but this has been reinterpreted as, in effect, a way for an extracted possessor to pied-pipe the rest of its containing DP with it.

Jordan Lachler (University of New Mexico)
Jule Gómez de García (University of Colorado)
Sean Burke (University of New Mexico)
Melissa Axelrod (University of New Mexico)

*Language rejuvenation strategies in the Jicarilla Apache community*

This paper describes the process of creating a program to revitalize the Jicarilla Apache language. The program, funded by the Administration for Native Americans, involves the whole community and centers on developing a language immersion project for preschoolers with accompanying language and literacy workshops for parents and other community members. Teacher training workshops are in progress as are a variety of materials development projects, i.e. dictionaries, texts, and classroom activity collections. Curriculum development workshops give teachers opportunities to share preschool language materials they have developed on their own, to work together to create new materials, and to explore the language learning theories and methodologies associated with the use of those materials. In the teacher training workshops, we have met with teachers and other participants to review language learning theories relevant to Native American populations. The aim here is to elicit from participants their own knowledge about language learning. We are then able to lead discussions on the meaningful application of that knowledge to classroom activities and curriculum design.

Donald M. Lance (University of Missouri-Columbia)

*The pronunciation of Missouri: Variation & change in American English*

The pronunciation of the final vowel in *Missouri* is an interesting puzzle. Because this word was included in the questionnaire for the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, we have records of over 2000 pronunciations of *Missouri* by Americans born between 1833 and the birth year of the youngest informant interviewed for atlas projects. LANE, LAMSAS, LAGS, LAUM, LANCSC, and LAPNW data suggest that the schwa pronunciation developed as part of a general lowering and centering of vowels in unstressed syllables in the 18th and 19th centuries in western New England and Midland dialect areas. Another possibility is that it may have developed as this final vowel was interpreted as a 'long i'. In the 19th century, the competing vowels in the final syllable of *Missouri* were 'ih' and 'uh'. The 'ee' pronunciation is somewhat rare in LANE, LAMSAS, and LAGS records, but currently it is the predominant pronunciation of Americans under 60. Temporal analyses of atlas data suggest that tensing of final unstressed high front vowels in American English has contributed to the continued loss of the schwa pronunciation in *Missouri*.

Lisa Ann Lane (Texas A&M University)

*Ghost town or bustling port? A field report on the status of Texas shrimping communities & their local linguistic norms*

Anyone who has ever ventured out to the docks of many of Texas's shrimping communities has undoubtedly asked: Am I in the right place? Did fishing fold here? Where is everyone? While this is not a new phenomenon for Texas ports, it remains an important question for anthropologists, rural sociologists, and especially ethnодialectologists. This paper asks, What is the present-day status of Texas maritime communities, and how are the local linguistic and social norms faring? While the Texas shrimping industry has been big business since the 1940s, Texas shrimpers have yet to unionize; Texas's seemingly deserted and tourist-unfriendly docks remain in striking contrast to those of the west and east coast harbors; and new environmental and economic battles challenge the viability of fishing, especially for family owned businesses. Given these facts, are the social and linguistic systems of Texas maritime communities endangered? This field report examines the ways macro-economic changes have impacted the micro-economies that affected the social constructs and the local norms. I will present a summary of previous dialectological and ethnosoctological work and then present the initial findings from ongoing data collection from the field sites in order to address the above questions.
Andre Lapierre (University of Ottawa)  
Onomastic change patterns: Evidence from French-Canadian names  

This paper examines processes of linguistic change as evidenced through name variation generated by language contact between French and English in an English-dominant environment. The focus of discussion will be the evolution of French-Canadian geographical and family names in the United States and in English-speaking Canada. Three change patterns are identified: substitution, translation, and integration. While substitution is related to name rejection and is of little or no linguistic consequence, translation and integration as indicators of name retention are intimately linked to the structure of both languages. Translation processes are examined as well as two complementary patterns of integration. Shifts from French to English based on writing patterns result in phonetic change while retaining the integrity of the written form. Conversely, shifts based on sound patterns yield phonetic stability at the expense of the written form.

Richard K. Larson (State University of New York-Stony Brook)  
ACD in AP?

Examples like 1 show an interesting ambiguity:  

(1) Mary sampled every possible food.  
(2) a. Mary sampled every potential food.  
  b. Mary sampled every food that it was possible to sample.  

I have a reading like 2a, where Mary sampled everything that was a possible food. But it also has a reading like 2b, where it isn’t possible foods Mary sampled, but rather actual foods that could be sampled. I argue that on the 2b reading, possible begins as a postnominal predicate selecting an infinitive with an empty VP (3a). The containing quantified NP raises at LF (3b). VP reconstructs, yielding a structure with appropriate interpretation (3c):

(3) a. Mary PST [VP sample [PP every food possible [PRO to [VP Ø]]]]
   b. [PP every food possible [PRO to [VP Ø]]] Mary PST [VP sample t]
   c. [PP every food possible [PRO to [VP sample t]]] Mary PST [VP sample t]

This account explains puzzling restrictions on adjectives and determiners licensing the 2b reading. Furthermore, the derivation in 3 parallels that assigned by Sag (1975) and May (1985) to antecedent contained deletions like Mary sampled every food Alice did Ø.

Hence the analysis, if correct, generalizes ACD to an interesting new domain.

Lisa Lavoie (Harvard University)  
Linguopalatal contact as a measure of lenition

In articulatory phonology, consonant lenition or weakening has been described as a decrease in the duration and magnitude of gestures (Banner Inouye 1996). From parallel acoustic and articulatory (electropalatography) studies of English and Spanish consonants in closely-matched disyllabic stress pairs, I determine that duration and magnitude (quantified as degree of linguopalatal contact) decrease in tandem for phonological weakening but not for phonetic weakening. In the phonological weakening of English /t, d/ to flaps, duration and magnitude decrease together but not in the parallel phonetic weakening of /t/. While flapped /t/ is shorter, there is a split in magnitude with two speakers displaying more linguopalatal contact and two less. Magnitude is also found to be affected by numerous factors, including segment-specific patterns and articulatory strengthening (Foote & Keating 1997). The location of contact is also important as alveolar contact appears to be fronted under stress, supporting the view of stress as hyperarticulation (de Jong 1995). Spanish consonants are shorter in weak positions (medial or unstressed) but not consistently decreased in magnitude. Decreased magnitude is thus a less reliable measure of phonetic weakening than decreased duration, challenging the basic assumption of articulatory phonology that duration and magnitude always decrease hand-in-hand.

Edwin D. Lawson (State University of New York-Fredonia)  
Report on international conferences: Onomastic research in Europe & Israel

The Fourth International Conference on Jewish Names was held at Bar-Ilan University on 14-15 June. There were 20 papers on topics dealing with the whole range of Jewish history. The XXth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences was held at the University of Santiago, Santiago de Compostela, Spain, on 20-25 September. There were over 230 papers presented in 10 major categories. In addition there were special sessions on 'Literature and Onomastics', 'Bibliographies', 'Onomastics Journals', and 'Courses in Onomastics'. This presentation will discuss some of the more interesting findings reported in the papers at these conferences and will compare the range of topics offered at ANS meetings and at international meetings.

EunHee Lee (University of California-Los Angeles)  
Dynamic meaning of the Korean temporal marker ess

This paper provides a dynamic semantic account of the Korean temporal marker ess, which is commonly assumed to be a tense-aspect...
marker that refers to a past or an extended now interval. Contrary to the common assumption, I take ess to be a dynamic past tense description which introduces a new reference time. Ess entails that the resulting state obtains at the utterance time, which is not normally an inference for the English past. The perfect never has such a restriction imposed on its usage since it expresses an enduring perfect state once the causal event ended. Korean has a separate marker essess to describe a past situation that has been completed before the utterance time. It is the essess marker, not the ess marker, which expresses the perfect. In discourse, the event marked by ess describes a following episode with respect to a preceding telic event while the state expressed by essess includes the event described by the preceding sentence. The meanings of ess and essess are represented in DRT with precise construction rules. Ess moves the reference time forward, introducing a shifted temporal context, whereas essess maintains the given reference time. The entailments of these markers are represented on a par with asserted information as DRS conditions. This paper shows the importance of dynamic interpretation in discourse contexts. The semantic difference between the pair ess and essess can only be properly represented at the level of discourse, where the current context and the aspectual classes of those markers play an important role in temporal reasoning.

Felicia Lee (California State University-Fresno) (Session 13)

Against right adjoinment: Evidence from Zapotec adverbs

San Lucas Quiavint Zapotec is a VSO language that allows temporal adverbs sentence-initially or finally, consistent with standard assumptions that adverbs left- or right-adjoin to constituents they modify. However, temporal adverbs can't appear preverbally with fronted wh- or focused words:

(1) *Gye'ihlly/tu

Mike/who

b-da'uwh so'p

'yesterday Mike/who

ate soup

so'p yesterday?'

Before fronted words, they get left-dislocated topic readings and intonation:

(3) N\h

Gye'ihlly/tu

b-da'uhw so'p

'yesterday Mike/who

ate soup

so'p yesterday?'

If 'yesterday' adjoined to either edge of TP, the ungrammaticality of 1 is unexplained. If it adjoined to either edge of CP, its marked reading in 3 is unexplained. This suggests adverbs are only generated above and left of constituents they modify (Kayne 1994, Cinque 1998). 'Yesterday' is generated above TP and surfaces sentence-finally when TP raises to its left:

(4) [TP...] [AdvP [TP]]

TP movement is optional when no other preverbal material appears. But temporal adverbs block wh-/focus movement, as seen by their inability to appear preverbally in relative clauses where covert wh- movement is assumed:

(5) ca'rr [nih b-to'oh Gye'ihlly wduhxmaan]

The car Mike that

sold last week

last week

The car Mike sold last week'

For wh-/focus movement past temporal adverbs to occur, TP (containing the base-generated wh-/focused word) must raise past AdvP. Wh-/focused words inside fronted TPs then raise to higher positions:

(7) [wh] [TP...[wa]...][AdvP [TP]]

Margaret Giles Lee (Hampton University) (Session 33)

The class of 2002: An African-American names study

The social and political changes sparked by the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s brought with them a renewed interest in African-American history and culture. Among African Americans, these changes also ignited an unprecedented pride in their African heritage, one of the most significant aspects of which can be seen in unique and innovative personal naming practices for more than three decades. Black parents' choices of African names or creative 'Africanized' names (some with Arabic/Muslim influences) represent an attempt to identify more closely with their African roots while breaking away from traditional European naming practices. This study analyzed names of the African-American students in this study (most born in 1980 and 1981) reveals conformity to such conventions, especially for female names. Though some names of both males and females in this study can be described as creative and unique, for example, RockearisChifaun, many of the male names tend to adhere to more established naming customs (Robert, Joseph). Comparison was also made to the top 50 first names for males and females (white and nonwhite) born in the United States in 1925, 1950, 1970, and the early 1980s.
Yongeun Lee (State University of New York-Buffalo)  
**Positional faithfulness in nonprominent positions: [Lateral] in Korean** (Session 5)

The strongest version of positional faithfulness (Beckman 1997) predicts that we should never find a specific phonological feature absent from word-initial/onset ('prominent') position, while it is present only in word-final/coda ('nonprominent') position. Thus, the following ranking should be unattested: ID nonprominent position [Feature] >> *Feature, ID [Feature]. This paper shows that Korean has precisely this ranking for [lateral]. [Lateral] never appears word initially but only finally (/lo-suk/ → [nosuk], *maturity*/[losuk] vs /sus-tal/ → [suktal] 'proficiency', *[suktan]). Coda /l/ followed by a consonant preserves [lateral] /sil-ki/ → [silki] 'practical talent', *[sinki]). Syllable initial /l/ changes when preceded by a consonant (/pek-li/ → [pekni] '40 km', *[pekli]). The direction of assimilation preserves [lateral] in codas before /l/. Note also the progressive assimilation /sil-ne/ → [sille] 'indoor', *[sine]). Unexpected in Korean, where the regressive pattern predominates. I argue that the proper account of this asymmetry requires a positional faithfulness constraint that invokes a high-ranked 'nonprivileged' position. This constraint, ID Coda [Lateral] dominates *[Lateral]. The upshot of this proposal is that positional faithfulness must invoke 'nonprivileged' positions in the family of faithfulness constraints.

Phil LeSourd (Indiana University)  
**Problems for the pronominal argument hypothesis in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy** (Session 54)

The idea that 'pronominal affixes' in the verb forms of highly inflected languages are in fact pronouns, familiar from older Amerindianist work, has been revived in recent work on 'nonconfigurational languages' by Jelinek (1984) in the form of the pronominal argument hypothesis (PAH). Jelinek argues, on the basis of Walbiri data, that affixes viewed as agreement markers in previously standard accounts should instead be analyzed as pronouns functioning as verbal arguments, while NP's previously taken to bear argument roles should be analyzed as adjuncts. Various other properties of free word-order languages are held to follow, notably the occurrence of discontinuous NPs. Jelinek's proposals have been called into question in recent work by Reinholz (1999) in a discussion of discontinuous constituents in Swampy Cree, an Algonquian language of Manitoba. The present paper considers a different class of problems for Jelinek's approach that arises in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, an Eastern Algonquian language of Maine and New Brunswick that displays the usual features of nonconfigurational languages. The Maliseet-Passamaquoddy data I examine are consistent with an analysis of NPs as verbal arguments, but problematic for the PAH.

Glenn S. Levine (University of California-Irvine)  
**A comparison of irregular German past tense forms in adult L2 learners & bilingual children** (Session 21)

Through consideration of both adult L2 acquisition and childhood bilingual acquisition, the present study provides support for the dual mechanism model of morphological processing, i.e. regular forms are rule-based and irregular forms are stored through associative memory. The present study examines the spontaneous production of German regular and irregular past tense forms among two groups, adult L2 learners (N=40) and bilingual German-English-speaking children (N=2). The features under investigation are past participles and application of the haben/sein 'have/be' auxiliary rules for the present perfect. The study yielded several interesting results. First, it was found that German-speaking bilingual children appear to produce overregularization errors more frequently and for a longer period of time than do monolingual German-speaking children. Second, adult L2 learners produce overregularization errors similar to those of the bilingual children, considering their greater metalinguistic awareness. Third, haben appears to be a default auxiliary in the German present perfect for both groups. The similarities in performance between the adult L2 learners and the bilingual children provide support for the claim that regular forms are rule-based while irregular forms are primarily stored in memory, i.e. they are produced by these speakers as grammatical irregulars at the point they become stored separately in memory.

Anthony M. Lewis (University of Illinois-Urbana)  
**Synchrony, diachrony, & the acoustical variability of intervocalic stop consonants in Spanish** (Session 10)

The implementation of intervocalic stop consonants in Spanish has been reported as a straightforward allophony—/p, t, k/ are phonetically realized as [p, t, k], and /b, d, g/ as [b, d, g]. The intervocalic context favors lenition of occlusive segments motivating extensive allophonic variation in the Spanish stop series. Many productions of intervocalic /p, t, k/ share phonetic features traditionally associated with the implementation of /b, d, g/ raising questions regarding the categorization of speech and how contrast is maintained in the Spanish stop series. I offer a functional interpretation of the relationship between contrast, and the varying degrees of lenition noted in the stop series of three dialects (Central Columbia, Northern Spain, and Coastal Venezuelan) in three speech styles (word-list, read text, and conversational speech). Intervocalic stop consonants were analyzed for voicing, closure duration, VOT, and formant structure. Results place the dialects at distinct points along a diachronic continuum of stop lenition. Moreover, synchronic factors such as speech style significantly influence the range of allophonic variation in each dialect. I conclude that the extent to which a dialect has undergone lenition determines the phonetic boundaries which maintain phonological contrast in the stop series of three Spanish dialects.
Yen-Hwel Lin (Michigan State University)  
**Rethinking structure preservation: A case study of Mandarin vowels**

The principle of structure preservation (SP) (Kiparsky 1982, 1985) captures the cross-linguistic tendency that lexical phonological output contains only contrastive phonological units while the post-lexical output may contain new type of structure. However, many studies have reported counterexamples that undermine the universality and validity of SP. This paper proposes to derive both SP and non-SP effects from the interaction of markedness and faithfulness constraints in optimality theory, as schematized:

a. SP effects: Markedness >> Faith, C  
b. Non-SP effects: C >> Markedness >> Faith

To exemplify the rankings in the example above, I analyze Standard Mandarin in which vowel assimilation regularly derives the mid vowels [e, o] (non-SP effects) but is blocked from producing mid front rounded and low back rounded vowels (SP effects). I conclude that the rankings above, coupled with universal rankings of relevant markedness constraints, successfully account for the following observations related to SP: (1) There is a general tendency to observe SP. (2) SP is not an inviolable universal principle. (3) Violations of SP occur only under certain circumstances. (4) The more marked a non-SP unit is, the less likely it would surface.

Gerardo Lorenzo (Yale University)  
**Focus constructions in the Gulf of Guinea Afro-Portuguese creoles**

The Gulf of Guinea Afro-Portuguese creoles have a number of discourse strategies for highlighting certain parts of an utterance. For example, in Angolar predicate cleft constructions (verb fronting), wh- movement (see example) and subject-object inversion have the pragmatic effect of adding an emphatic or contrastive function when a verb, a constituent, or an embedded clause is moved to initial position (Lorenzino 1998). Another topicalization construction found in Angolar requires the overt marker ḷọ ‘only, alone, then’, a focus particle first described by Maurer (1995). This paper presents an overview of focus phenomena in all Gulf of Guinea creoles: Angolar, Santomense, Principense, and Anombonese. Its goal is two-fold: (1) To provide creolists working on other lexified creoles comparative data and linguistic analyses from a not-well-known Afro-Portuguese creole area, and (2) to compare focus constructions in the Gulf of Guinea creoles and thus present further empirical evidence on which to base their historical linguistic reconstruction, as initially proposed by Ivens Ferraz (1976).

Celis Lucas (Gallaudet University)  
**Lexical variation in American Sign Language**

This paper will present an analysis of lexical variation in American Sign Language (ASL). The analysis is based on the signed responses to 33 stimuli (pictures and fingerspelling) by 139 white and African American signers in three age groups and at two socioeconomic levels, a subset of the population (n=207) of an on-going study of sociolinguistic variation in ASL. Interviews were videotaped with the signers in seven U.S. locations. This paper will focus on three questions: (1) What is the relative proportion of lexical variation to phonological variation within lexical items? That is, is a given concept represented by a number of lexical items, each of which shows no variation, or is a given concept represented by one or two lexical items, each of which exhibits several phonological variants? (2) In terms of phonological variation, can we see any evidence of change in progress? (3) In which of the groups examined (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs) do we see the most variation, is it lexical or phonological, and specifically within the noun group, can the hypothesis that the most variation is found with signs for food and animals be confirmed?

Liddell and Johnson (1989) hypothesize that features of the surrounding phonological environment account for the variable segmental structure in ASL. We test that hypothesis by examining grammatical conditioning of three phonological variables: the sign DEAF, which varies in its location; a class of signs represented by KNOW, which in citation form is produced on the forehead but which may also be produced below the forehead; signs produced with a 1-handshape, which may exhibit a range of variation, e.g. thumb open, fingers open. Analyses of nearly 10,000 tokens extracted from conversations with 207 signers at seven U.S. sites disconfirm Liddell and Johnson's hypothesis. Grammatical constraints are the most significant factors conditioning variation in all three variables. Explanations for the role of grammatical constraints include prosody in the case of DEAF and a change in progress in which the interrogatives lead in the case of the class of signs exemplified by KNOW. For 1-handshape signs, a scale of indexicality appears to constrain variation. Pronouns, which point to entities present in the discourse, allow for greater handshape variation. Lexical signs, which are not indexical, allow for less variability. Results highlight the importance of basing claims about the causes of variation on data collected in the language community.
Marlys A. Macken (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Underspecification & the feature [voice]

Underspecification theory distinguishes phonological features that are redundant and unspecified from those that are unpredictable, contrastive, and specified. Since phonological rules and constraints make reference only to specified features, the theory (in one prominent version) requires that only contrastive features may be active in a grammar, as found generally. Yet, there are underspecification ‘paradoxes’ cited where presumably redundant features must be specified to permit the statement of a rule or constraint. These cases have figured centrally in arguments against underspecification and derivational theories generally (e.g. Steriade 1995). This paper examines languages cited as underspecification paradoxes for the feature [voice] (Japanese, English, Mwera, Zoque, Yakut and Malayalam) and several other languages with postsonorant voicing of obstruents or nasal-obstruent rules sensitive to [voice] (e.g. Malay). Evidence will be presented to show that (1) none of the languages in fact presents evidence of an underspecification paradox within the language or an argument against underspecification and derivations theories, and (2) as predicted by underspecification theory, contrastivity plays a key role in the complex of relevant rules within each language. The argument extends to a requirement for nonderivational theories like optimality theory to derive a principled account of the distinction between active/contrastive and inert/redundant features.

Marcus Maia (National Museum, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)

Wh-type constructions in Karajá

This paper intends to describe and analyze the complementizer system in the left periphery of the clause in Karajá, a Macro-Jê stock language spoken by about 3,000 people on and around the Bananal Island in Central Brazil. We will analyze interrogative constructions of the wh- and yes/no types, topic and focus constructions, as well as constructions with the izbo ‘whether’ conditional operator, in order to propose an integrated account for those structures. We follow the principles and parameters framework of Chomsky and Lasnik (1993), Chomsky (1995), and particularly, Rizzi (1997) in which an expanded CP system is proposed. We describe the internal constitutional Karajá interrogative words which are invariably formed by the composition of one or more indefinite roots with the wh-feature -bo. We then incorporate the analysis of the conditional operator izbo ‘whether’ which, as we will show, occupies the same position as the interrogative words in the lowest projection of the CP system, capturing a dependence relation between this system and the inflectional specifications of the verbal system.

Stephen A. Marlett (Summer Institute of Linguistics/University of North Dakota)

Some facts about all in Seri

Three words in Seri mean ‘all’. One is a verb, one is a noun phrase internal modifier, and one is a pronoun that also commonly occurs immediately following the noun phrase. These three words are also very similar phonologically: -coo, coo/coox, coox/cooxo, respectively. The syntactic properties of these words are presented as well as the special restrictions that seem to affect the choice between using the modifier and pronoun quantifiers in particular. Facts are also presented about the scope of these quantifiers with respect to negation (always indicated formally by a verbal prefix).

Hirokuni Masuda (University of Hawaii-Hilo)

The rhyming principle: An insight from creole-narrative representation theory

Creole languages are well known to manifest a frequent application of repetition and reiteration in their narrative discourse. The present paper follows the line of research suggested in the earlier studies by analyzing narratives in three creole languages. With narrative representation theory (NRT) as the basis of analyses, this study investigates the repetition and reiteration in two aspects, one when counted with the number of repeated words in a single ‘interpretation unit’ (X-word) and one when related to the number of occurrences of a word in the whole narrative (Y-plets). It is found that the scope of X-word extends from single to five (1-5) while the range of Y-plets goes from doublets to decade (2-12). It is also found that the distribution of Y-plets tends to concentrate on the scope of an ‘episode unit’. The present study goes on to argue that the repetition and reiteration constitute one of the canonical patterns of discourse grammar, and thus they are considered to be the rhyming principle in NRT. The rhyming principle could be a universal and autonomous rule operating together with other principles in the construction of suprasentential representation in creole languages. This suggests that the textual properties for cohesion in discourse are quite different from the sentential conditions of grammaticality in syntax such as the checking principle proposed in the minimalist program.

Gaurav Mathur (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

Two kinds of constraints on verb agreement in signed languages

A detailed examination of the verbal agreement morphology in four signed languages (American, Japanese, Australian, and German Sign Languages) suggests that in the visual-gestural modality, the architecture of grammar seems to be the same as what some have suggested for auditory-vocal languages, namely, that the level of morphology can be distinguished from the level of phonology. Verbs in all four signed languages agree in three features: grammatical relation (subject, object); number (singular, exhaustive, multiple);
and person (first, nonfirst). However, there are constraints on allowable combinations of agreement morphology with verbs. This paper identifies two distinct classes of such constraints: The first class can be stated as impoverishment rules within the distributed morphology framework while the second class can be stated as phonological well-formedness constraints within the optimality theoretic framework. While signed languages seem to distinguish the level of morphology from the level of phonology as has been suggested for spoken languages, the fact that the agreement phenomena are so similar across the three historically unrelated signed languages suggests the constraints on possible morphophonological forms within the visual-gestural modality are even tighter than those within the auditory-vocal modality.

Jessica Maye (University of Arizona)  
LouAnn Gerken (University of Arizona)  
*Minimal pairs are not necessary for learning phonemes*

In this paper, we provide evidence that learners acquire phoneme categories through the distribution of phoneme exemplars that they hear, without making reference to word meanings. We conducted an experiment in which adult subjects listened to words from an artificial language containing phonetic variation and a potential phoneme contrast. Subjects were not given any information about the word meaning. During training, one group of subjects heard a monomodal distribution of consonant sounds, in which the stimulus from the center of a consonantal continuum was played more often than the continuum endpoints; a second group heard a bimodal distribution, in which the stimuli near the endpoints were more frequent than the center. During the test phase, subjects heard pairs of words and were asked whether each pair represented two different words in the language or two instances of the same word. Some test pairs were minimal pairs whose initial consonants were taken from opposite ends of the consonantal continuum. Subjects trained on a bimodal distribution were more likely to treat the minimal pair test items as corresponding to two different words in the language, supporting our hypothesis that language learners can utilize distributional information in order to extract phoneme categories.

Evelyn McClave (California State University-Northridge)  
*The grammaticization of spontaneous gesture in ASL*

This paper presents evidence that native signers use nonmanual, spontaneous gestures simultaneously with lexicalized, manual signs. Such nonmanual gestures are borrowed from the surrounding, nonsigning, hearing population. For example, hearing, nonsigning Americans unwittingly mark assessments with lateral head shakes. Some native signers do the same even though such movements are identical to the ASL nonmanual sign for negation. This borrowing process may account for the origin of some now grammaticized nonmanual features of ASL. It is feasible that changes in head position for role shifts in ASL were originally borrowed from hearing Americans and became grammaticized because hearing, nonsigning Americans subtly yet consistently change their head positions at the beginning of direct quotes. Consistent with this hypothesis is the fact that head movements are not used to signal direct quotes in all signed languages. For example, Flemish Sign Language does not mark direct quotes with head movements. Gestures are, therefore, the likely source of some grammaticized features in ASL previously thought to be unique to signed languages.

Stephen McCullough (Salk Institute)  
Karen Emmorey (Salk Institute)  
Diane Brentari (Purdue University)  
*Categorical perception in American Sign Language*

Categorical perception (CP) refers to the finding that certain stimuli (particularly speech) appear to be perceived categorically rather than continuously, despite a continuous variation in form. We investigated whether deaf signers or hearing nonsigners exhibit CP in American Sign Language (ASL) for place of articulation (POA) and hand configuration (HC). CP performance was measured using ABX and identification paradigms with computer-generated images of signs. In the identification task, signers and nonsigners exhibited sigmoidal performance and categorized nonidentical stimuli together at each end of the perceptual continuum for both HC and POA, regardless of phonological distinctiveness in ASL. The fact that signers and nonsigners performed similarly suggests that these categories in ASL have a perceptual as well as a linguistic basis. Results from the discrimination task, on the other hand, showed that only ASL signers demonstrated categorical perception, and only for phonologically contrastive HC. Neither group exhibited categorical perception for place of articulation (either phonemic or allophonic). The results suggest that visual discrimination of spatial locations is unaffected by linguistic input, but linguistic experience can affect the perception of the configuration of the hand. Moreover, these results confirm the phonological categories for HC proposed in the literature.

Joyce McDonough (University of Rochester)  
MaryAnn Willie (University of Arizona)  
*A feasibility study of Navajo word recognition*

This is a report on a preliminary study of word recognition in Navajo. The question of the nature of lexical presentation and word processing in morphologically complex languages is one that needs addressing in any theoretical framework. Because speakers do not produce uninflected or 'base' forms, and listeners do not hear them, the shape of the word lexicon in languages with highly productive
word-formation processes directly addresses the conflict between morphological theories which assume the primacy of word formation processes and theories of word recognition, such as the cohort theory, which assume words are stored. In this study we produced a list of 50 fully inflected Navajo words, half of which were 'correct' and half 'incorrect', containing mistakes that less fluent Navajo speakers actually made. They were categorized into five groups, reflecting five types of commonly occurring morphosemantic (valence mismatches) or morphosyntactic (argument agreement) errors, realized as small phonological changes at specific locations within the word. Both forms were recorded by a male and a female native Navajo speaker. The recorded forms were digitalized, then randomized and presented as auditory stimuli to 10 listeners of various levels of fluency in a response time experiment using Cedris software. Response times to correct vs 'incorrect' forms varied with the fluency and group type. The results bear on the issue of the role context, fluency, and morphological structure in the recognition of morphologically complex words. We hope to develop this as a standard fluency test for Navajo speakers entering Navajo language classes.

Theresa McGarry (University of South Carolina)  
Angie Green (University of South Carolina)  
Investigating intelligibility across varieties of English

Previous research has attempted to address concerns that acceptance of different varieties of English will lead to mutual unintelligibility at the international level. The present study, a replication of Smith (1992), provides evidence for two specific hypotheses. Firstly, when the speaker and hearer are at high proficiency levels, the effect of the language background of the speaker on the hearer's performance on listening tasks at the levels of intelligibility, comprehensibility, and interpretability is not significant. Secondly, under the same conditions, the amount of prior exposure of the hearer to different varieties of English correlates positively with the hearer's performance.

Gail Mckoon (Northwestern University)  
Talke MacFarland (Northwestern University)  
Complexity in the meaning & structure of verbs

In linguistic theory, syntactic argument structure is seen as projected from the lexicon. We explore the consequences of syntactically relevant differences in the meanings of verbs. With lexical decision experiments, in which subjects decide whether a given string of letters is a word, we investigated the psychological reality of complexity differences among verbs. Our metric of complexity was event structure representations (Pustejovsky 1991; Rappaport, Hovav, & Levin 1998; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997). We investigated two classes of verbs for each of three different event structures, going from simple to more complex: states: adore/coexist verbs achievements: 'ascend'/bloom verbs accomplishments: 'snap'/melt' verbs (become x<state>) (become x<state>) (event) CAUSE (become x<state>) Comparing verbs with different event structures, response times for states were significantly faster than for achievements, and response times for achievements were significantly faster than for accomplishments. In contrast, comparing verbs with the same event structure yielded no significant difference in processing times. (For all comparisons, verbs of different classes were equated in their frequency of appearance in English, number of syllables, and imagability.) These findings provide strong empirical support for recently proposed representations of verbs, indicating that these representations capture psychologically real, syntactically relevant aspects of verb meaning.

Karine Megerdoomian (University of Southern California/New Mexico State University)  
Aspect & light verb constructions in Persian

Persian light verb constructions demonstrate a direct correlation between the aspectual possibilities of the predicate and the light verb category. Certain light verbs can only form bounded predicates, whereas others allow unbounded readings. Thus, the lexical entry of the light verb plays an important role in constraining the resulting aspectual interpretation. Persian data also show that other constituents within the predicate can affect the aspect, which suggests a compositional approach to aspectual structure. I adopt the syntactic approach developed by Borer (1994), in which event structure is encoded in the functional projections and the aspectual interpretations can be derived from the syntax of the arguments. But in Borer's analysis, a single lexical entry could give rise to two distinct syntactic predicates since there are no constraints available from the lexicon. I suggest that the lexical categories of the Persian light verbs constrain the resulting syntactic structure by specifying whether the functional projection responsible for delimiting the event represented by the predicate is projected in syntax or not. The approach presented here does not duplicate the work accomplished by a lexicon rich with syntactic representation, yet it does not overgenerate as in a purely predicate-based system.

Heliana Mello (UFMG, Brazil)  
Personal pronoun forms in Brazilian vernacular Portuguese

In this paper the personal pronoun variants found in Brazilian vernacular Portuguese (BVP) will be examined with a view to their emergence in this language. Contrary to claims once advocated by several authors pointing to a decrease in clitic pronoun forms in BVP (cf. Tarallo 1991), this language presents several nonstressed forms which can be analyzed as clitics alongside the tonic personal
pronouns (cf. Ramos 1997, Vitral 1997). The status of the former seems to go against the tendencies found in European Portuguese (EP), i.e. while in BVP the path of change has led to the increase in nominative clitic forms occurring in subject functions, in EP clitics are usually accusative, fulfilling the function of objects. The results advanced in this paper show that along with language-internal change tendencies, implemented by morphophonological processes, external factors, brought about by language-contact, with transfer of functional categories, also are likely to have played an important role in the development of personal pronominal forms in BVP.

Bettina Migge (Joahnn Wolfgang Goethe University, Germany)
The origin of focus constructions in Surinamese Plantation Creole

This presentation assesses the sources and mechanisms that were involved in the formation of focus constructions in Surinamese Plantation Creole (SPC) using sociohistorical and linguistic evidence. The study shows that these constructions emerged as the result of three mechanisms: retention from the first languages of its creators, selection from varieties of English, and innovation. The sociohistorical data were drawn from recent publications on the early history of Suriname (cf. Arends 1995). They suggest that SPC was created between 1680 and 1695 by native speakers of Gbe and Kikongo who had only a minimal knowledge of the varieties of English used by the early slaves. In the stabilization phase (1696-1720), SPC came under heavy influence from Gbe due to a strong increase in the Gbe-speaking population. A comparison of focus constructions in the modern descendants of SPC and its primary input, Gbe, show that these constructions in SPC closely resemble those in Gbe, suggesting that SPC largely retained them from Gbe. The data also show areas where SPC and Gbe constructions do not match up: the morphophonetic shapes of the focus markers, the ordering of the focus marker and the focused constituent, and some distributional properties of the presentational focus marker. The first two differences are due to the fact that these areas in SPC were selected from the varieties of English. The last emerged as the result of innovation.

D. Gary Miller (University of Florida)
Where do conjugated infinitivs come from?

Historical studies have traditionally assumed that the plain (uninflected) infinitive (PI) is prototypical and the conjugated infinitive (CI) 'deviant'. However, the core distribution in languages as diverse as European Portuguese (EP), Welsh, Hungarian, and West Greenlandic (WGr)--three genetically unrelated--matches the underspecified f-features of traditional PRO with no Agr (the PI) and the specified f-features of lexical/pro subjects with Agr (the CI). The three distinct sources of CIs documented here argue for the naturalness of this distribution. The source of the EP CI can be localized to purposives, the source of the Balkan subjunctive-derived CIs. The Welsh CI goes back to MidW y'to' plus affixed pronoun, the change of pronouns to Agr markers being well-documented. The Hungarian CI goes back to a deverbal noun plus pronominal possessor. In WGr a CI was created from the 'participle' in -tu- by a reanalysis that exploited the surface ambiguity of -q as absolutive singular (nominal case) and 3sg (verb Agr). Disputes on the origin of CIs are resolved by the generality of the identified sources, and an important parameter of 'nonfinite' structures is elucidated.

Marianne Mithun (University of California-Santa Barbara)
The evolution of an adjective category in Northern Iroquoian

Just three lexical categories have been recognized in Northern Iroquoian languages: verbs, nouns, and particles. Each shows distinctive morphology. Verbs must contain pronominal prefixes referring to their core arguments, a verb stem, and an aspect suffix, and may contain an incorporated noun stem and other affixes. Nouns contain a gender prefix, a noun stem, and a noun suffix. Qualities expressed by adjectives in other languages are predicated by means of verbs. The development of an adjective category in Northern Iroquoian is elucidated.

Yukiko Morimoto (Stanford University)
Markedness in Bantu inversion

Bantu inversion constructions involving unergative predicates (e.g. In the country are grazing the cattle in Sestswana; The milk drank children in Kirundi) have been problematic for a unified treatment of inversion including the English locative construction (In front of her sat her mother), which is often analyzed as an instance of inaccusativity (e.g. Coopmans 1989, Levin 1991). An important generalization which is not captured in earlier analyses (e.g. Demnuth & Mmusi 1997, Ndayiragije 1999) is that the realization of agent as object is cross-linguistically marked (also see Lodrup 1999): Such markedness arises only in a pragmatically marked context where...
Julien Musolino (University of Pennsylvania/IRCS)
The limits of isomorphism

This study examines children's knowledge of the semantic interaction between quantificational elements in sentences like

1. Cookie Monster didn't eat two slices of pizza.
2. Smurfette didn't catch two of the birds.

The main result is that 4-year-old children cannot assign 1 an interpretation where the quantified NP two slices of pizza takes wide scope over negation (i.e. there are two slices that Cookie Monster didn't eat) even though this reading is highly preferred by adults. By contrast, 4-year-olds are perfectly capable of assigning a wide scope interpretation when the sentence contains a partitive NP like two of the birds, as in 2. This shows that by the age of 4, children have knowledge of the formal operation responsible for the wide scope interpretation of quantified NPs over negation. However, for reasons that we explore in this paper, children do not always seem to use this knowledge when it is appropriate. We take this failure on their part to shed some light on the mechanisms underlying the process of language acquisition.

Naomi Nagy (University of New Hampshire)
Merry, Merry, quite contrary, how does your dialect go?

It is popularly believed that, under the influence of nationalized media and increased mobility, regional dialects are being leveled. However, numerous studies have indicated that cities retain distinct phonological patterns; rural dialects have received less attention.

The focus of this paper is the rural state of New Hampshire and northeastern Massachusetts (near Boston). The variables under consideration are: (1) the merger of low central and low back vowels, (2) the merger of front vowels before /r/, and (3) postcoronal jaw-dropping.

Verbal repetition is one of the particularly interesting facts about the repetition in Nuu-chah-nulth. One of the most significant examples is the repeated form of the original word, which makes the repeated word sometimes takes a significantly reduced form without the derivational suffixes that are part of the original word, which makes the word form unsuitable for the syntactic and semantic context that the original word occurs in. This type of repetition seems to be functionally specialized as a discourse marker to the extent the form of the repeated expression is not controlled by the requirements of the syntactic contexts of the original word.

Toshihide Nakayama (Montclair State University)
Forms & functions of repetition in Nuu-chah-nulth narratives

Repetition of an expression, whether it is a word, phrase, or sentence, commonly plays an important role in organizing narrative discourse. This paper reports on the use of repetition in narrative texts in Nuu-chah-nulth (Wakashan; formerly known as Nootka). One of the particularly interesting facts about the repetition in Nuu-chah-nulth is that the repeated form is not necessarily a complete copy of the original word. The repeated word sometimes takes a significantly reduced form without the derivational suffixes that are part of the original word, which makes the word form unsuitable for the syntactic and semantic context that the original word occurs in. This type of repetition seems to be functionally specialized as a discourse marker to the extent the form of the repeated expression is not controlled by the requirements of the syntactic contexts of the original word.

Edith Nicolas (University of Melbourne)
Verbal classifier or classifying auxiliary in Bardi (Australia)?: A challenge to typology

The aim of this paper is to present a typological issue which relates to the notion of 'verbal classification' as found in the verbal system of Bardi, an aboriginal language of North Western Australia. Verbal classification (Silverstein 1986; McGregor 1990, in preparation; Nicolas 1998) is found mainly in the Non Pama-Nyungan languages of North and North Western Australia. It involves the classification of a process, according to parameters of movement, direction, and goal. It does not classify a nominal argument, as is the case when nominal classifiers are placed on verbs. I will start by presenting the components of the complex verb in Bardi, the preverb and the verbal base. The verbal base contains information for person, tense/mode/aspect, as well as the classifier. The preverb bears most of the semantic load of the verb. I will then show, through a number of significant examples using the seven most productive classifiers, how processes are classified in Bardi. The identification and description of verbal classification should lead to wider research into similar phenomena in non-Australian languages as well as contribute new data to the general debate of classification.
Nancy Niedzielski (Rice University) (Session 27)

*Construction & perception of a sociolinguistic identity*

Previous research has shown that a great deal of what is perceived as the dialect of a given speaker is a result of what the listener in fact expects to perceive. This phenomenon extends to one's perception of one's own dialect as well: The features that are perceived in our own dialect may in fact be composed of a model of what we believe we sound like, rather than a straightforward inventory of actual acoustic facts. The perception of our own dialect is thus constructed socially rather than acoustically. This paper thus examines self-perception from the viewpoint of social constructivism. Specifically, this paper examines the self-perception of Detroit speakers as speakers of Standard American English (SAE). First, evidence is presented which demonstrates that while Detroiters do perceive phonetic features found in the dialects of speakers affected by the Northern Cities Chain Shift in speakers of some regions (even Northern Michigan), they do not recognize such features in their own speech. Second, this evidence is related to the theory of social constructivism. Finally, several constructs that allow Detroit speakers to construct 'SAE speaker' as part of their identity are suggested.

David Odden (University of Tromsø/Ohio State University) (Session 17)

*A Duke-of-York derivation in Zinza*

Sympathy theory (ST) handles certain interactions between phonological processes with a 'sympathy candidate', which is like an intermediate form. ST is claimed to preclude Duke-of-York (DY) derivations where A → B → A because successful candidates must include all faithfulness violations of the sympathy candidate. This paper motivates a DY derivation in Zinza where, derivationally, H tone is deleted then reinserted phrase medially: *akegaka seengelema/ → akegaka seengelema → akegeka seengelema 'he cooked in Sengerama'. A constraint against phrase-medial H is violated in the input and output, and the mystery is what selects a form with median H in an input-unfaithful position over H in the input-faithful position. The actual output better resembles sympathetic *akegaka seengelema since the loss of underlying H in *akegeka seengelema is replicated in the output. Derivationally, when one H deletes and another is inserted on a vowel, the inserted H is token-wise distinct from the underlying H. Reconstruction of derivational steps in ST shares this property. Comparing *akanywa seengelema with akanywa seengelema 'he drank in Sengerama' (from /akanywa seengelema/), inserted H preserves the unfaithfulness of the sympathetic candidate, by replacing the underlying final H with a token-distinct H in the same position, as in the derivational account.

Mari Broman Olsen (Microsoft Corporation) (Session 14)
Stephen Crain (University of Maryland-College Park)

*Conditional acquisition*

Indefinite NPs (e.g. a strawberry) were presented to children and adults in either the antecedent or the consequent of a conditional statement, as in 1 and 2; in both contexts, there was more than one strawberry.

1. If there is a strawberry on the stage, then I get a coin.
2. If Merlin says 'abracadabra', then a strawberry appears on the stage.

All children consistently accepted sentences like 1 when the indefinite NP was in the antecedent clause, but children's responses to sentences like 2 differed by age—older children accepted them significantly less often than younger children. We infer that, initially, the meaning of the indefinite article for children conforms to classical logic ('at least one'), but older children and adults apply a scalar implicature, yielding the 'exactly one' reading, when indefinite NPs appear in the consequent of a conditional. This argues for a separation of semantic and pragmatic principles, with later emergence of pragmatic knowledge.

Kenneth S. Olson (University of Chicago/Summer Institute of Linguistics) (Session 23)

The phonetic status of the labial flap

The labial flap is attested in 60 languages in Africa and 1 in Indonesia. However, certain problems have beset research on the sound: (1) Questions remain concerning its articulation. (2) Its status as a contrastive unit of speech has been questioned since in some languages it occurs exclusively in ideophones. (3) No consensus has emerged concerning its symbolization. This paper addresses these questions. First, while both bilabial and labiodental versions exist, there is no known language in which this distinction is contrastive. Second, the sound is contrastive with other speech sounds in 15 languages. For example, in Mono (DRC), minimal pairs with most other labial sounds are attested, and the sound occurs in all major grammatical categories. Third, because of the significant number of languages in which the sound occurs, it should not be considered a phonetic rarity (Ladefoged & Everett 1996). Since the sound bears modal values for place and manner of articulation, it fits well into standard sets of phonological features or phonetic parameters. The fact that it is not widely attested may be due to a question of ease of articulation (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996). These considerations argue for inclusion of the sound in the IPA.
The verbal system in the Japrería language, spoken by 187 individuals, does not have morphologically definite regularity as other Cariban languages. The past tense exhibits the punaska morpheme, although it may have no realization at all. Typologically Japrería exhibits very specific characteristics, one of them is that the lexical verb is always preceded by the past tense morpheme; and the subject, whether pronominal or full NP is in initial position; but a subjective pronominal may co-occur with the full NP. The pronominal is always to the left of the verb, and the antecedent, to the right. The latter is found preceding the verb. The predominant word order is OVS although the order SOV is also found. In Japrería we find diversity in typological division. Oquendo (1999) showed four word orders; these affect the free word order in the verbal system. Derbyshire (1985:10) claims, 'The verb may continue to have the decisive role, but with an additional distinct set of patterns emerging for verb medial (SOV, OVS) as against the two that have been assumed so far to be the basic ones'. Is there a pragmatic property in the Japrería language or does it respond to semantic roles in the verbal system, in the sense proposed by Tom Payne (1997) as 'message world?'

Mitsuhiko Ota (University of Edinburgh)
Cross-linguistic evidence for moraic phonology in early child language

In this paper, I present three types of evidence that the fundamental properties of moraic phonology are present in the linguistic systems of children around 2:0. First, children's production during this period exhibits compensatory lengthening of a segment adjacent to a segment that has undergone deletion or shortening. The pattern of lengthening shows that conservation of mora count is at work. Second, a phenomenon akin to closed syllable shortening occurs, indicating that there is an upper limit to the size of early syllables that should be characterized as bimoraic maximality. Third, the relationship between segment sonority and moraicity in early syllables conforms to the generalization made by Zec (1988), which states that the more sonorous the segments is, the more likely that it projects a mora. Thus codas that interact with vowel length are always more sonorous than codas that do not participate in such interaction. The empirical foundation of the claim consists of longitudinal production data of Japanese-speaking children (1:4-2:6), collected by myself, and those of Dutch-speaking children (1:0-2:9) reported in Fikkert (1994).

Sotaro Kita (Max Planck Institute, Nijmegen)
Attention manipulation in the situational use of Japanese & Turkish demonstratives

This paper concerns the situational use of Turkish demonstratives (bu, so, o) and Japanese demonstratives (ko, so, a). We propose a new analysis for Japanese so and Turkish su, about which there is a controversy in the literature. While Japanese so has been traditionally analyzed as indexing a referent near the addressee, it has also been found that it is used for referents not in any sense close to the addressee. Similarly for Turkish there has been a debate in terms of whether su indexes a referent near the addressee or middistance away from the speaker. These studies have been limited in that they have used only nonsituational data such as introspectively constructed examples. We have instead analyzed video-recordings of situational uses of demonstratives in Turkish and Japanese conversation. We have found that both Japanese so and Turkish su are used, in conjunction with a pointing gesture, to direct the addressee's attention to a referent in a new location. They are often used in the first introduction of a visible referent into the discourse and situational context. In this usage the relative distance of the referent either to the addressee or to the speaker is not relevant, contradicting the previous analysis proposed in the literature. We have also found systematic differences between the uses of so and su.

Maria Palacas (University of Akron)
Tense as expressive aspect: The insights of a literary theorist

Tense has historically been viewed as an indicator of time, deictically anchored in a speaker and grounding tense in the referential side of the referential/expressive dichotomy. Along with various well-known challenges to the view, literary usage suggests that tense is more fundamentally expressive than referential. The modern novel in the ilk of Woolf's Mrs. Dalloway, an entire novel of perceptions and thoughts, with no narration of events and no discernible narrator, is timeless. The past tense, co-occurring with contemporaneous/deictic adverbs (now, here), represents the moment of experience of an 'other', as in:

(1) Life itself, every moment of it, every drop of it, here, this instant, now, in the sun, in Regent's Park, was enough.

Likewise, the present tense expresses not time but moments of heightened emotional states, as in:

(2) [He] was happy without her. Nothing could make her happy without him! Nothing! He was selfish. So men are. For he was not ill.

In such literary usage, past and present tenses represent a distal/proximal emotive aspect of experience, suggesting that the virginal meaning of tense is expressive and that the referential function is one pragmatic outworking of tense.
Haihua Pan (City University of Hong Kong)  
Implicit arguments, collective predicates, & dou quantification in Chinese

Lin (1998) claims that Chinese *dou 'all' is the lexical realization of the cover-based generalized D-operator (Schwarzschild 1996) because *dou- sentences exhibit the intermediate reading (IR) and are compatible with collective predicates (CP). However, Lin cannot explain why *Mei-ge bufen dou yi yang (every-CL part all same) and *Mei-ge xiaohai dou hen xiang (every-CL child all very similar) do not have IR. In this paper I argue that, to get the correct reading, we need to appeal to the normal distributive operator analysis (Link 1987) and the existence of implicit arguments (IA) in the relevant CPs, which renders them distributive. My analysis is supported by: (1) The cover-based analysis wrongly allows IR, e.g. it allows cover [\{a, b\}, \{c, d\}] with a and b, and c and d but not all four being the same. (2) Since the IA geng Listi 'with/to Listi' can be recovered, the relevant CP is distributive. However, without IA, the relevant CP cannot co-occur with mei-ge N, e.g. *Mei-ge xiaohai dou juji sai guangchang shang (every-CL child all gather at square). (3) My analysis can also derive the IR for women mei-ge ren dou heyong chufang (we every person all share kitchen) with the value of IA varying with respect to the subject.

Hyeson Park (University of Arizona)  
When- questions in L2 acquisition

Cross-linguistic studies on the acquisition of *wh- questions have shown that both L1 and L2 learners produce *wh- questions in the sequential order of 'where, what >> how, who >> why >> when'. A similar developmental pattern was found in my analysis of the developing English of six Korean children (aged 4-9), who were learning English as an L2 in an immersion context. A particularly noticeable finding both in the previous studies and in my data analysis is that *when- questions are one of the last to appear among *wh-questions. Explanations proposed for the late production of *when- questions in L1 acquisition have been mostly based on cognitive factors such as the cognitive complexity of the 'time' concept. However, the cognition-based approach to *when- questions faces problems in explaining L2 acquisition data in which L2 children, who are cognitively more mature than L1 children, avoid *when-questions in L2 English. In this paper I propose an alternative explanation to the late production of *when- questions, based on linguistic factors. My main argument would be that the complexity of the interaction between the quantificational *when and tense, a bound variable, and the different behavior of bound variables in L1 and L2 cause the delayed production of *when- questions in developing grammars.

Peter L. Patrick (University of Essex, United Kingdom)  
Social correlates of the creole continuum

This paper builds on recent work modelling creole mesolects and the creole continuum and enriching the 'speech community' concept. Rickford's (1987) second definitional criterion for creole continua, unidimensionality, raises central sociolinguistic issues: Can social factors be correlated with linguistic patterns for a number of linguistic variables? Can speakers be ordered in a regular way on both axes? How well do social characteristics explain the patterned choices that speakers make? Do social factors cohere or diverge: Do they lie along a single dimension (as early continuum theorists hypothesized) or require multidimensional space to model their correlations with linguistic production? Contrary to dominant recent arguments in the field, which assert that Caribbean sociolinguistic complexes are unsuitable for either creole continuum or variationist models, the present study both affirms a multidimensional model for the creole continuum and, following standard variationist practice, maps the social structure of an urban creole speech community against the performance data of speakers on a range of linguistic variables. The ordering of speakers according to linguistic production correlates with social status factors such as occupation, education, and residence in ways that echo more general patterns of sociolinguistic variation. Multiple social dimensions are required to model this, in part because changes in progress do not proceed in perfectly synchronized fashion and also because intergenerational social mobility lies behind speakers' patterns of choices.

Olga Petrova (University of Iowa)

Rosemary Plapp (University of Iowa)

Catherine Ringen (University of Iowa)

Szilárd Szentgyörgyi (University of Veszprém, Hungary)

Constraints on voice: An OT typology

Voice assimilation has been the subject of much discussion in the literature, including recent work in optimality theory by Lombardi (1999). In this paper we show that there are problems with Lombardi's account and propose an alternative which builds on the insights of her analysis but does not suffer from its shortcomings. First, following Jessen (1989, 1998) and Iverson and Salmons (1995), among others, we propose an alternative laryngeal typology which distinguishes between languages with distinctive [spread glottis] (e.g. Swedish, German, and English) and those with distinctive [voice] (e.g. Yiddish, Hungarian, Russian). A constraint against [spread glottis] stops is low-ranking in languages with aspirated stops and [*voice] is higher-ranking. On this account, e.g. the so-called devoicing in Swedish, (/øg2+7 > l_[k]+'low' neut.; kɔɡ2+7 > kɔ̈[p] 'bought' part.) is the result of the (bidirectional) spreading of
the feature [spread glottis]. Second, our analysis addresses empirical problems with Lombardi's analysis. For example, the final obstruent clusters in Hungarian (/r-ak/ 'put' 3 sg. decl. def., /r-aj/ 'rak+ad/ 2 sg. imp. def.), incorrectly predicted to be voiceless in Lombardi's analysis, are due to a positional faithfulness constraint (Beckman 1997, 1998), ID-word-final [voice], which requires that word-final obstruents be faithful to their input laryngeal specifications.

**William J. Poser (Carrier-Sekani Tribal Council / Lheidli T'enneh)**  
*D- effect related phenomena in Southern Carrier*

The D- effect is a set of phonological interactions in Athabaskan languages between two /d/-final prefixes, the /d/-valence prefix and the first person duc(-plural) subject marker, and the following consonant, which is either the initial consonant of the verb stem or a valence prefix. The D- effect and associated phenomena are rather different in Southern Carrier dialects from the better described Stuart Lake dialect. The basic D- effect rules are almost the same, but in Southern dialects, when there is no D- effect, an epenthetic vowel is inserted following the /d/-valence prefix, as a result of which it is overtly realized rather than deleting as in Stuart Lake. It is therefore possible to detect in these dialects the occurrence of double /d/-valence prefixes. Moreover, the D- effect is seen to be not uniform, as epenthesis never occurs after the 1d subject. In these dialects some stems (notably 'eat') undergo allomorphy triggered by whether they are in a D- effect environment. In one dialect, however, only the /d/-valence prefix triggers the /d/-allomorph; here again valence /d/ and 1d subject /d/ behave differently. Finally, the Southern dialects, unlike Stuart Lake, have a rule that destops the affricate /l/ after the voiceless lateral fricative. In most dialects, the D- effect counter-bleeds /l/-Softening, but in one dialect it bleeds it. This appears to be a solid example of dialects differing in rule ordering.

**Mónica Prieto (University of Illinois-Urbana)**  
*The relationship between the syllable & the duration of segments in Spanish*

Though the concept of the syllable as a prosodic constituent has been used to explain a large number of phonological patterns in languages, in general, there is a lack of phonetic evidence for it (Ladevogel 1975, Kenstowicz 1994). Waals (1998) showed that in Dutch, durational differences are a reflection of the syllable structure. In the first part of this paper an experiment was conducted in which two Spanish native speakers were asked to read several words that included all of the possible consonant clusters in Spanish. Half of the words were Vliquid + obstruentV; the other half were Vostruent + liquidV. The results indicate that the liquids in the first type are 38% longer than in the second. These results are consistent with the idea that durational differences reflect syllable structure. The second part of the experiment included words like Vstop liquidV and V#stop liquidV. The results indicate that in the first sequence where there is a morpheme boundary, the liquid is 28% longer as opposed to when it belongs to the same syllable. Thus, we can conclude that duration can give clear indications of syllable boundaries.

**Ellen F. Prince (University of Pennsylvania)**  
*Topic vs 'topicalization' in English & Yiddish*

Yiddish and English both have object-initial clauses, traditionally called 'topicalization' [TOP] or 'focus-movement' [FM], modulo the prosody. They are typically assumed to crucially involve 'topics', although 'topic' is rarely defined. In this paper, I first show that the notion 'topic' as formalized in centering theory (CT) (Grosc, Joshi, & Weinstein 1995) is irrelevant to English TOP and is relevant only to a small definable subset of Yiddish TOPs. Then I argue that: (1) English TOP and most Yiddish TOPs both mark a focus/focus-frame information-structure on the proposition conveyed, but English TOP also marks certain fine-grained anaphoric relations between an entity in the clause and an entity already in the discourse-model (Ward 1988, Prince 1998). (2) In those Yiddish TOPs that don't mark a focus/focus-frame, the initial NP is in fact often the 'topic' following CT—but these initial 'topics' are all native experiencers of psych-type predicates. (3) While both English and Yiddish FM mark a focus/focus-frame information-structure, English FM, unlike Yiddish, also marks the information as highly constrained with respect to both semantic type and to the speaker's assumptions about 'shared knowledge'.

**Marek Przedziecki (Cornell University)**  
*Directionality of vowel harmony & vowel-to-vowel coarticulation in Yoruba*

Several phonological analyses of vowel harmony in optimality theory (OT) use constraints such as ALIGN [-ATR, left, word] to account for the harmony patterns (McCarthy & Prince 1993, Akinladi, in progress). While Prince and Smolensky (1993) argue that constraints in OT are part of universal grammar and thus present innately, Ohala (1993, 1994, 1995) and Hale (1999), among others, have argued that phonological patterns have their origins instead in fossilized phonetic patterns. In a study of three Yoruba dialects, I found that some, but not all, of the characteristics of the phonological pattern are present in the phonetics. In particular, the set of vowels triggering harmony, the set of vowels undergoing harmony, and the acoustics of the vowel alternation in the target vowel are all present in the phonetics, but directionality is not. Since the direction of the harmony is not clearly present in the phonetics, we cannot attribute the directionality of the vowel harmony to directionality in coarticulation. These results are consistent with Beddor and Yavuz (1995), who found that coarticulation does not occur in the same direction as vowel harmony in Turkish.
The categories of the Teribe verb

This paper describes and discusses the verbal categories in Teribe, a Chibchan language spoken in Panama and Costa Rica. The main feature determining the organization of the Teribe verbal system and the expression of the grammatical categories of the verb is the verb type: three verb types (positional, movement, and event verbs) determine the expression of such categories as aspect, mood, voice, position, and person (which includes the inclusive/exclusive opposition and switch reference). The verb type is also responsible for the various syntactically (but still discourse) word orders and sentence types in the language. The only category common to all verb, word order, and sentence types is aspect, thereby providing further evidence of its precedence over other categories, especially that of tense. The phenomenon of verb serialization, pervasive in Teribe and strongly connected with the expression of the category of position, is addressed to the extent that it plays a role in the expression of verbal categories and to show that the category of auxiliary is not applicable in Teribe, as has been suggested by some authors (e.g. Koontz & Anderson 1975, Givon & Young 1990).

Eric Rainy (Swarthmore College/University of Delaware)  
Irene Vogel (University of Delaware)  
**Compound & phrasal stress: A case of late acquisition**

This paper investigates the acquisition of one contrastive prosodic phenomenon of English, compound vs phrasal stress (hot dog vs hot dog). This has previously been shown to be acquired quite late, in apparent contrast with recent research showing that very young children both perceive and prefer rhythmic patterns in their own language. We showed 40 children 4–12 years old and 10 adults pairs of pictures representing a compound word and the corresponding phrase. They heard a prerecorded tape with the names of the items, and they had to indicate which one they heard. In addition to nine real compounds and corresponding phrases, nine novel compounds were presented (red cup, an invented type of flower, vs red cup). In addition to a gradual increase in overall correct scores until age 12, we found a highly significant effect of real vs novel compounds (p < .001) and an overwhelming tendency for the younger children to prefer compounds regardless of stress. We conclude that the relatively late acquisition of compound vs phrasal stress is due to the slow development of the ability to use prosodic information to override the extremely strong bias to interpret an item as a compound on purely segmental grounds.

Michael Reider (West Virginia University)  
**On tough movement & clitic promotion in Spanish**

'Long-distance' tough constructions (e.g. Este libro es facil de querer leer 'This book is easy to want to read'), claimed in one study to be impossible in Spanish, were recently tested in a grammatical judgment survey. The results of the survey indicate that native speakers tend to accept these constructions--but only in sentences where the higher (leftmost) infinitive belongs to one of several semantic classes of verbs. These turn out to be the very same verbs which are known to permit clitic promotion in Spanish (e.g. Juan quiere leerlo > Juan lo quiere leer 'John wants to read it'). To account for both types of constructions, a semantically-based analysis is proposed which provides a reasonable explanation as to why the above sentences are acceptable in Spanish while sentences like the following are unacceptable: *Este libro es facil de prometer leer 'This book is easy to promise to read' and *Juan lo promete leer 'Juan promises to read it.'

Richard A. Rhodes (University of California-Berkeley)  
**Plural marking in Sayula Popoluca NPs**

The plural marker in Sayula Popoluca, a Mixe-Zoquean language, appears as an inflection on nouns, pronouns, adjectives, demonstratives, and quantifiers (Clark & Clark 1960, Clark 1961, Clark 1995): jayaw 'men' jayaywat 'men', jeft 'his/this/jeftjat 'they', po'pe 'white' po'jpaat 'white (ones)', ?aye? that 'aye?jat 'those', mechk 'two' mechkat 'two'. The meaning difference between the unmarked and plural marked versions of words is often unclear; plural marking is frequently optional. In isolation a plural marked form generally has the reading of [+human], muj 'big' majat 'big (people)', mechk 'two' mechkat 'two (people)'. An important syntactic fact about the plural marker is that it can only appear once in a NP, mechk po'pe ko'jat 'two white eggs'. Now, as in many head-marking languages, Sayula Popoluca NPs have no obligatory member, but they do have a consistent order as in:

- det Q adj N rel clause
- 'those two white men I saw'

The single plural morpheme of a NP turns out always to be located on the last word before the relative clause slot. Since the Sayula Popoluca plural morpheme is distributed at phrase level, it is not an ordinary inflectional morpheme at all. Generally entities that are distributed above word level are called clitics. I will address the question of what the difference is between bound morphemes and clitics using further Sayula data.
Sarah Roberts (Stanford University)
*Morphosyntactic restructuring in pidgin genesis*

The optimality model of pidgin genesis proposed by Bresnan (1998), which interprets the restructuring process accompanying pidgin formation (at least in part) as involving the promotion of markedness constraints over structure-preserving faithfulness constraints, will be assessed with data drawn from a typologically diverse set of pidgins and their respective lexifiers. Bresnan's analysis rests on the hypothesis that pidgin genesis "begins with a process of simplification in which speakers accommodate their interlocutors by eliminating marked types of forms from their language which are not shared by their interlocutors' language" (1998:4). This hypothesis predicts certain developmental outcomes, depending on the sociohistorical setting. I will examine the pidgins in my sample to see how well Bresnan's model predicts the retention of marked structures from the lexifier. The data will also show the extent to which the restructuring process privileges markedness constraints and observes markedness hierarchies. The data should also show whether harmonic alignment between hierarchies plays a role in the loss and retention of marked forms from the lexifier. Finally I will draw attention to the pitfalls of such an approach in handling diachrony and synchrony.

Taylor Roberts (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
*Second position clitics & agreement*

WITHDRAWN

R. Ruth Roberts-Kohno (Ohio State University)
*Kikamba: Evidence for the tone feature [extreme]*

In this paper, I demonstrate that Kikamba requires the tone feature [extreme] (Ford 1976), a feature which characterizes tones at the periphery of the tonal space. Kikamba is a four-tone language where the Super-High tone and the Super-Low tone pattern together. For example, when the Super-Low tone in 1 deletes in the yes-no question in 2, a Super-High tone surfaces as plain High. In addition, the phrasal Super-Low tone which shifts to the complement in 3 is prevented from shifting to the end of the complement in 4 if a Super-High tone intervenes, a blocking effect which is expected if the two tones share a feature. Finally, phrase-final High to Super-Low Falling tone in 5 corresponds to a Super-High tone phrase-medially in 6. Overwhelming evidence supports the connection between Super-High and Super-Low tone. Thus, a theory of tone features must include the feature [extreme] in order to handle languages in which tones at the periphery of the tonal spectrum form a natural class.

(1) nê ngi fe' It is a dog
(2) nê ngil Is it a dog?
(3) ngãtâtî mekî I will count trees
(4) ngãtâtî mektî I will count the trees
(5) oko' nê mo ašî Firewood is long
(6) oko' nê mo ašî byo Firewood is very long

Donald J. Rosso (University of Chicago)
*Modifier incorporation in Eskimo-Aleut*

In both Eskimo and Aleut, these suffixes appear to function as independent elements in the syntax while being morphologically bound to a stem, thus suggesting an incorporation analysis. However, while the referent of the modifying suffix can be either the subject or object of the verb to which the suffix is attached, the construction is much more common when the referent is the subject. This is quite odd typologically. I examine two approaches to explaining this phenomenon: a government and binding analysis (following Baker 1988) and an autolexical analysis (following Sadock 1991). I conclude that autolexical theory more elegantly explains both the construction itself and its asymmetrical distribution.

Kevin Rottet (University of Wisconsin-Whitewater)
*Phrasal verbs & language contact phenomena: Data from Louisiana French*

The difficulties that English phrasal verbs (PVs) pose for learners of ESL are well known. Somewhat less commonly studied are the amount and nature of loan translation involving PVs in languages in contact with English. While previous studies have shown that the phenomenon can be quite extensive when another Germanic language is involved (such as Norwegian in America), in less closely related languages (e.g. United States Spanish or French in Ontario) PV calquing appears quite restricted. In this paper I will present and examine some data from Louisiana French (Cajun and Creole) to shed further light on possibilities of PV calquing in intense language contact. These processes occur somewhat more extensively in Louisiana than in other French contact varieties previously documented. The data will be examined in light of Weinreich's (1953) typology of contact phenomena involving polymorphic lexical units.
Catherine Rudin (Wayne State College)  
*Grammar knowledge & attitudes among prospective teachers*  
(Session 4)

Changing the way grammar is taught in schools has been an elusive goal for decades. To assess the immediate prospects, I surveyed students enrolled in college linguistics classes required for certification to teach English, language arts, or ESL. The students overwhelmingly disliked whatever grammar instruction they received in elementary or high school and remembered very little of it. Despite self-selection as future language teachers they controlled little grammar terminology and did very poorly at grammar explanation tasks. Astonishingly, however, 100% of these teachers-to-be felt that teaching traditional grammar in school is very important, and nearly all planned to teach it the same way it was (unsuccessfully) taught to them. The most common rationale was that grammar improves writing; ironically most of these students are good writers despite their lack of overt grammar knowledge. A textbook survey and teacher interviews revealed little linguistic influence on current teaching practice. Neither our teacher-education students, the textbooks they will use, nor the current teachers who will mentor them provide much hope for a more valid or interesting approach to grammar in local schools in the near future. The challenge for linguists is clear, but not easy.

Jeanette Sakel (Max Planck Institute, Leipzig)  
*Passive in West Greenlandic*  
(Session 52)

West Greenlandic (henceforth 'Greenlandic') is a typologically interesting language from the perspective of voice. There are at least four different voice structures, all of which are represented by at least three different morphemes: passives, antipassives, causatives, and applicatives. I am primarily concerned with the passive in this paper. The Greenlandic passive is formally marked by one of the following four affixes: -neqar-, -saa-, -toqar-, and -tii-. The affixes -neqar-, -saa-, and -toqar- are all built up by nominalizers which differ in meaning (-neq-, -saa, and -toq) and either the verb for 'have', 'give' or the verb for 'be', 'we'. These three passive affixes differ in meaning: the affix -neqar- is the dynamic passive, the affix -saa- denotes a stative passive and -toqar- an impersonal passive. The fourth passive affix, -tii- is different. This affix also denotes a dynamic passive, in the same way as -neqar-, but its use is restricted. Having developed from a causative, it is restricted to animate, controlling, and intentional subjects, having the same restrictions as causers in causative constructions. However, I argue that this affix nevertheless marks and functions as a passive.

Evelina Sandra (National Experimental University 'Rafael Maria Baralt', Venezuela)  
*Vowel duration & quantity in Guajiro/Wayuunaiki (Arawakan)*  
(Session 56)

In the descriptions of Guajiro (Mosonyi 1975, Mansen & Mansen 1984, Olza & Jusayu 1986, Alvarez 1994, among others), it is common to find statements concerning the phonemic character of vowel length. Furthermore, in the first thorough treatment of the phonology of this language (Alvarez 1985), among the various phonological processes mentioned there is one in which a long, back vowel optionally shortens if followed by [w]. There is also a process whereby a phonemically long vowel surfaces as short when followed by a glottal stop (indicated in the practical orthography by an apostrophe). But reference to a glottal stop is crucial in stress assignment as there is extrametricality of word initial #(C)V sequences, where V represents a short vowel. This leads to a situation in which we encounter pairs of words which behave as potential minimal pairs in terms of stress (otherwise fully predictable), as the difference in underlying length has been obliterated by shortening. This paper presents the first description of vowel duration in Guajiro employing instrumental phonetic analysis. Using Kay Elemetrics’ CSL speech analysis package, recordings made in a sound-treated room were processed, and the mean vowel duration in ms were calculated. Long vowels are at least twice as long as short vowels, thus lending support to the phonological descriptions that have assigned a phonemic status to vowel length. However, the processes of shortening never lead to a reduction in duration that can jeopardize its function in signaling quantity.

Bonny E. Sands (Northern Arizona University)  
*Amanda Miller-Ockhuizen (Ohio State University)*  
*Comparative evidence for new click types in Northern Khoisan*  
(Session 23)

We reconstruct five Proto-Northern Khoisan (PNK) clicks based on comparative evidence from !Xung and Ju/'hoansi: *i* (dental), *Il (lateral), *! (alveolar), *+ (palatal) and *!! (retroflex) based on approximately 50 cognate sets each. The reconstruction of retroflex and forward-release lateral clicks is notable because there is no synchronic evidence that these click types are contrastive (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996, Ladefoged & Traill 1996). Our phonetic fieldwork on Mangetti Dune !Xung (which has a III reflex of *!!) aided in our reconstruction of *!!*. We propose two vectors of change involving the *!! retroflex click. The change of *!! → I is motivated by acoustic similarity. The change of *!! → III → II has an articulatory motivation. A merger between I and III lateral clicks is motivated by acoustic and articulatory similarity. Comparisons which assume a 4-way contrast in PNK, i.e. *i, *il, *+, *!! (Snyman 1997, Traill & Vossen 1997) cannot motivate the existence of synchronic II and III, and I ↔ II correspondences since there is no phonological environment that would condition a change in click type. Recognition of the full range of clicks aids our understanding of the diachronic patterning of clicks overall.
While most researchers agree that both nature and nurture play a part in creole genesis, the majority of hypotheses concerning creolization investigate these constructs within very narrow confines such as syntax or morphology or are based solely on the 'present-day' state of resultant creole languages. Ultimately, these methodologies can offer no explicit insight into process(es) by which the creole grammar evolved. The current study aims to contribute to a fuller understanding of the creolization process in principle. We carry out our experiment, greatly refined from an earlier pilot study, through implementation of an innovative computer modeling technique (Epstein & Axtell 1996) which enables us to 'grow' complex 'societies' and study emerging developments on various levels. With this tool, a more precise examination of the degree and extent to which sociodemographic factors interact with so-called biological aspects of creole formation becomes possible, allowing us to tease apart quantitatively (if not qualitatively) the role and ratio of each component of language acquisition.

Ronald P. Schaefer (Southern Illinois University-Edwardsville) (Session 1)
Possession transfer & Emai's classifieratory verbs

This paper examines previously undescribed possession transfer constructions in Emai, a Benue-Congo language of Nigeria's Edoid group. Email fails to exhibit a generic GIVE verb, relying instead on transitive verbs of object manipulation and the verb particle li 'to/for'. The verbs nwu and roo impose on their transferred object (ekpa 'bag') a classifieric scheme of size and weight

-oje nwu li ekpa li aleke
'Oje gave the [large/heavy] bag to Aleke'

-oje roo li ekpa li aleke
'Oje gave the [small/light] bag to Aleke'

Other verbs classify by shape and consistency: vbalq 'to scoop with a laddle' or sa 'to scoop with a bowl' and the direct object ang 'water':

-oje vbaalq amg li aleke
'Oje gave water with a ladle to Aleke'

-oje sa amg li aleke
'Oje gave water in a bowl to Aleke'

And kpolo and maa with the direct object ivin 'palmnuts':

-oje kpolo ivin li aleke
'Oje gave palmnuts in his hand to Aleke'

-oje gave palmnuts [in his hand] to Aleke'

Obligatory direct object classification by verbs is not limited to GIVE sentences; it characterizes TAKE and BRING constructions as well.

Amy J. Schafer (University of California-Los Angeles) (Session 6)
Prosocodic phrasing effects in Korean sentence comprehension

In prior prosodic parsing research, disambiguating prosodic structures have shown significantly different effects from ambiguous contours in the processing of dispreferred syntactic structures. We show that in certain circumstances an ambiguous contour can be as helpful to the comprehension of initially dispreferred structures as a disambiguating contour. We tested Korean sentence fragments containing syntactically ambiguous Adj-N1-N2 strings in a cross-modal naming task. Four accentual phrasing patterns were tested: (1) the default phrasing pattern, in which each word forms an accentual phrase; (2) a phrasing biased toward N1 modification; (3) a phrasing biased toward complex-NP modification; and (4) a phrasing used with adjective focus. Patterns (2) and (3) are disambiguating phrasings; the other two are commonly found with both interpretations and are thus ambiguous. The results showed the expected significant difference between the default prosody and the prosody supporting the initially preferred syntax. However, the default prosody was nonsignificantly different, and numerically faster, than the disambiguating prosody for the initially dispreferred syntactic structure. We claim that the Korean case differs from others in the relative timing of key syntactic and prosodic information, such that accentual phrasing in the Korean disambiguating contour primarily influenced reanalysis processes instead of first-pass parsing.

Amy J. Schafer (University of California-Los Angeles) (Session 6)
Paul Warren (Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand)
Shari R. Speer (University of Kansas)
S. David White (Ohio State University)
Shari Sokol (University of Kansas)
Prosodic disambiguation in ambiguous & unambiguous situations

Recent psycholinguistic work suggests that prosodic disambiguation of syntax may depend on the level of ambiguity in the discourse situation: Untrained speakers disambiguate in ambiguous situations but do not do so in unambiguous situations unless instructed (Allbritton, McKoon, & Ratcliff 1996; Straub, 1997). However, these claims were based on productions gathered with oral reading
tasks, which can have pragmatic goals and production demands quite different from those for spontaneous speech. We describe effects of prosodic disambiguation and situational ambiguity in semisponstaneous speech data collected with a cooperative boardgame task. Key utterances contained a globally ambiguous prepositional phrase attachment which could describe two distinct moves in the game. The game design elicited the target string in situations which were unambiguous, biased, and ambiguous between the two moves. Utterances were scored for their degree of situational ambiguity, subjected to detailed prosodic analyses, and evaluated by naive listeners in a simple categorization task. Results of both analyses show that speakers frequently disambiguated the construction. Further, prosodic disambiguation was as strong in unambiguous situations as in ambiguous ones. We thus argue that prosodic disambiguation is largely independent of situational ambiguity and more accurately predicted on the basis of general phonosyntactic constraints in the language.

Wolfgang Schellinger (University of Konstanz)
Case after case: Double case-marking in Dravidian

Suffixaufnahme is a cross-linguistically relatively rare way of category marking within noun phrases: The attributive nominal not only carries its own case marker, e.g. genitive, but in addition the case of its head is repeated on the attribute thus leading to multiple case marking as illustrated below from Malto (Mahapatra 1979):

cm ramaki-n Taka-n pesa-n TunDaydam
1plExcl RamaoBEN-ACC rupePACACC pai:ACC see.neg.prf.pst.pl.exc

'We have not seen Rama's money'

Malto is a Dravidian language not mentioned in Plank 1995, a detailed survey of Suffixaufnahme. The Malto Suffixaufnahme facts will be evaluated in terms of the universals posited in Plank 1995. In some respects, Malto is a typical Aufnahme language, e.g. in having agglutinative morphology; in other points it is in a minority of Aufname languages, e.g. in not having ergative alignment; in still others it is completely at odds with the universal predictions, e.g. in not having adjectival agreement with the head noun.

Natalie Schilling-Estes (Georgetown University)
Laurie Zimmermann (Old Dominion University)
On the progress of morphological change: was/weren't leveling in Smith Island English

In this paper, we investigate the nature of morphosyntactic vs phonological change through a variationist analysis in which we compare the progress of a morphosyntactic change with that of two phonological changes in the historically isolated community of Smith Island, MD. The island dialect is characterized by increasing usage levels for a number of unusual features, including the pronunciation of /ay/ with a raised nucleus and the pronunciation of /aw/ with a fronted glide, e.g. [salnd] 'sound'. In addition, an unusual leveling pattern has arisen, one in which past be is regularized to was in positive utterances (e.g. we wax) but to weren't in negative (she weren't). Despite the rapidity of change in /ay/ and /aw/, change in past be is slower. Reasons for the lag are both linguistic and sociolinguistic. The morphosyntactic change is shown to involve systemic reorganization while the phonological changes are of a more surface nature. Social factors are implicated as well. Neither feature is stigmatized, as we might expect for vernacular morphosyntactic forms. However, the feature that has spread the fastest, glide-fronted /aw/, is the only one with positive social value as a marker of islander identity.

Martha Schulte-Nafeh (University of Texas El Paso)
Against morphological recovery of null subjects in a morphologically rich language

The conventional intuitive explanation for null subjects is that morphologically 'rich' languages allow them because an overt pronoun subject is informationally redundant in such a language. Subject f-features can be recovered from the verb. This intuitive connection has been formalized in numerous syntactic proposals (e.g. Chomsky 1981, Hyams 1986, Rizzi 1982). Languages which allow null subjects although verbs in the language bear no subject f-features present an empirical challenge to this morphological richness argument. Jaeggli and Safir (1989) answer the challenge in their morphological uniformity proposal whereby uniformly inflected and uniformly uninflected languages both license null subjects but the recovery mechanism in uniformly uninflected languages involves a discourse-based inferencing strategy. In this paper we argue and give evidence that recovery of the subject referent is discourse-based and that inflectional morphology merely redundantly agrees with the discourse-recovered subject, even in a language that has rich verbal inflection. The data presented are from a corpus of conversational Egyptian Arabic and native speaker judgments. We conclude that the syntactic representation of sentences with null subjects must allow for strings with underspecified subject $\phi$-features and that explanations of null subjects in terms of morphological recovery are misguided even for languages with rich verbal morphology.

Bonnie D. Schwartz (University of Durham)
Rex A. Sprouse (Indiana University)
Parallels across L1 acquisition & child L2 acquisition: Truncation does not suffice

This paper argues that despite substantial parallels between early stages in child L2 acquisition and the root infinitive (RI) stage in L1
acquisition, the differences that emerge preclude a unitary analysis. Our starting point is Prévost's (1997) dissertation, which examines (longitudinal) data from two English-speaking children acquiring French (Lightbown 1977) and two Italian-speaking children acquiring German (Pienemann 1981). Prévost formulates 10 hypotheses based on Rizzi's (1993, 1994) theory of truncation and tests each against the two sets of data. He concludes that the RI stage in L1 acquisition is paralleled in child L2 acquisition of French and German and, more specifically, that nonfinite root clauses in child L2 French and German exhibit the properties of genuine RIs as conceived under truncation for L1 acquisition. We question these conclusions. We show that truncation is most successful in regard to the two sets of data, in different ways, are problematic for six of Prévost's hypotheses. These nontrivial differences indicate (minimally) that L1 truncation theory cannot explain child L2 acquisition.

Rachel Selbach (McGill University)

Oketa in Solomon Islands Pijin

In Melanesian Pidgin, both the third person plural pronoun and the nominal pluralizer are derived from English 'altogether'. In Solomon Islands Pijin, oketa varies freely with oloketca, oketa, oka, ota, and ot. No divergence has been found for the different grammatical forms, though the resources are obviously available. This so-called typical structural feature of creoles, where the 3ppl-nominal pluralizer is found in homophony restricted to PCs and, coincidentally and mysteriously, the substrates of PCs. Furthermore, it appears that the substrate does not quite so uniformly as previously claimed encode the pluralization of nouns with the 3ppl pronoun (or vice-versa?), or when it does, it is often but one of several possibilities for pluralization. The 'feature' is not the result of unconstrained transfer. The first question is why, if this is a marked feature copied from the substrate, creoles chose to copy this form of pluralization and not another; secondly, why are the forms not dissociating once they are grammaticalized, and several different phonological variants are available as resources; third, is this link/feature really such a rare phenomenon? It is suggested that though third person pronouns and plural markers may be distinct grammatical elements in linguistic theory, they express the same concept, 'several of' 'other', and that such cognitive links must be kept in mind when investigating the origins of structures in languages.

Jack Sidnell (Northwestern University)

Progressive, habitual, & imperfective in Guyanese Creole: a case of inter-systemic variation

This paper describes variation in the grammar of aspect in Guyanese Creole. In particular, the various grammaticalized strategies for conveying habituality, progressivity, and imperfectivity are discussed. The paper contributes to an ongoing debate regarding the function of various preverbal markers and their interrelationships (see Bickerton 1975, Edwards 1984, Gibson 1988, Jagnauth 1994, Rickford 1987, Winford 1993). Grammatical variation across a categorial and semantic mismatch is analyzed using Goldvarb. Choice of preverbal marker is shown to be strongly conditioned by the stativity of the predicate (in the case of habituals). Drawing on the insights of Weinreich (1953), it is suggested that partial congruence between relatively independent grammatical systems encourages recurrent interlingual identifications.

Laura Siegel (University of Pennsylvania)

Semantic bootstrapping & ergativity

Pinker (e.g. 1984, 1989, 1994, following Grimshaw 1981 and Macnamara 1982) has suggested 'semantic bootstrapping' to account for children's beginning acquisition of syntax. According to semantic bootstrapping, children are born with linkings between some semantic categories (e.g. agent of action) and syntactic categories (e.g. subject of active sentence). Then, they use real world/contextual information to identify the semantic category and 'bootstrap' their way into the syntax. Ergative languages (which group together the subjects of intransitive verbs and the objects of transitive verbs and distinguish these from the subjects of transitive verbs) are a possible counterexample for semantic bootstrapping because grammatical subjects are not treated uniformly. I investigate whether semantic bootstrapping can account for the acquisition of case-marking inflection in ergative languages, as Pinker (1984, etc.) has argued for and Pye (1990) has argued against. I argue that semantic bootstrapping could account for the acquisition of case inflection in ergative languages. However, I argue that it cannot account for the acquisition of case-marking in split ergative languages because I show that in these languages the linking rules can be disrupted without linguistic marking. Given evidence of this type, I argue for a distributional account of case-marking acquisition rather than a semantic bootstrapping account.

Arthur P. Sorensen (White Plains, NY)

Stress sandhi & the word in Tukano

In Tukano, stress phonemes are suprasegmental, co-occurring with and identifying the syllable. Like stress phonemes cannot occur in contiguous syllables; hence morphophonemic stress alternation (sandhi) may occur as words are formed from root and suffix morphemes. In its interplay of primary, secondary, and tertiary stress phonemes, as they occur in word and morpheme superordinate
and subordinate stress positions, the stress system thus carries a word-identifying role and a heavy morpheme-identifying role that extends to the word's roots and suffixes, clarifying long, agglutinative sequences. The stress system gives a characteristic cadence to the sound of Tukano. Calculated use of stress sandhi can at times have grammatical bearing, such as for nominalization. Besides their sheer descriptive value, materials accumulating on stress systems are significant for typological studies in the distribution of suprasegmental phonemic features.

Arthur K. Spears (City University of New York)

Stressed stay: A new AAVE aspect marker

Stressed stay occurs in sentences such as:

1. He stay flossing
   'He's always/frequently flossing'

2. She stay pregnant
   'She is frequently pregnant'

This new aspect marker has been observed in the speech of the New York City area and most probably exists throughout the northeasland perhaps other areas of the country as well. Stressed stay expresses FREQUENTATIVE HABITUAL aspect and should not be confused with 'save-face' stay which appears to be more widespread age-wise. This second stay is exemplified as follows (showing also the distinctively AAVE agentive form):

3. You gone stay hit from him?
   Are you going to allow him to hit you and get away with it?

Stressed stay has the grammatical features associated with most auxiliaries distinctive to AAVE (Labov 1998). It may become a permanent feature of AAVE or turn out to be nonpermanent, as was steady (which in any case was not an auxiliary).

Ray Stegeman (Summer Institute of Linguistics, Guyana)

Aspects of Akawaio (Kapon, Cariban) noun phrase syntax

Certain aspects of the Akawaio (Kapon, Cariban) noun phrase will be presented, especially as regards morpheme ordering, attributive marking, and noun classification. Akawaio is an ergative language (having special constraints on subject, agent, and patient noun phrases) with unique morphophonological attributes. For example, the possessive marking suffixes combine with root endings to transform the new stem in various but predictable ways. These will also be noted in the presentation. The data are a result of four years' fieldwork among the Akawaio of Guyana, near the Venezuela border.

William Stone (Northeastern Illinois University)

Syllable structure in AAVE

In this paper, I provide evidence that basilectal AAVE as spoken in Chicago today has a different syllable structure than Standard English. The literature on AAVE discusses at length features such as and deletion and word-final cluster simplification. I propose that these features, as well as the omission of other consonants from word-final syllable codas, can be explained more economically by the analysis that basilectal AAVE has a syllable structure that doesn't allow consonants in the coda. In this way it is similar to 'other' creole languages. The differences in syllable structure can also partially explain certain aspects of copula omission. I propose that the existence of coda consonants in mesolectal AAVE is due to progressive insertion. The data on which this study is based come from self-collected recordings of 18-24-year-olds in Chicago.

John Stonham (University of Hong Kong)

Woman-buay vs two-have: Two types of incorporation in Nootka

Baker 1988 describes incorporation as a construction in which a single morphologically complex word does the work of two words.... We present two operations in Nootka which may both be described as incorporation but where a clear distinction can be drawn between lexical and syntactic incorporation. These two constructions have very different characteristics and serve two distinct purposes in the grammar, the former acting as an alternative to compounding, which is not allowed in Nootka, and the latter as a syntactic operation of fronting. Lexical incorporation bears many similarities to compounding, occurring within the lexicon and producing generic forms combining bound verb + object. The meaning of the result is often idiosyncratic.

1. haayu.miiik.aa 'marry' (< hluchma-Haa 'woman-buy...')
   This operation co-exists with syntactic incorporation, which involves the movement of the leftmost element of the object NP into the bound matrix verb:

2. haayu.miiik.aa [ - ?uh?is muu ?iihtuu]np
   ten-captured and four whales
   'He captured fourteen whales' (lit. 'he ten-captured and four whales')

Differences between the two types of incorporation clearly demonstrate that it is necessary to make a clear distinction between lexical and syntactic varieties of incorporation.
Thomas Stroik (University of Missouri-Kansas City)
Evidence for the light verb hypothesis

Kitahara (1997) argues that functional categories are grammatically motivated either by output conditions at phonetic form (PF) and/or logical form (LF) or theory internally. According to Kitahara, the functional categories T, D, and C have semantic justification—T has a [finiteness] feature, D has a [referentiality] feature, and C has a [mood] feature. On the other hand, the light verb v (a functional category) has only theory internal motivation. In this paper, I demonstrate that the light verb is not precariously dependent upon theory internal arguments for its justification. Rather, it has phonetic and semantic justification; it bears the feature verb form (VForm). Hence, the light verb is motivated in the same ways that the other functional categories are.

Caro Struijke (University of Maryland-College Park)
Cost-free alternations in reduplication: Evidence from Lushootseed variation

This paper argues for an input-output correspondence relation that relates inputs to entire output words, including both the base and reduplicant in reduplicated words (rather than the base alone, or the base and reduplicant separately, as in McCarthy & Prince 1995). Given this broad faithfulness relation, multiple correspondence is established in reduplicated words, and a conflict between markedness and faithfulness constraints in unreduplicated words can disappear in reduplicated words, even though they contain the same phonological material. Evidence for this claim comes from Lushootseed (Salish), which shows optional vowel reduction in unreduplicated words (Urbanczyk 1996). The variation is analyzed as free ranking of conflicting markedness and faithfulness constraints (Reynolds 1994, Antula 1997). In one variant form, vowels reduce to satisfy a markedness constraint. In the other variant, vowels do not reduce in order to satisfy faithfulness. In reduplicated words, vowels must always reduce because both constraint types can be satisfied: Reduction in one member of the base-reduplicant pair ensures satisfaction of markedness while faithful parsing of the vowel in the other member ensures satisfaction of faithfulness. Thus, no matter how these constraints are ranked, reduction takes place in reduplicated words.

Laurel Smith Stvan (University of Utah)
Semantic classes of bare singular NPs

This paper outlines the lexical semantic categories of location nouns found as bare singular NPs, based on an examination of 922 naturally occurring tokens. The study reveals that the nouns fall into five classes, determined by characteristics of the referent of each NP and the type of preposition with which the NPs occur. The largest group is social/geographical spaces (e.g., at camp, in court, off planet) containing six subtypes: controlled zones, religious settings, educational settings, parts of a household, nautical settings, and natural features. These bare singular forms, whose use is tied to a conventionally implicated meaning, have additional semantic constraints: Either the location must be a place of a habitual activity (thus at church and in school but not *at park or *in library) or the location must be able to be referred to deictically as meaning this base, my campus, etc. The smaller groups are recording media, framing expressions, two subtypes of temporal interruption events, and purely metaphorical uses. Though membership in these groups is by itself insufficient to predict that an NP will show up in bare form, these divisions reveal information about how speakers categorize the referents of bare singular NPs.

Joseph Subbiondo (California Institute of Integral Studies)
The semantic theory of Owen Barfield: The study of consciousness in linguistic theory

Owen Barfield (1898-1997)—scholar, lawyer, playwright, poet, and novelist—wrote about a broad range of subjects including history, critical theory, mythology, philosophy, stylistics, and science. While his writings were diverse in genre and content, a recurring theme permeated his work: Human consciousness is evolving, and its evolution can be documented in the history of semantic change. In his earliest scholarly work, History in English words (1926), Barfield initially articulated his thesis by sketching a history of the English language to demonstrate that it reveals an evolution of consciousness from the ancient Greeks to the 20th-century British. Barfield continued to develop his semantic theory in many of his later works, especially in his Poetic diction: A study of meaning (1928) and Speaker’s meaning (1967). This paper will focus on Barfield’s semantic theory as the rationale for his theory of historical linguistics.

Meghan Sumner (State University of New York-Stony Brook)
Vowels as onsets in Spanish

This paper provides an experiment and the results that support the representation below as a licit syllable structure.

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     o   
  /

\  |  /  |
/

C V V C
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The structure above claims that vowels, when they are the initial segment in hiatus contexts, can act as onsets to the following syllable when the syllable has no consonantal onset. I propose that this is a possible representation. I use an experiment involving Spanish aimed at the length of the initial vowel in Spanish VV sequences both word internally and word finally when followed by a vowel initial word or syllable. Examples of a few test words and phrases are included below.

José glivió la fiesta.  Pepé glivió la fiesta.  organo
José habió a mi madre.  Pepé habió a mi madre.  implagado

The main hypothesis is that if vowels do in fact act as onsets to the following syllable, we should then see phonetic lengthening of about 8-10 milliseconds. With respect to phonology, such a structure would add a possible analysis of onset deletion in compensatory lengthening languages, showing that while phonological lengthening doesn't occur, phonetic lengthening does. This representation also gives support to the preference of onsets and another means with which this preference can be implemented.

Keiichiro Suzuki (University of Arizona)
Jessica Maye (University of Arizona)
Kazutoshi Ohno (University of Arizona)
On the productivity of lexical stratification in Japanese

In previous research, the Japanese lexicon has often been divided into strata: native, Sino-Japanese, and foreign. Despite the use of historicizing terms like 'native' and 'foreign', Ito and Mester (1995a, 1995b, 1998) argue that the stratification is based on synchronic phonological patterning. For example, only words from the native stratum exhibit the morphophonological process Rendaku, which voices an initial segment in compound words. In this paper, we ask whether native speakers will apply Rendaku to a nonce form on the basis of its phonotactic placement within a particular stratum. We created three lists of nonce Japanese words, corresponding with the phonotactics of the three strata. These nonce words were then prefixed with a real Japanese word, and native Japanese speakers were asked how they would pronounce each of the compounds. If the stratification of the Japanese lexicon is a synchronic phenomenon, then nonce words with native-stratum phonotactics should undergo Rendaku while other nonce words should not. We did not observe a correlation between lexical stratum and Rendaku. Our findings support Ohno's (1999) claim that new words undergo phonological processes on the basis of their similarity to existing lexical items rather than being assigned to strata on the basis of phonotactics alone.

Sali A. Tagliamonte (University of York, United Kingdom)
You must talk it, you got to speak it': Insights from the modal auxiliary system in English dialects

In this paper I present a cross-variety analysis of variation among must, have to, have got to, got to, and gotta, to express obligation, requirement, or necessity in four North American dialects as in: What goes up; must come down. Spinning wheel got to go 'round. (Fifth Dimension) Preliminary results reveal that must is present but rare. However, there is robust variability among have to, got to, and gotta. I compare and contrast the varieties on extralinguistic dimensions and internal factors associated with the development of these forms, e.g. epistemic vs agent-oriented modality, clause type, generic vs specific reference, negation. Quantitative techniques and the comparative method are used to assess their direction of effect, significance, and relative importance. The results reveal that each community represents a different 'slice in time' which is reflected not only in the varying distribution of forms but also in their patterns of use. This provides some insights into what earlier points in the trajectory of development of this area of the grammar may have been like and how internal grammatical constraints and social factors conspired to propel the emerging modal gotta to dominance in contemporary mainstream vernaculars.

Maggie Tallerman (University of Durham)
Morphophonological idiosyncrasies: Clitics vs affixes in Welsh & Breton

Clitics are not typically associated with morphophonological idiosyncrasies while affixes often are. Welsh and Breton display an intriguing language-specific instantiation of this property. While clitics always trigger the same consonantal mutations as their full form counterparts, affixes can trigger mutations different from those required by the functionally-related full forms. In Colloquial Welsh the full form of the 1sg possessive pronoun, yn, triggers nasal mutation (NM) of a following noun: dinas ‘city’ becomes yn ninas ‘my city’. Yn has a simple clitic variant, ‘m, hosted by any preceding vowel-final word, which also triggers NM:

(1) i’m ninas
   to-1sg city
   ‘my city’
In formal/archaic varieties another 1sg form, ‘m, is followed by the canonical initial consonant, *not* NM---hence dinas not *ninas:

(2) i’m dinas
   to-1sg city
   ‘my city’
Independent factors confirm that ‘m is a clitic whereas ‘m is an affix: (1) Clitic ‘m attaches freely to any appropriate host while affix ‘m is highly selective in its attachment. (2) Clitic ‘m is an optional contraction of the related full form, as is expected of a simple clitic while affix ‘m is neither an optional contraction nor a phonetic reduction of a full form.
Susan Tamasi (University of Georgia)

Linguistic perceptions of Southern folk

Studies in perceptual dialectology have shown that a Southern region is the one area of the U.S. that is most commonly distinguished by informants. This same region, however, is rated the lowest in terms of 'correctness' and 'pleasantss' by midwestern informants. Due to these results, the next logical step in perceptual research would be to study the southern point of view. Therefore, I chose to move out of the classroom and talk to common southern folk about their linguistic beliefs. Thirty-two Georgia natives were asked to look at the map of the U.S. and perform the 'draw a map' and 'rate the state' tasks of traditional perceptual studies. I found that these participants did rate the states differently than the midwesterners; the Georgia residents gave strong ratings for 'pleasantss' to the states in the south. The ratings for 'correct' speech, however, reveal a strong linguistic insecurity; states in the north were frequently rated higher than those in the south. This paper also analyzes the regions which emerged through the participants' responses. These boundaries give insight into not only the Southern view of America but also the stereotypes into which Southerners group Americans and their speech.

Elyse E. Tamberino (State University of New York-Stony Brook)

Markedness & wellformedness effects on unfooted syllables in children's speech

Recent work in child phonology shows that children tend to omit syllables that are not footed and/or not part of a prosodic word, and that English speaking children show a preference for trochaic feet (Gerken 1996, Massar 1996, Carter & Gerken 1997, Massar & Gerken 1997). Here I offer additional data showing that while young children do show a preference for trochaic feet, segmental variables must be included in the explanations of weak syllable omissions. Based upon children's imitations of disyllabic nouns of the form weak-strong, I argue that these omissions which have been previously considered to be metrical in nature result from the interaction between faithfulness constraints such as MAX, wellformedness constraints such as PARSE and FOOT = TROCHEE, and markedness constraints like MINIMAL SONORITY DISTANCE and SONORITY SEQUENCING GENERALIZATION triggered by the segmental quality of the input.

Ying Ying Tan (National University of Singapore)

Intonation patterns of the ethnic subvarieties of Singapore English: A substratist analysis

The dynamics of linguistic evolution, interaction, and innovation in a multiethnic and multilingual Singapore have resulted in a surge of academic interest in describing and justifying the linguistic ecology in the past two decades. A small island with a population of 3 million, this land nurtures within it a complex linguistic arena that consists of many different languages including Mandarin, Cantonese, Hokkien, Malay, English, Tamil, Malayalam, just to name a few. This multiethnic and multilingual environment makes Singapore a fertile ground for language contact and interaction. Investigating the intonation patterns of the ethnic subvarieties of Singapore English, this paper argues that this suprasegmental feature in Singapore English shows a clear indication of substrate influence. Using both the auditory and instrumental approaches, intonational features such as global curve, pitch movement, pitch range, peak alignment, and the sizes and slopes of rises and falls in both the subvarieties of Singapore English and the mother tongues are investigated. The results show that not only do the intonation patterns differ among the ethnic varieties, the unique intonational features of each variety can also be traced to their respective substrate languages, showing a strong case of substrate influence. This could possibly indicate that Singapore English is moving along the same life cycle as that of pidgins and creoles.

Hidekazu Tanaka (University of British Columbia)

Floating quantifiers & two types of adverbs

I claim that two types of adverbs are distinguished in Japanese--S-adverbs and VP-adverbs--each of which has a fixed position in a phrase marker: S-adverbs are adjoined to IP, and VP-adverbs to VP. Their apparent free distribution results from scrambling of surrounding constituents. Floating quantifiers (FQs) are a subclass of adverbs. Subject FQs (SFQs) are S-adverbs (IP-adjoined), and object FQs (OFQs) are VP-adverbs (VP-adjoined). FQs, unlike other adverbs, form a constituent with the quantified NP by LF: FQs are generated in the same position as adverbs but adjoin to the quantified NPs for [number] feature checking. I will show this by examining a sequential constraint on adverbs, scrambling constructions, and cleft constructions. I also point out similarities between the proposed analysis of FQs and Saito's (1994) account of multiple wh- questions. The two analyses can, therefore should, be collapsed together. Cinque's (1998) analysis of the distribution of adverbs is discussed in light of the proposed analysis.

Gina Taranto (University of California-San Diego)

Unaccusative get: Evidence for underspecification in complex predicates

Previous analyses of passivization with get in English (Judy got invited to the party) focus either on its semantic/pragmatic uses (its typical adverstive connotation; R. Lakoff 1977; Chappell 1980, 1986) or its syntax--analyzing get as an unaccusative predicate with a small-clause complement headed by a passive participle (Haegeman 1985). I present an analysis that unifies the syntax and semantics of the construction by positing specific event-structure representations that capture the previously unnoticed fact that the distribution
of get-passives is restricted to cases in which the get-passive subject is causally affected. Building on Doron & Rappaport-Hovav's (1991) representation of affectedness as a separation property, I define the notion 'causally affected' and show its incorporation into event-structure decompositions of get and the passive participle with which it occurs. When combined with mapping principles from event-structure to argument-structure and from argument-structure to syntax, a formal mechanism is provided for representing this semantic restriction on get-passives. Additionally, this analysis predicts a quirky behavior of causative get with respect to its status as an ECM/object-control predicate. Causative get will be shown to pattern syntactically like an ECM predicate but semantically like an object-control predicate, suggesting that ECM and object-control are not discrete categories.

Marie-Lucie Tarpent (Mount Saint Vincent University)
The original structure of Sapir's 'characteristic Penutian form of stem'

In the article (1921) in which he first extended Dixon and Kroeber's 'Penutian' group north of the California border, Sapir called attention to 'a characteristic Penutian form of stem', namely CVCV(C) with a degree of vowel harmony. Examples of this form of stem abound in those languages originally designated as 'Penutian' (Wintu, Maidu, Miwok, Costanoan, and Yokuts), as well as in Takelma. In many cases, the initial C1VC2- recurs in several stems with a different C3, suggesting the possibility of reconstructing the stem as *CVC-(V)(C), a structure that is still transparent in Wintu and Takelma. Many of the CVC roots thus isolated have correspondences with those in other languages also placed by Sapir in the Penutian 'phylum', such as Coos and Tsimshianic. On the other hand, there are cases where it is the C2VC3 component of the typical California stem that corresponds to CVC roots in other languages of the phylum, while the C1 corresponds to an attested C3- prefix: The stem can then be reconstructed as *C@CVC. It seems then that Sapir's typical CVCV(C) Penutian stem can be left through affixation or reduplication. While individual CVCV(C) stems are common to only a minority of languages, the recurrence of CVC roots, as well as C3's or prefixes, related through regular sound correspondences throughout the phylum, strengthens the hypothesis that at least some version of 'Penutian' is a valid genetic group (Tarpent 1997).

Daniel Taylor (Lawrence University)
Why the accusative case is called the accusative case

Varro's translation of Greek ptosis assistake as Latin casus accusativus has been severely criticized. Yet Varro's choice of accusativus over causativus—now Priestian understands—can be readily explained, or so this paper argues. We need to understand that Varro thinks and writes both etymologically and analogically. That is to say, he is constantly subject to a tyrannic du deus. That is to say, he is continually subject to an etymological and analogical usage. He is not, for at least one typically idiosyncratic Aristotelian technical usage is germane, indeed, crucial, to explaining the Varronian adjective. The criticism directed at Varro's calque is based on modern, not ancient, linguistic notions, however, and is thus misguided. This paper therefore surveys both the history of grammatical nomenclature for case in Greek and Roman antiquity and the misunderstanding of that tradition in 19th-century classical philology and linguistics.

Alex Louise Tessonneau (University of Paris VIII)
Aspects sociaux du créole en France métropolitaine

Dans la migration, les attitudes des originares des Antilles envers le créole revêt un aspect paradoxal qui déconcerte d'autant plus qu'elles s'éloignent de ce qui se pratiquait. Symbole de revendication identitaire, le créole devient langue de reconnaissance communautaire, moyen d'exclusion et d'opposition pour certains alors que pour d'autres il est un objet lié à un passé révolu qu'il n'agit d'occulter. Ces aspects sont assez préoccupants pour qu'on les examine de près et que l'on en mesure les conséquences. A partir d'une enquête sociolinguistique nous nous proposons d'examiner et de commenter ces différents points.

David Testen (University of Chicago)
Excrescent obstruents in the development of Semitic stems

The stem-formation processes employed by the Semitic languages are routinely expressed in terms of an abstract 'root', a set of ordered consonants associated with a broad semantic sphere and linked with various 'patterns' to yield a set of morphologically relatable stems. While the root exercises a retarding influence on phonological change, this influence is not absolute. While the root exercises a retarding influence on phonological change, this influence is not absolute. Since the root-pattern system is ultimately predicated simply upon the requirement that there be a perceptible connection between stem and root, it is possible for phonological changes to result in secondary roots—rather than a change being 'undone' by analogy—in a small set of cases a new root has been extracted from a stem via reanalysis. Instructive examples of this process may be seen in cases in which secondary obstruents arising originally as the result of contact between sonorants have become incorporated into the root. Since the triconsonantal sequence resulting from the introduction of an epenthetic stop (e.g. *-ml- < *-mf-) ran counter to later Semitic phonotactics, the sequence was often simplified through either consonant-elision or epenthesis. In many cases, therefore, a considerable gulf separates the final reflexes from their starting point and the various cognates from one another.
Shiao Wei Tham (Stanford University)  
'Split' person across agent nominals in noncanonical Malay clauses

OSV (Object-preposed) clauses in canonically SVO Malay (Chung 1976) have, in some dialects, been noted to be in complementary distribution with the passive (indicated by the verbal prefix *di-) in terms of person features of the agent nominal. This complementarity can be described using a hierarchy of prominence for nominals: Local-person pronouns > 3-person pronouns > proper names > NPs (adapting Silverstein 1976). In dialects exhibiting this split, agent nominals on the higher (leftmost) end are always compatible with O-preposing, and those on the lower end with the passive. Importantly, no dialect displays the opposite pattern. Assuming O-preposing to be topicalization (Alsagoff 1992) rather than passive (Guilfoyle et al. 1992), this paper argues that the agent person split stems from the relative markedness of certain associations between grammatical person (e.g. local/nonlocal) and grammatical function (core/noncore). The split is captured via optimality theoretic (Prince & Smolensky 1993) constraints derived from harmonic alignment of prominence hierarchies (Aissen 1998). This method yields the invariantly-ranked constraints *Local/Noncore *NonLocal/NonCore, indicating that local person noncore functions are marked. These interact with a word-order constraint *OV: *Local/Noncore >>*OV >> *NonLocal/NonCore restricts O-preposing to local-person agents; *Local/Noncore >> *NonLocal/NonCore >> *OV allows nonlocal agents in O-preposing.

Sarah G. Thomason (University of Michigan)  
M(m) (m): Degemination in Montana Salish?

Degemination is certainly not a general phonological process in Montana Salish (Flathead); geminates are common both at ordinary morpheme boundaries, as in *m-nas 'it's wet', and as a result of the reduplication of a root consonant, as in /p'un-m/ 'it became brown'. But in some combinations of suffixes that share a consonant, a morphophonemic process of degemination has taken place. An especially clear case is the regular reduction of the suffix string [-nt-en] 'transitive-1sg.agent' when the second suffix is unstressed and thus loses its vowel; /-nt-en/ --> -nt --> -m --> [m]. In this paper I will argue that a similar process may affect certain sequences of suffixes that contain (or consist of) /m/. The major problem is to decide whether a given -m suffix is present but inaudible or absent because it is incompatible with another -m suffix.

Elzbieta Thurgood (California State University-Chico)  
An OT approach to systems in conflict: Baba Malay word stress

The stress system found in Baba Malay (BM) originated when Chinese immigrants shifted from Hokkien to local varieties of Malay. This change from Hokkien to Malay required a shift from a tonal system in which pitch is assigned lexically to a stress system in which pitch is assigned by the prosody and morphology of the word. It is evident that the transition was not easy. Stress assignment in Malay is basically trochaic with an iambic structure emerging in two cases: (1) when a schwa occurs in the first syllable of a disyllabic word; and (2) when a monomorphemic word is suffixed, the last syllable of the root is ultimately assigned the primary stress (Cohn & McCarthy 1994). In BM, word stress is also based on the foot. However, in contrast to Malay, the main stress always falls on the final syllable and thus is always iambic. The analysis argues that these two Malay patterns licencing the Malay iambic foot are the major sources of the BM iambic foot. The study further argues that suffixed BM words pattern with compounds in which the first prosodic word is less prominent then the second. The data show that, besides the BM word stress, the speaker at times uses the Malay word stress. The study discusses the difference between the two and concludes that it is not possible to correlate them either with the social factors or with the text discourse.

Graham Thurgood (California State University-Chico)  
Identifying the modern descendants of the Northern Cham

The Northern Roglai (NR) of Vietnam and the Tsat of Hainan are subgrouped together by shared innovations that include the innovated preploded final nasals and the loss of final *-s after Proto-Chamic (PC) long *-a. The absence of these same innovations in the southern Chamic dialects also provides evidence that these two languages were originally in the north. Where was the homeland of the NR/Tsat group? Certainly not where the speakers are located today. Not in the south; the two highly-marked innovations in the NR and Tsat subgroup are not found in southern dialects. The highlands of the modern NR is also out. How would the Tsat get to Hainan island from there? Indeed, the Hainan island location of the Tsat argues not just for an original location along the coast but also for the original speakers being partially traders, as all coastal Chamic communities were. Thus, the NR/Tsat subgroup represents the descendants of the so-called Northern Cham, who split roughly a thousand years ago under pressure from the Vietnamese 'push to the South', with the traders fleeing by boat to Hainan and the remaining speakers fleeing inland to the south.

Nubia Marlene Tobar Ortiz (University of La Guajira, Colombia)  
Causatives in Guajiro/Wayuunaiki (Arawakan)

The purpose of this paper is to describe the causative constructions in Guajiro/Wayuunaiki, an Arawakan language spoken by over 300,000 people in Colombia and Venezuela. We will examine lexical, morphological, and syntactic causatives, paying special atten-
tion to the most widely used morphological causative with the suffix +ira (and its allomorph +e?e?ero). We will also show that this morphological causative can only be constructed with active verbs which include all transitives and some intransitives, thus leaving a large number of intransitives without possibility of having morphological causatives. This split intransitivity feature is solved by employing syntactic causative. The remainder of the paper will be dedicated to the examination of the interplay between the valency increase and the conjugalional systems.

Almeida Jacqueline Toribio (Pennsylvania State University)
Language attrition & innovation in a contact situation

Seliger (1989, 1996) proposes that language attrition in the context of bilingualism does not result simply in deterioration of language ability but also in the creation of forms that are unique to the speaker’s first language. The present work seeks to examine the language productions of an ‘attrited’ Spanish-English speaker, focusing on the social and psychological factors that encourage first language attrition, the linguistic processes that are involved in the dissolution of first language abilities, and the contributions of the particular languages in contact. While our interest is analyzing the speaker’s Spanish-language grammar, the insights afforded by her codeswitching behavior will additionally inform our study. For while proficient bilinguals may alternate between the languages in their repertoires in accordance with the ‘observables’ of the interaction and produce codeswitched speech in which the morphological and syntactic integrity is maintained within identifiable unilingual segments, an ‘attrited’ bilingual may lose a sense of what is grammatical for one or both of the languages and not be able to control the mixing of the two. That is, the bilingual may not be aware of the transfer and mixing of elements from one language to another and the creation of new forms’ (Seliger 1989:176).

Frank R. Trechsel (Ball State University)
Obviation & voice in Southern Tiwa

This paper investigates the role of obviation in the grammar of Southern Tiwa (Tanoan). Although this language lacks both an overt proximate/obviative distinction on nouns and an overt direct/inverse distinction on verbs, the paper argues that obviation, in the sense of Algonquian linguistics, exerts a powerful and profound influence both on the distribution of incorporated and free nouns in the language and on the distribution of active and passive voice. The complex global splits which are observed in both of these domains are formally explicated in terms of a small set constraints on the relationship between the obviation status of a given NP and its grammatical relation. First, all third person NPs must be either proximate or obviative. Second, a proximate NP must appear in a higher grammatical relation on the hierarchy Subject > Primary Object > Secondary Object than an obviative clausemate. Third, all obviative NPs must be either incorporated or oblique. The paper demonstrates that together, these constraints induce both the attested pattern of incorporation in the language and the correct distribution of its active and passive voices.

Pavel Trofinovich (University of Illinois-Urbana)
Wendy Baker (University of Illinois-Urbana)
The effect of vowel assimilation on perception & production in Korean/English bilinguals

The objective of this study is to determine how learners’ native language phonology accounts for their perception and production abilities at varying stages of learning a second language phonology. In particular, this study investigated whether the learner’s ability to succeed in mastering sounds in a second language may be predicted, among other things, by how closely sounds in the learner’s second language (English) relate to those in the learner’s native language (Korean) or by what is called perceptual mapping. Specifically, the subjects, who differed in their age of arrival and in their amount of English experience, participated in production, perception, and perceptual mapping tasks. The results of this study indicate: (1) Not only do the results of perceptual mapping and perception/production tasks correlate, but this correlation changes as a function of age (strongest predictor) and amount of linguistic experience. (2) Different vowels and different environments are more learnable than others, regardless of age of acquisition or amount of experience. (3) The results of perceptual mapping help explain why some people are better than others at producing and perceiving vowels, regardless of age of acquisition and amount of experience.

Maria Tsiapera (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)
The end of enlightenment & the beginning of the age of history

During the last years of the 18th century discontinuity is where philosophical thought was at. Where did this discontinuity come from and how did it affect language theory? In other words, what was the intellectual environment that got us away from general grammars? Away from Condillac’s as well as Herder’s universals of grammar? At the end of the 18th century, there was a move away from identities and differences to organic structures whose totality performs a function. The relationship between one organic structure and another is dependent on the identity of the relationship. These organic structures are discontinuous so that what emerges is analogy and succession. These fixed forms of succession proceed from analogy to analogy. From the end of the 18th century, history steps forward and becomes the basis for explanation. Thus, from William Jones onward, historical significances characterize linguistic events that are linked in an enduring causal chain. The development and progress of historical linguistics becomes the theoretical basis for the 19th century. In the 19th century the concern was between events and origin, between evolution and source.
Siri G. Tuttle (University of California-Los Angeles)  
*Acoustic correlates of verb stem tone in Western Apache*

In Jicarilla Apache, an Athabaskan language spoken in Northern New Mexico, stem-initial [t] comes from proto-Athabaskan *[n] and also from *[t]. This paper investigates the phonetic realization of these two [t]. *[t]<*[n] is reported to have voiced variants (Potter et al., to appear) in a closely related Apache dialect. In addition, *[t]<*[n] participates in alternations in Jicarilla: *[n]<*[n] is found instead of *[t]<*[n] when beginning a nonhead stem (e.g. in a compound). Tokens of words containing the two [t]s were compared with the control phone [k]. Five speakers of Jicarilla Apache were recorded using a word list which included three words containing *[t]<*[n], five words containing *[t]<*[d], and one word containing [k]<*[h]. A Fisher's PSLD showed significant differences between [t]<*[t] and [t]<*[n] in voice onset times as well as between these two phones and the truly aspirated [k]<*[t]. The significant difference between the two [t]-phones in Jicarilla shows that it is not necessary to refer directly to the historical status of synchronic phones in describing alternations such as those found in Jicarilla compounds. But it is necessary to regard the two [t]s as phonologically distinct.

Siri G. Tuttle (University of California-Los Angeles)  
*Willem J. de Reuse (University of North Texas)  
A near-merger in Jicarilla Apache*

In Jicarilla Apache, an Athabaskan language spoken in Northern New Mexico, stem-initial [t] comes from proto-Athabaskan *[n] and also from *[t]. This paper investigates the phonetic realization of these two [t]. *[t]<*[n] is reported to have voiced variants (Potter et al., to appear) in a closely related Apache dialect. In addition, *[t]<*[n] participates in alternations in Jicarilla: *[n]<*[n] is found instead of *[t]<*[n] when beginning a nonhead stem (e.g. in a compound). Tokens of words containing the two [t]s were compared with the control phone [k]. Five speakers of Jicarilla Apache were recorded using a word list which included three words containing *[t]<*[n], five words containing *[t]<*[d], and one word containing [k]<*[h]. A Fisher's PSLD showed significant differences between [t]<*[t] and [t]<*[n] in voice onset times as well as between these two phones and the truly aspirated [k]<*[t]. The significant difference between the two [t]-phones in Jicarilla shows that it is not necessary to refer directly to the historical status of synchronic phones in describing alternations such as those found in Jicarilla compounds. But it is necessary to regard the two [t]s as phonologically distinct.

Motoko Ueyama (University of California-Los Angeles)  
*The effect of L1 prosodic patterns on L2 lexical accent realization: English vs Japanese*

In both English and Japanese, accent is lexically specified, and F0 is an essential correlate in accent realization. However, in English, stressed syllables are longer than unstressed syllables while in Japanese there is no systematic durational difference between accented and unaccented syllables. The active role of F0 in L1 Japanese and L1 English may facilitate the production of a F0 contrast between lexically accented and unaccented syllables in L2 English and L2 Japanese. However, in learning English, Japanese speakers must learn to activate duration. In contrast, English speakers must learn to suppress duration. Is the activation of an inert L1 correlate harder or easier than the suppression of an active correlate? Experimental data from four native English speakers, eight Japanese learners of English, four native Japanese speakers and seven English learners of Japanese show that the active role of F0 in L1 positively transfers to both L2 English and L2 Japanese, as expected. Furthermore, the data indicate that increased exposure to English input can help Japanese learners of English activate the duration correlate, which is inert in L1 Japanese, but it does not necessarily help English learners of Japanese suppress this correlate, which is active in L1 English.

Suzanne Urbanczyk (University of Calgary)  
*The base(s) of Salish double reduplications*

Salish languages use reduplication to indicate distribution/plurality (CVC-) and diminution (CV-). When the two reduplicative morphemes are combined in a single word, four situations have been found to occur. This paper examines these conditions and their implications for how the base of reduplication is defined cross-linguistically, supporting McCarthy and Prince's (1993; henceforth MP93) proposal that it is an adjacent string. In some cases, only one order of morphemes is found, where diminutive (DIM) precedes distributive (DIST), as in Mainland Comox (Watanabe 1994). In Lushootseed, DIM and DIST can occur in either order (Broselow 1983). In both cases, the initial reduplicative morpheme copies adjacent segmental material, consistent with MP93's proposal. In several Interior Salish languages, the DIST morpheme skips over DIM to copy only root material (Broselow 1983). In this case, the skipping of DIM material can be related to the cross-linguistic preference for reduplicative morphemes to copy root material (captured by MP93's constraint RED Root). And finally, Upriver Halq'emeylem exhibits a situation where doubly reduplicated words rarely occur (Galloway 1993). While plurals can be formed by CVC- reduplication, plurals of diminutive words are frequently created by infixing -t after the first consonant. In this case, the explanation for why reduplication is blocked is because the productive way to form plurals is by infixing -t, not reduplication. Thus other explanations for why there are no doubly reduplicated stems cannot be supported (c.f. Rose to appear; Buckley 1997).
Edward J. Vajda (Western Washington University)  
Evidence for a genetic link between Na Dene & Yeniseian (Central Siberia)  
(Session 51)

The presentation discusses typological, morphosyntactic, lexical, and phonological parallels between Yeniseian (with Ket in Central Siberia as the only surviving member) and Na Dene (minus Haida) to suggest a deep genetic link between these families. Typologically, both Yeniseian and Tiingt-Eyak-Athabaskan contain phonemic tonal contrasts involving glottalization, and an unusual juxtaposition of SOV + postpositions with a predominantly prefixing verb morphology. More significantly, new research on the polysynthetic Ket verb complex reveals a set of vestigial structural elements parallel to the Athabaskan-Eyak 'classifiers', and Tiingt 'extensors'. Lexical cognates recently published by Ruhlen (1998) are expanded and found, in a few cases, to reveal systematic sound correspondences also detectable in the morphosyntax. This evidence for a genetic link with Ket supports the argument that lexical and typological similarities between Haida and Tiingt-Eyak-Athabaskan are areal rather than genetic in origin. Significant grammatical differences between Ket and Na Dene, such as the system of nominal case suffixes in Ket and various types of classificatory verbs in Na Dene, are also explained as having likely resulted from local areal contact. The data are presented in the form of a working hypothesis rather than as final proof of the conclusions suggested.

Pilar Valenzuela (Max Planck Institute, Leipzig/University of Oregon)  
Case-marking & evidentials in Wariapano: A synchronic & diachronic account  
(Session 55)

Wariapano, also known in the literature as Pano, is a Panoan language that used to be spoken in the proximity of Contamana, Department of Loreto, Peru. Considered the idioma general of the Ucayali and Madre de Dios rivers, (Wari)apano served to name the whole family. Despite its historical and linguistic importance, no contemporary description of any aspect of Wariapano grammar is available, and the place of this language within the Panoan Family remains to be established. Based on the data contained in Navarro (1927) and Parker et al (1992), and appealing to comparative Panoan evidence, I propose a synchronic and a diachronic account of two core aspects of Wariapano grammar—its case-marking system and the existence of person-marked evidentials. After laying out the case-marking patterns found in Wariapano and briefly discussing the points of disagreement between the two sources mentioned above, I show that the Wariapano system is innovative and might have developed from the grammaticalization of a pragmatically marked subject topic construction into an unmarked subject one. Another interesting aspect of Wariapano grammar is the existence of an evidential marker which exhibits different endings depending on subject person distinctions. In this paper, I claim that person-marked evidentials in Wariapano (as well as person-marked mood particles in the related language Kashibo-Kakataibo) result from the cliticization of doubled pronouns (comparable to 'copied' or 'coreferential' pronouns in some Uto-Aztecan languages) which are used as a pragmatic strategy in Panoan and apparently also Takanan languages.

Gerard Van Herk (University of Ottawa)  
Them ain't speaking to me: Lexical range in Barbados  
(Session 44)

Barbadian creole English (Bajan) is often considered a semi-creole (Hancock 1987), perhaps descended from an earlier full creole (Fields 1995). Many Barbadians, however, control an acrolectal form, distinguishable from Standard English (SE) largely by lexicon, phonology, and a limited range of acceptable crossover features. The Barbadian mesolect is recognized by features like subject pronouns in object position (I telling she off), noninverted questions (How you could go?), copula deletion, and the second person plural pronoun unna. The present study reports broad findings from data collected in Barbados in 1998, representing a broad range of age, educations, SES, urbanization, and lect. At one end, basialectal Bajan is instantiated by object pronouns in subject position (Them ain't speaking to me), monomorphic aim (It ain't concern you), the de form (She de lucky), and negative inversion. Middle spectrum informants show rapid loss of even mesolectal features. At the acrolectal end, features like habitual be, not in other lects, suggest African American Vernacular English (AAVE) may be supplementing SE as a linguistic model.

Gerard Van Herk (University of Ottawa)  
James A. Walker (University of Ottawa)  
'Since my Last, things has Taking quite an other aspect': Verbal -s in early Liberian Settler English  
(Session 32)

The use of transplanted varieties to reconstruct linguistic history—standard in historical linguistics—has recently proven controversial in the African American English (AAE) origins debate. While studies of verbal -s have generally confirmed its parallel conditioning across early AAE and contemporaneous nonstandard dialects, recent studies have called into question the transmission of British dialectal constraints to AAE. On the basis of data from Liberian Settler English (LSE), Singler (1999) argues that such constraints were transmitted only in the 'fringe agricultural areas' of the U.S. since LSE speakers from Sinoe, which was settled predominantly from the Deep south, do not use the British 'Northern subject rule' (requiring -s with subjects other than adjacent personal pronouns). To test Singler's argument, we examine verbal -s in antebellum letters of African American settlers in Liberia. Preliminary results show that, although Sinoe and non-Sinoe settlers differ in the overall distribution across the grammatical paradigm, the linguistic constraints are virtually identical. These findings argue that the constraints found in other corpora of early AAE were also brought over by the first Liberian settlers and suggest that the present differentiation of Sinoe LSE is the result of subsequent internal linguistic change.
Bert Vaux (Harvard University)
Flapping in English

English flapping (bunr \( \rightarrow [b \text{nt}] \)) is often cited in introductory linguistics contexts as a simple rule that produces allophones in clear-cut phonological environments. Closer examination of the (Standard American English) data reveals that all such analyses are incorrect or incomplete, failing to account for some subset of the word classes represented by rider, hunter,  barter, divinity, Mediterranean, Baltimore, under, Langdon, Sumner. Furthermore, all existing analyses fail to account for the following: (1) Flapping applies to twenty, county, hunter, but not in seventy, ninety, carpenter. (2) Flapping is not allowed in spirantization. (3) Flapping occurs in capitalistic, but not in milliaristic. Flapping occurs in important but not in poet. Flapping is optional in some words (enter) but mandatory in others (barter). I argue that these facts demonstrate that flapping cannot be analyzed as a single process but rather consists of a complex of three rules targeting \( t, d, \) and \( n \) respectively. Furthermore, I suggest that the flapping facts shed new light on the foot structure of English words and the ways in which it is assigned.

Shelley L. Velleman (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
Marilyn M. Vihman (University of Wales-Bangor)
The optimal 'initial state'

There has been a great deal of discussion in the optimality theory literature regarding the 'initial state' of a child's phonology. Proposals include random initial constraint rankings, all markedness constraints ranked above all faithfulness constraints, and vice versa. Data from four children, each exposed to a different language, were analyzed at the same two developmental points. A constraint ranking was derived for each child at each point. Frequencies of violation of related markedness and faithfulness constraints, e.g. Onset and MAX\textsubscript{C}(Onset) were compared to determine which types of constraints (markedness or faithfulness) are prioritized by each child. The results suggest a possibility not previously considered: pairwise constraint ranking. All four children selected words for production which made it possible for them to avoid choosing between violating markedness and violating faithfulness. Different children seemed to avoid violating different pairs of constraints. These findings have implications for the use of the term 'initial state' to refer to the child's constraint ranking at the onset of word production. If different children already have different constraint rankings at that point, they may have been influenced before the onset of word production by the ambient language and/or by idiosyncratic articulatory and perceptual experiences.

Alejandra Vidal (University of Oregon)
Pilag\textsubscript{i} (Guaykuruan) as an active-stative system: Semantic shift & lexicalization

The Pilag\textsubscript{i} verb is obligatorily marked for subject with prefixes that are organized into active and nonactive paradigms. Although in most active/nonactive systems many verb roots take prefixes from both classes, for a considerable number of Pilag\textsubscript{i} roots there is no such choice—they can take only one set of prefixes. Even when certain activity verbs can be potentially marked by either nonactive or active forms, the combination prefix + verb does not automatically yield a reflexive (patient-oriented)/nonreflexive (agent-oriented) distinction. It is also typologically interesting that with motion verbs such as go and come, the difference between active/nonactive encodes deictic reference (i.e. orientation towards or away from the self). Examples show that trying to cast semantic features such as 'agenthood' and 'control' (or volition) into one set, and 'stativity' and 'noncontrol' into the other does not completely work in Pilag\textsubscript{i}. Verbs which require agency or control are found in both groups. Unlike Iroquoian (Mithun 1990), which distinguishes temporary vs inherent conditions, in Pilag\textsubscript{i} some temporary states (be standing) appear with active forms while others (be sitting or be sick) must take nonactive forms. Verbs of motion-cum-directionals also appear in both groups. While eat occurs solely with active prefixes, drink (also seemingly an agent-controlled activity) occurs only with nonactive prefixes. Since subject prefixes are not morphologically based nor are the semantics of agentiality and stativity predictable on the basis of class of subject prefixes, I conclude that the choice of prefixes must synchronically be lexically triggered in Pilag\textsubscript{i}.

Zvjezdana Vrzić (New York University)
Explaining contact influence in pidgin/creole genesis: The case of negation in Chinook jargon

Chinook Jargon (CJ) has a homogeneous set of source language (Thomason 1983). However, while CJ, an SVO pidgin, did not retain the VSO word order, it has 'presentential negation'. First, syntactic properties of CJ sentential negation are considered. The negative marker \textit{wek} is a specifier of NegP/PoIP within the 'expanded' CP (Rizzi 1997). CJ has no negative concord, and negative quantifiers raise to NegP/PoIP overtly. Next, the properties of CJ sentential negation are compared to two representative source languages, Chinook and Chehalis. Chinook and Chehalis negative markers are in pre-IP, there is no negative concord, and negative indefinites are preposed. Also, the position of their negative markers relative to other elements within CP is comparable to the one in CJ. In addition, Chi and Che negative words are composed of aninterrogative pronoun preceded by a negative marker, just like in CJ. In the last section of the paper, reasons for contact influence in the syntax of negation in CJ are discussed, especially in view of the lack of retention of VSO word order. Considerations regarding the semantics of functional features and economy conditions are invoked (cf. Chomsky 1995; Kayne 1994; Zanuttini 1994, 1997).
Robert S. Wachal (University of Iowa)
How to design a dictionary of American abbreviations

(Session 26)

First of all any plan has to take into account audience interests, which in some cases may be different from what they once were. Areas of obvious current interest include, but are not limited to, computers, health (the population is aging), and real estate ads. Some areas have been seriously underrepresented in earlier compilations of abbreviations. New areas such as computers, internet chatting, and dating ads require consideration. Methods of collecting include plumbing such sources as a database from an existing general dictionary, specialized dictionaries, published sources, and the worldwide web. Publishers' specifications and limits are also crucial to the design. Some of the problems encountered will be discussed, and the resulting dictionary will be described briefly.

Laura Wagner (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
The role of aspect in children's early temporal interpretations

(Session 14)

Research based on children's early production of verbal morphology (e.g. past tense -ed, progressive -ing) suggests that there may be an initial bias for children to posit aspectual meanings over tense meanings (e.g. Shirai & Anderson 1995, Antinucci & Miller 1976). The experiment reported here investigated whether children's comprehension of verbal morphology (here, auxiliary is and was) is aspect-based or tense-based. A sentence-to-scene matching task was used which pitted tense information (events happening at different times) against aspect information (events happening to different levels of completion). Results showed that children in the youngest group (mean age 2:6) were aspect-based while older children's performance (range 3:2-5:2) was tense-based.

I-Ping Wan (National Dong Hwa University, Korea)
Jeri J. Jaeger (State University of New York-Buffalo)
The phonological representation of Mandarin vowels

(Session 7)

There have been several conflicting analyses of the underlying vowel system of Mandarin, with proposals ranging from three to six vowels (Fu 1980, Wu 1994, R. Cheng 1966, Lin 1989, C. Cheng 1973). In this study, evidence from a corpus of 1,050 slips of the tongue collected in naturalistic settings from native speakers of Mandarin is examined. The patterns of substitution and alternation found in syntagmatic phonological errors, as well as the patterns of substitution found in paradigmatic lexical substitution errors, fully support the five-vowel system of Lin (1989)/i, u, y, a, e/, and do not support the other proposals.

William F. Weigel (University of California-Berkeley)
Cultural contact-induced restructuring of semantic domains in Yowlumne

(Session 25)

The phenomena treated in this paper are language changes (in particular, the reorganization of lexical items within a semantic domain) which are induced by cultural contact but which do not necessarily involve the borrowing of actual linguistic material from the source culture's language. This particular type of contact-induced change seems not to have been differentiated in the literature from more ordinary cultural or linguistic borrowing, although it is no doubt quite common. The paper examines several domains (food, clothing, commerce, kinship, etc.) in Yowlumne (aka Yawelmani), a highly endangered Yokuts language spoken in central California. In each case there has been a change in the generic or prototypical term within a given category, usually for reasons transparently related to changes in the Yokuts way of life. Similar phenomena occurring in immigrant languages are also examined. The paper will consider the significance of this evidence to the nature of language death and its connection with cultural loss.

William F. Weigel (University of California-Berkeley)
Switch reference in Yokuts languages

(Session 57)

This paper will describe switch reference in Yokuts languages in the context of the typology of switch reference generally. Several of these languages have a switch-reference morpheme (Yowlumne -raw and cognate forms in other languages) that is traditionally called the 'nondirective gerundial' and is apparently related historically to the Yokuts locative. This morpheme is part of a system of several (perhaps 6-8, depending on the language) subordinate verb forms that vary in their aspectual and coreferential properties. Like switch reference operators elsewhere, -raw has been described as requiring that its arguments be distinct from the main clause arguments (both subject and object). It also typically encodes perfectivity or contemporaneity. Other properties of this morpheme, however, are more idiosyncratic and have not been explored in the literature. For example, it is often not used in contexts that would appear to fit its aspectual and coreferential properties. Thus in narratives involving multiple third-person participants, use of the switch reference operator appears to reflect the low topicality of the verb's subject. In other third- or first-person narrative or conversation, however, its purpose seems solely to keep the participants sorted out in a language that otherwise has sparse resources for encoding person and number: 'ama dab haavan dossitaw but (she) laughed when (I) told (her)' [lit. 'and though laughed tell<raw>']. Of special note, also, is the use of -raw with 'zero-valence' impersonal verbs of weather, time, etc., as in tawaanwiytaw 'when it dawned...'.

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Jeff Williams (University of Maryland-College Park)

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CoiiD C of Kittian English Creole (cf. Baker et al 1998). This discovery has awakened the debate over causative forms in child English.

appearance of objects of deletion of either consonant. I propose to solve this and related problems with a new approach to contextual neutralization. Working

D. H. Whalen (Haskins Laboratories)
Randall R. Benson (University of Connecticut)
Matthew Richardson (Haskins Laboratories)
Brook Swanson (Haskins Laboratories)

Testing the existence of a speech-specific processing system: fMRI evidence

Speech perception typically relies most heavily on the acoustic signal. The seemingly parsimonious explanation is that sounds are the objects of speech perception and that auditory analysis precedes speech analysis. This stance, though generally accepted, fails to account for many data sets. An alternative proposes that listeners recover linguistically significant vocal tract movements ('gestures') rather than 'sounds'. The present experiment reports functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) evidence supporting immediate speech processing. We compared brain activation in passive listening to speech and nonspeech signals, matched for duration and loudness. Each further varied 'complexity': for speech, increasing from steady-state vowel to consonant-vowel (CV) to CVC syllables (all nonwords); for nonspeech, increasing from tones to chords to three-chord sequences. A sizable cortical area, bilateral (even for the males) and posterior to primary auditory cortex, was selectively active for speech. Crucially, a portion of primary auditory cortex was selectively active for nonspeech. Moreover, greater complexity increased activation for both types but in largely separate areas (speech being left posterior temporal). Thus increasing phonetic complexity does not entail increased auditory analysis; rather, these two dimensions appear to be orthogonal, giving a functional neuroanatomical basis to the immediacy of speech perception.

Jeff Williams (Cleveland State University)

Anguillian English Creole & the Kittian texts of Samuel Mathews

A recently discovered set of late 18th/early 19th century texts by Samuel Mathews are purported to be representations of an early form of Kittian English Creole (cf. Baker et al 1998). This discovery has awakened the debate over the role of the Leeward Antilles, and St. Kitts in particular, in the genesis and diffusion of an English-related creole throughout the Caribbean Basin. However, there is disagreement over the basilectalness of the variety that may have been diffused. The paucity of information on Kittian English Creole, which works from the mesolect outwards will be outlined.

Collin C. Wilson (Johns Hopkins University)

Targeted constraints & contextual neutralization in optimality theory

I address a problem posed by phonomena of contextual neutralization such as the consonant deletion in llej+ku+jawl → lkekujaw (Diola Fogny 'they won’t go'; Sapir 1965). This example conforms to a broad typological generalization: Deletion processes that resolve illegal intervocalic biconsonantal clusters consistently delete the FIRST member of the cluster (at least when the consonants have equal sonority). Previous optimality theoretic analyses correctly identify the first consonant of such a cluster as the 'weaker' one. But they nevertheless fail to capture the generalization above because the contextual constraints they employ are equally satisfied by deletion of either consonant. I propose to solve this and related problems with a new approach to contextual neutralization. Working within the licensing-by-cue framework (Steriade 1997, among others), I characterize 'weak' elements as those that lack robust perceptual cues. I then argue that the constraints responsible for contextual neutralization target weak elements: Given a candidate containing a weak element x, these constraints prefer only the candidate that is identical except that x has been removed. This theory, which yields a more restrictive typology of contextual neutralization, is formalized by replacing the standard violation-based definition of OT optimization with a definition that is based directly on harmonic orderings.
Elizabeth Winkler (Columbus State University, GA)  
A gender-based comparison of native & borrowed discourse markers in Limonese Creole

In the Caribbean province of Limon, Costa Rica, many people speak both an English-based creole language as well as Spanish, the national and dominant language of Costa Rica. Because both Limonese Creole (LC) and Spanish are commonly spoken in practically all domains of use in the Afro-Costa Rican community, codeswitching and borrowing from Spanish into LC are quite common. This study analyzes the differing use of native and Spanish discourse markers in LC discourse by women and men. A number of factors contribute to the differences in the way men and women use discourse markers including the role of Spanish in the community and the use of discourse markers as mitigators by women. For example, women borrow more discourse markers from Spanish because they consider the use of prestige forms important, and in Limon prestige is equated with Spanish. Women are more likely to use prestige forms because they are more aware of the interconnectedness of language and power.

Walt Wolfram (University of North Carolina-Raleigh)  
Clare Dannenberg (Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University)  
Natalie Schilling-Estes (Georgetown University)  
Constructing ethnolinguistic identity in a tri-ethnic context

Although American sociolinguistics has been preoccupied with some ethnic varieties (e.g. African American English), there has been little discussion of how other ethnic groups, particularly in tri-ethnic contact situations, fit into the ethnolinguistic divide between Anglo and African American varieties. We address this issue by examining a Native American English variety in the context of a rural community in Southeastern North Carolina where European Americans, African Americans, and Lumbee Native Americans have lived together for nearly three centuries. The Lumbee lost their ancestral language early in their contact with outside groups. However, their sense of ethnic distinctiveness has persisted, and they have shaped a unique English dialect through the retention of features from donor dialect sources, selective accommodation to neighboring groups, and independent innovation of distinguishing characteristics. Our analysis demonstrates that even in the face of pressure to accommodate culturally and linguistically to mainstream ethnic groups, as well as to mainstream conceptions of ethnic relations (e.g. the Lumbee have often been considered to be 'mixed' or 'Black' rather than 'true' Indians), speakers are quite capable of preserving and enhancing ethnic uniqueness through the intricate manipulation of the various linguistic resources at their disposal.

Saundra Wright (Northwestern University)  
Beth Levin (Stanford University)  
Unspecified object contexts with activity & change of state verbs

We argue that lexical properties of verbs contribute to argument expression by demonstrating that a distinction between change of state verbs and activity verbs is well motivated. Rappaport-Hovav and Levin 1998 (R-H&L) argued for distinguishing change of state verbs from activity verbs, while Goldberg 1999 casts doubt on this claim. R-H&L demonstrate that activity verbs can be found in two contexts where their usual object is omitted--null object constructions and resultative constructions with nonsubcategorized objects--while change of state verbs typically cannot. R-H&L suggest this reflects differences in the verbs' event structures: Activity verbs have simple event structures; change of state verb have complex. Goldberg, however, illustrates examples of change of state verbs in these constructions, and our corpus searches produce similar results. Yet further analysis indicates that such occurrence is restricted: Change of state verbs only take unspecified objects when they also depict generic or iterative events. Thus, this data doesn't merit the collapse of the two verb types since licensing conditions aren't identical. Nonlexical properties like genericity and iteration license these contexts for both classes, but only activity verbs have the lexical properties which allow them to take unspecified objects outside of iterative/generic contexts.

Alyssa Wulf (Gallaudet University/University of California-Berkeley)  
Paul Dudis (Gallaudet University/University of California-Berkeley)  
Robert Bayley (University of Texas-San Antonio)  
Celis Lucas (Gallaudet University)  
Variable subject presence in ASL narratives

In American Sign Language (ASL), as in many languages, subject presence is variable. This paper examines the factors that condition this variation. We focus on 'plain' verbs (Padden 1988), a class of verbs where the verb form itself includes no information about the subject. We might expect verbs of this type to require overt manual subjects. However, like ASL verbs that allow changes in form (i.e. in their use of space) that can indicate the person and number of their subjects, plain verbs show variable subject presence. Data are taken from narratives produced spontaneously during videotaped group conversations by 19 ASL users aged 16-84. All plain verb tokens with pronominal or empty subject position were coded for a number of factors, including person, number, switch reference, and whether the token occurred within constructed action or dialogue or within an utterance marked by obvious English influence. Results indicate that variable subject pronoun use with plain verbs is systematic, with subjects more often absent than present. Switch reference is a major constraint, with switches in reference favoring overt subjects. We discuss the role of this and other factors as well as the role of nonmanual signals.

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Malcah Yaeger-Dror (University of Arizona) (Session 28)
Sharon Deckert (University of Arizona)

Contraction in American English: Evidence from the LDC megacorpus.

In the process of analyzing a large corpus of non-face-to-face interactions, we have discovered that both dialect and social situation influence American middle class speakers' choice of contraction type, e.g. we're not vs we aren't. This Linguistics Data Consortium (LDC) corpus includes casual phone conversations between intimates ('Call Home', 'Call Friend'), as well as phone conversations between strangers ('Switchboard II') and speech from more informative situations ('Boston Radio News' and air to ground interactions between pilots and control tower). The present study will compare data from these radically different situations. The investigation will permit us to determine the degree to which contraction is limited by the need to convey critical information, and by the socially mediated wish to express agreement or disagreement, as well as the degree to which other variables (such as dialect) must be taken into consideration. The use of verbal contraction vs not contraction in these different corpora is compared, and conclusions for understanding the importance of dialect to this form of linguistic variation will be drawn.

Hiroko Yamakido (State University of New York-Stony Brook) (Session 18)

Japanese attributive adjectives are not (all) relative clauses

This paper offers two sets of semantic facts suggesting that not all Japanese attributive adjectives occur in relative clause structures, contrary to many analyses (Kuno 1973, Whitman 1981, Nishiyama 1998). First, unlike relative clauses, some attributive adjectives do not have intersective semantics (1a) and do not occur as predicates in simple copular sentences (1b):

1. a. Taroo-wa huru-i tomodati da
   TarooTOP old friend be
   'Taroo is an old friend'

   b. #Taroo-wa huru-i
      TarooTOP old
      'Taroo is old'
      # 'Taroo is a friend who is old-time'

   Second, unlike relative clauses, where a present tense refers to either the speech time or the event time of their containing clause (Ogihara 1996), attributive adjectives can refer to a time between the two, as in 2:

2. Hanako-wa kinoo no otsi-i cake-o ootot yai-ua
   HanakoTOP yesterday cakeCC day-before baked
   'Hanako baked yesterday's delicious cake the day before'

   This shows that there is no tense present in the attributive construction and hence no containing relative clause. I suggest that -i marking on As is better viewed either as default agreement or as a form of invariant inflection, similar to -ly marking with English adverbs.

Sze Man Yiu (University of Manchester) (Session 15)
John Stonham (University of Hong Kong)

'Good-stocked with mussels': Incorporation on the edge

Incorporation in Nootka involves quantifiers, adjectives, or even adverbs from within the NP, contra Baker (1988). Such movement does not affect grammatical functions or valency, but it does assume that there is some XP whose X serves as a potential extraction site for incorporation.

\[ [[Adj] [AUX] [VP] [NP] \]

\[ good -stocked with... mussel \]

We propose that the extracted element be moved directly into V via head-to-head movement a la Baker (1988), followed by a merging of the two V-internal elements before further movement into I. This movement of the leftmost element of the object NP into V is crucial to the analysis, since without it there would be violations of the head movement constraint (Travis 1984) and/or the government transparency corollary (Baker 1988). Without movement to X, the incorporated element may not be properly governed by the V to which it incorporates, and the object N will not be properly governed by V. Nootka thus presents a type of incorporation which goes beyond the cases dealt with in Baker 1988 and demands an extension of the movement rules and a modification of assumptions concerning the properties of incorporation.

Larissa Zakletskaya (Georgetown University) (Session 21)

On the discourse constraints that govern L2 knowledge of reflexives

This paper purports that discourse factors play a role in the acquisition of L2 reflexives. Twenty-two Russian/Ukrainian bilingual learners of English were presented with sets of pictures described by four minimal pairs of test constructions. The test stimuli differed only in discourse-priming which expressed the point of view taken by the speaker. The data collected reveal that, while high-proficiency learners behave like native controls, low-proficiency subjects treat the test constructions with discourse-priming and without discourse-priming statistically differently. This difference in responses can be accounted for only in terms of empathy factors
because this is the only discriminatory element that distinguishes the test stimuli in the experiment. The observed discrepancy suggests that learners access syntactic constraints of L2 reflexives from UG, but they learn the discourse factors' impact on L2 reflexives through positive evidence. This assumption can explain why more time and effort is required for the mastery of the discourse influence on anaphors than for the acquisition of syntactic binding constraints. Our results are similar to findings of L1 acquisition studies (Chien & Wexler 1990, Avrutin & Wexler 1992) and argue for the modular organization of the language faculty.

Jie Zhang (University of California-Los Angeles)

Phonetic duration effects on contour tone distribution

A syllable's ability to carry contour tones may be influenced by segmental composition, stress, and proximity to a prosodic boundary. Upon recognizing that the sonorous portion of the rime is the primary tone carrier and that segmental composition, stress, and final position can all lengthen its duration, I propose to analyze the distributional patterns of contour tones by using a unified scale of durational categories and positing constraints that enforce tonal faithfulness in longer categories: IDENT-DURCATLong(TONE) « CONTOUR, IDENT(TONE). Supporting arguments come from languages in which different durational factors conflict. In Xhosa, a penultimate-stress language, both the penult and the ultima may be privileged positions for contour tones. The durational approach predicts that the phonetically longer category is more privileged for contours while an alternative approach which directly refers to stress or final position cannot make such predictions, since there is no common ground on which these factors may interact. Phonetic data in Xhosa show that the prediction made by the durational approach is borne out: The stressed penult is significantly longer than the unstressed ultima, and contours are restricted to the penult. Phonetic data from three other languages also support the durational approach.

Larisa Zlatic (Synthesys Technologies, Inc.)

Slavic possessives: Nouns or adjectives?

This paper answers a controversial question regarding the syntactic status of Slavic possessives, i.e. the question whether Slavic possessives are syntactically nouns (as claimed, for example, by Rappaport 1992 and Babayevsky 1997), or adjectives (as claimed by traditional Slavic grammarians and Corbett 1987). In this paper, it is shown that Slavic possessives are syntactically adjectives and semantically nouns. As adjectives, Slavic possessives show morphosyntactic CONCORD agreement with the modified noun. A possessive also has the semantic INDEX feature, inherited from the noun from which it is derived, hence, a coreferential pronoun agrees with the index (and not concord) features of the possessive. The Slavic data presented here show that it is not the category (AP or NP) that determines whether an element can be a binder (or a controller), as claimed by Kayne (1981) for English and French but, rather, the element's grammatical function status.

Larisa Zlatic (Synthesys Technologies, Inc.)
Stephen Wechsler (University of Texas-Austin)

Mixed agreement with second person formal pronouns

Second person formal pronouns, when used with singular reference (2sgf pronouns), trigger mixed agreement in some languages (Corbett 1983). For example, in all Slavic languages, finite verbs and auxiliaries show plural agreement with 2sgf pronouns while predicate adjectives and participles vary across and within Slavic languages. This fact falsifies the approach to mixed agreement proposed by Wechsler and Zlatic (to appear in Language), whereby finite verbs should trigger the more semantic type of agreement (INDEX agreement), namely, singular rather than plural agreement. This talk proposes an analysis which reconciles the behavior of Slavic 2sgf pronouns with the apparently contradictory behavior of common nouns captured by Wechsler and Zlatic. Drawing on the sociolinguistic observation that 'plurality is a very old and ubiquitous metaphor for power' (Brown & Gilman 1960), plurality of the 2sgf pronouns is analyzed as a syntacticization of honorific semantics (formality). The index number feature of the 2sgf pronoun agrees with the index (and not concord) features of the possessive. The Slavic data presented here show that it is not the category (AP or NP) that determines whether an element can be a binder (or a controller), as claimed by Kayne (1981) for English and French but, rather, the element's grammatical function status.

Cheryl Zoll (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

Normal application in Klamath intensive reduplication

Correspondence theory derives the similarity between base (B) and reduplicant (R) from symmetric faithfulness constraints on corresponding segments in the two constituents (McCarthy & Prince 1995). BR-faithfulness crucially departs from previous accounts of reduplication in providing a mechanism that handles cases of over/underapplication in which B 'back-copies' information from R. BR-faithfulness predicts more kinds of back-copying phenomena than are actually attested, however, and thus may be excessively powerful. This paper examines a prominent case of ostensible back-copying/underapplication of vowel reduction in intensive reduplication in Klamath (Penutian) and demonstrates that vowel reduction failure in the intensive cannot be derived from BR-faithfulness. I show, rather, that intensive 'prefixation', like compounding, is actually a process of stem formation not subject to the same constraints as regular prefixation. The absence of vowel reduction in the intensive stem simply reflects normal (non)-application of reduction within the stem and thus provides no motivation for BR-correspondence.
I propose that speakers can impose reduplicative structure on words in the absence of morphosyntactic motivation. A constraint REDUP requires that words be construed as reduplicated; CORR-IO and CORR-BR interact with REDUP to determine which syllables are similar enough to be construed as reduplicated and which can be made more similar. Examples of similarity enhancement in English include popular orangutang for orangutan and smorgasbord for smorgasbord. Tagalog has a large pseudoreduplicated vocabulary which displays sporadic effects of REDUP. More interestingly, REDUP and CORR-BR can block a productive alternation: Final-syllable mid vowels normally raise under suffixation (abiso, abisu-han). Pseudoreduplicated dede, however, fails to raise (pa-dede-hin), because raising would violate IDENT-BR[HI] (*pa-dede-hin). In the native vocabulary, nonultima mid vowels and nonraising are confined to pseudorepduplicated words (and other narrowly defined cases), but many loanwords have mid-vowel penults, and many do not raise. Statistical analysis of raising in loanwords suggest that like dede, loanwords with sufficient internal similarity (along various dimensions) are treated as reduplicated, blocking raising. For example, compare nonraising in todo, todos-hin, where the last two syllables differ only in the voicing of the onset, to raising in tes tar-ba, tesorby-hin, where they differ in onset voicing, onset place, and shape.
Abstracts of Organized Sessions
Thursday, 8 January

Symposium: Women in Linguistics: Celebrating 25 Years of COSWL

Empire Ballroom (1st floor)
7:30 - 9:30 PM

Organizers: Marianna DiPaolo (University of Utah)
Jennifer Hay (Northwestern University)
Jeri Jaeger (State University of New York-Buffalo)

Presenters: Victoria A. Fromkin (University of California-Los Angeles)
Janet Dean Fodor (City University of New York-Graduate Center)
Ilse Lehiste (Ohio State University)
Penelope Eckert (Stanford University)
Jean Berko Gleason (Boston University)

The 2000 LSA meeting marks the 25th anniversary of the Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics. COSWL is commemorating this anniversary by sponsoring a symposium composed of women who are major figures in modern linguistics. An hour-long celebratory gala will be held after the panel, during which COSWL's anniversary will be toasted with sparkling wine and dessert.

The panel consists of five highly respected linguists representing a range of subdisciplines within linguistics. The primary criterion for selection of speakers was a record of extraordinary contributions to linguistic research. All of the speakers also have an outstanding record of service to the linguistics community in general and to the LSA in particular. Three past presidents of the LSA will speak as well as one past COSWL chair. The participants are:

Victoria A. Fromkin, past president of the LSA and current chair of the Honorary Members Committee. At UCLA she has served as chair of the Department of Linguistics and Graduate Dean and Vice Chancellor of Graduate Programs. She is the Chair-Elect of Section Z: Linguistics and the Language Sciences of the AAAS. She will present empirical evidence to support the autonomy view of language as a separate 'organ', independent of other specific and general cognitive systems with which it interacts.

Janet Dean Fodor, a past president of the LSA, has been the organizer for the CUNY Conferences on Human Sentence Processing since 1988 and was a Guggenheim Fellow in 1992-93. Her presentation will provide an explanation for the apparent parameterization of late closure based on grammatical principles of prosodic phrasing.

Ilse Lehiste, a past president of the LSA, is the author of 11 books, the holder of 3 honorary doctorates, and has twice been a Guggenheim Fellow. She was chair of the Ohio State University Department of Linguistics 1965-71 and 1985-87. She will speak on the metrics of Finnish and Estonian Kalevala verse.

Penelope Eckert holds positions at Stanford and as a Senior Research Scientist at the Institute for Research on Learning. She has served in the past as COSWL chair. She will present research findings showing how phonological variables are given local social meaning.

Jean Berko Gleason is an Associate Editor of Language and is the LSA delegate to Section V: Neuroscience of the AAAS. She will talk on language acquisition and psychological development, with particular attention to gender differences in parents' speech to children.

Victoria A. Fromkin (University of California-Los Angeles)
On the neurology of language: Its uniqueness & modularity

The nature of the neural basis for language acquisition, representation, and use has been of concern through the centuries and will likely continue to be a major issue in the next millennium. Central to the argument is the issue of whether language is a genetically determined independent autonomous system or a cognitive system derived from more general human intellectual ability. This paper will attempt to present empirical evidence to support the autonomy view of language as a separate 'organ', independent of other specific and general cognitive systems with which it interacts. Various kinds of converging evidence include the fact that focal injur-
ies to different parts of the brain lead to selective cognitive disorders. That is, localized lesions reveal a dissociation of the processing of different cognitive systems and of the functioning of language itself. Thus, aphasia data can be seen as arguing for modularity of different components of language itself. Experiments involving event-related potentials (ERPs) also reveal the modularity or separation of the components of the mental grammar, as do studies using PET and fMRIs. There also seems to be growing evidence from studies of specific language disorders for the autonomy of language and genetic studies of families with such disorders are now being conducted in a number of places. Evidence from childhood hemiplegics and hemidicorticates and childhood epilepsy are proving that the biology of language and the locality of the language processor is far more complex than originally thought when we neatly put language in the left hemisphere. The case for an innate language faculty distinct from general intelligence is evidenced strongly by the numerous cases of intellectually handicapped ‘savants’ who despite their disabilities in certain spheres show remarkable talents in others. Sign language studies have also proved relevant in our attempts to answer the question of what is innate about language and what is learned. This, actually becomes the major question. This paper will thus, by using the various kinds of evidence already obtained, attempt to show that language ability is of course innate and that the major questions we have to answer in the next period of our research are what do we mean by universal grammar and what is it that must be learned.

Janet Dean Fodor (City University of New York-Graduate Center)
Silent prosody?

The parsing strategies first observed for English (minimal attachment, the minimal chain principle, etc.) hold also for other languages that have been studied. It can be assumed that they are universal and innate. All except for ‘late closure’. This favors attachment of new items low in the parse tree. Exceptions have been found in Spanish (Cuetos & Mitchell 1988) and in French, Italian, German, Dutch, and other languages. As far as we know, the only counterexamples are complex NPs in which a relative clause can modify either a higher or a lower noun (e.g. the servant of the actress who was on the balcony). Other constructions in these languages do prefer low attachment and so do complex NPs in English, Swedish, Norwegian, Romanian, and standard Arabic. What accounts for this mixed bag of findings? I have proposed (1988) that it is the grammatical principles of prosodic phrasing, which the parser applies to ‘chunk’ the word string. The sequence N1-P-N2-RC will typically break after N2 so that the RC modifies all of N1-P-N2 (=‘high attachment’). But some languages, including English, do not require a major prosodic boundary at the left edge of a CP, and there may even be liaison effects between N2 and the relative pronoun, favoring N2 attachment of the RC. Several strands of research on French, Romanian, Arabic, and a range of English varieties will be reported which support this idea. This explanation has two consequences: (1) There is no need for parameterization of parsing strategies. The parser can be innate; only the grammar that it implements differs across language. (2) Since the parsing experiments used written stimuli read silently, prosodic phrasing must be projected onto sentences in silent reading.

Ilse Lehiste (Ohio State University)
Contemporary Finnish & Estonian realization of folksongs in the Kalevala metre

Estonian and Finnish folksongs share a metre that may well have arisen before the two languages diverged from their common source. The metre is basically quantitative—a trochaic tetrameter, which in its pure form should consist of a sequence of four long-short metric feet. Ictus, or metrical stress, falls on odd-numbered syllables. In both languages, certain sound changes have taken place, but both languages have lexical stress on the first syllable of a word, and both languages also have stressed short syllables. In the idealized form of the Kalevala metre, a short stressed word-initial syllable is excluded from ictus (except for initial position of the line). Since the lexicon contains a large number of words with initial stressed short syllables, such words have to be placed in the line so that their first syllables fall in nonictus position. In other words, in lines containing words with short initial syllables, there is a competition between word stress and metrical stress. In recorded sung folksongs, metrical stress prevails over lexical stress. It is not equally certain whether this kind of scansion was used in spoken presentation of epic poems in the Kalevala metre. In contemporary realizations, word stress prevails over metrical stress. The durational patterns found in the two languages differ in ways that reflect the sound changes that have taken place in each language. The present study reports the results of an acoustic analysis of two Finnish folksongs in the Kalevala metre (41 and 24 lines), read by five speakers from Turku, and two Estonian folksongs in the Kalevala metre (27 and 37 lines), read by five speakers from Tallinn. The duration of all segments was measured, using the Kay Elemetrics Computerized Speech Laboratory and various calculations were made. The major results include the observation that the duration of metric feet in Estonian folksongs depends on the quantity degree of the word constituting the metric foot; the duration of metric feet increases in approximately equal steps from Q1 to Q2 to Q3, and the tendency to foot isochrony that has been observed under other conditions is less clear. In Finnish, as in Estonian, there are likewise three basic metric foot durations, but they depend almost linearly on syllable durations: Short-short metric feet are shortest, long-long metric feet are longest, and short-long and long-short metric feet have an approximately equal intermediate duration. The paper will describe in some detail the way words beginning with stressed short syllables are accommodated in both languages.

Penelope Eckert (Stanford University)
How social meaning acquires variation: Connecting global distribution to local meaning

Survey studies of variation over the years (e.g. Labov 1966, Trudgill 1972) have shown a regular socioeconomic stratification of phon-
ological variables suggesting, among other things, a regular spread of sound change outward from the most locally based social groups (located in the upper working class). Studies have also shown complex correlations with gender (Eckert 1989, Labov 1989) but with clear evidence that females tend to lead in the use of variants representing sound changes in progress. Social meaning has commonly been attributed to variation based on generalized speculation about the global demographic categories that correlate with use. Meanwhile a few ethnographic studies, most notably Labov's study of Martha's Vineyard (1972), have shown that phonological variables are used to construct highly nuanced and highly local social meaning, suggesting that the social meaning of variants does not simply fall out from global categories. This talk, based on ethnographic and sociolinguist work among adolescents in four Detroit suburban communities, offers a systematic account of the connections among the local social meanings of variables, their global class-based patterns of distribution, and their geographic distribution within the urban-suburban area and beyond. It will show that social meaning in variation is a local construction based in local class-based practice. This practice itself locates local variation socially within the urban-suburban continuum in such a way that the social meaning of variables within each community is systematically related to wider meaning within the geographic context.

Jean Berko Gleason (Boston University)

Gender differences in parents' speech to boys & girls

Are gender differences in language and behavior inborn or are they the product of differential socialization? One possibility is that early differences in input language to boys and to girls may underlie some later linguistic and behavioral differences that are observed in grown men and women. For example, women's speech has more emotional content than men's speech (Lakoff 1973, Tannen 1990). The origin of this difference may be related to the differential treatment of female and male infants: Dunn, Bretherton, and Munn (1987) reported that mothers use more inner state words to infant girls than to boys. Thus, these differences in the speech of adults may be related to a greater emphasis on feelings in parents' speech to little girls. This paper will review studies conducted by our research team that show that in a variety of important domains, mothers and fathers speak differently to their children, and that boys and girls are treated differently as well. The studies include parents' and children's references to past speech (talk about talk); diminutives in parents' speech; and prohibitives in speech to girls and boys. We analyzed transcripts of conversations between parents and young children in varied settings. All transcripts were computerized and came from the CHILDES (MacWhinney & Snow 1990). A variety of computer programs available through CHILDES made it possible to isolate and quantify the words and expressions under examination. Our findings indicate that mothers focus their own and their children's attention on past speech more than fathers and that girls are queried about past conversations at a rate twice that of boys. By age 5, girls quote what they and others have said at a rate approximately double that of boys. When we examined diminutives, we found that mothers used more than fathers and that both parents used more to girls than to boys. Prohibitives, on the other hand (words such as 'no no' or 'stop it!') were used more frequently to boys, especially unmitigated and repeated prohibitives, whereas girls were more likely to be dissuaded in a gentler fashion. These differences in parents' speech may reflect their a priori beliefs about children, for instance that girls are sensitive and emotional and interested in language and that boys must be spoken to in a more direct and forceful way. Parents' speech to their children carries subtle messages about the expected differences between males and females in our society. Language is thus more than a medium of communication; it is a powerful socializing force. These studies broaden our understanding of linguistic socialization: Although children may indeed come with different predispositions, parents can choose to amplify or to mitigate any inborn differences that may exist. In the case of gender differences, parents may be amplifying--or perhaps even creating--some differences.
Friday, 7 January

**Symposium: Linguistics & Related Disciplines in the Undergraduate Curriculum**

Wabash Room (3rd floor)
9:00 - 11:00 AM

Organizer: Michael Flynn (Carleton College)

Presenters:
- Ellen Barton (Wayne State University)
- Daniel Finer (State University of New York-Stony Brook)
- Shoko Hamano (George Washington University)
- Kristin Hanson (University of California-Berkeley)
- Brian Joseph (Ohio State University)

Members of the Society would surely agree that linguistics is a historically and conceptually autonomous field, with a unique subject matter and distinctive methodology. But independent linguistics programs are not nearly as common as one might expect given the discipline's long and rich history. Many if not most linguists work in situations in which they are either explicitly part of another department such as English or psychology or where linguistics is dwarfed by larger and more powerful academic fields.

Nevertheless, we believe linguistics can and should be taught more widely to undergraduates. The problem is how to convince administrators and colleagues that this is an area to strongly consider when pondering the deployment of new or reallocated FTE. One key element to this effort is to find ways to help people see how linguistics can enhance the quality of the intellectual experience of students and the scholarly thinking of faculty in conceptually overlapping disciplines. Since language is a vital aspect of so much that human beings do, the study of language has natural conceptual links to many academic disciplines, particularly those that play a large role in undergraduate education.

For this symposium, we focus on opportunities that can be regarded as aspects of the humanities. We have chosen five fields that both attract the interest of large numbers of undergraduates and form rich opportunities for lively interaction between linguists and like-minded scholars in other disciplines. The speakers are experienced researchers and teachers. They all have been active participants in academic programs which involve linguists and nonlinguists cooperating to build cross-disciplinary programs that are of interest to a significant undergraduate population. The specific examples discussed by each speaker will be made available to the Society (probably on the Undergraduate Program Advisory Committee webpage) so that members have a source of ideas they can adapt to their local situation. This symposium, then, builds on symposia relating to the undergraduate curriculum at the 1998 and 1999 Annual Meetings, the first of which explored linguistics courses for nonmajors and the second, the structure of the undergraduate major.

**Ellen Barton (Wayne State University)**

*Linguistics & general education in the humanities*

At Wayne State University, a large, urban university located in Detroit, MI, we have recently completed a curriculum redevelopment of our freshman/sophomore introduction to linguistics course. In contrast to the trends of the field, which have shifted the emphasis of undergraduate introductions from linguistic structure to language in use, we have rededicated our course to linguistic analysis, covering phonetics, phonology, morphology, and syntax alone through intensive problem-solving, giving students enough time to become familiar with the subfields of linguistics by eliminating the coverage of the typical 'linguistics and' material of an introductory course. The course functions, then, as an introduction to structural linguistics via a practicum in linguistic analysis. This curriculum redevelopment has had the somewhat surprising effect of making linguistics a welcome addition to the university's general education requirements in the humanities, primarily in its appeal to undergraduates majoring in science, engineering, and other technical fields. It thus plays a unique role in humanities education, providing students with an analytic course that investigates one of our most human dimensions—our ability to produce and understand language.

**Daniel Finer (State University of New York-Stony Brook)**

*Linguistics & ESL*

My degree is from U MA-Amherst. My dissertation was on syntax, and I have subsequently published a number of articles on syntax and second language acquisition. My expertise is not in ESL, but when I came to Stony Brook in the mid-80s, most of the undergraduate majors sought state certification in TESOL, and the only graduate program here led to the MA in TESOL and the
Doctor of Arts in TESOL (we've since acquired a PhD program in on top of this). I had to acclimate myself quickly, and my earlier interests in first language acquisition generalized to second language acquisition, and ESL became more relevant to me than it had been in the past. I discuss the importance of training in basic linguistics the ESL teacher, drawing on a few topics in phonology and syntax.

Shoko Hamano (George Washington University)
Linguistics & foreign language instruction

I have been actively involved in both Japanese language instruction and linguistic research for over 10 years, which, I hope, enables me to speak from the perspective of a language teacher and a linguist at the same time. Also of relevance here is that, of all the non-Indo-European languages taught in the US universities, Japanese is probably the most intensively studied language in linguistics. What we can say about the connection between linguistics and Japanese language instruction has major implications for the situation with any other language significantly different from English. Therefore, I hope it will provide a useful case study, which can be generalized to other languages. Though statements about language teaching in general are sometimes useful, I believe it will be most helpful in this context to focus narrowly on the case of Japanese language instruction (e.g. there have been attempts on the part of a few linguists to offer insights of current linguistic theories to language teachers, but actual implementations have been limited; the tree representation, for example, has never been incorporated into any major pedagogical grammar—and we must seriously consider why). I describe my own attempts and consider what should/could be done in general (e.g. what type of linguistic information is relevant for whom?).

Kristin Hanson (University of California-Berkeley)
Linguistics & the study of literature

My specialization is in metrics, focusing especially on the implications of theories of poetic meter grounded in generative phonology for understanding the English metrical tradition. I briefly trace how, over the last few decades, scholarship in this field became increasingly divided by linguists' and literary scholars' growing mistrust of one another's methods and motives, a small instance of a much more widespread problem in the relationship of linguistics to the humanities. I then discuss how this divide parallels the core pedagogical challenge in my teaching in the English Department at the University of California-Berkeley, of how to incorporate the linguistic methods of formalizing hypotheses and testing them against empirical data within literature courses whose students' training and goals involve primarily the interpretation of texts. In general, I suggest that concrete demonstrations of the relevance of linguistics to traditional literary interests have successfully motivated students to study linguistics, sometimes enrolling in linguistics courses they otherwise wouldn't have been aware of, and sometimes even discovering it to be their true interest. In fact, Berkeley's general experience of having linguists in other departments, far from dissipating the strength of the department itself as might be feared, seems to have caused its own enrollment and hence its own hiring power to increase.

Brian Joseph (Ohio State University)
Linguistics & comparative studies

Much of what linguists do, especially in the more humanistic aspects of the field, involves comparison, whether of a typological, an areal, or an historical nature. There are thus significant points of contact between linguistics and fields within the humanities that also deal in comparative paradigms, such as cultural studies, history, and what in some universities is called simply 'comparative studies'. I discuss two initiatives at Ohio State University in which linguists have been involved in research and study groups with colleagues in comparative studies: an interdisciplinary seminar on the nature of comparison and a project on the immigrant experience in Ohio, this latter undertaking having significant potential for tying in with existing undergraduate courses in language departments (e.g. the Slavic Department's course on 'Slavs in Ohio').
Symposium: Field Relationships: Balancing Power & Priorities in Language-Based Fieldwork

Grand Ballroom (4th floor)
8:00 - 11:00 PM

Organizer: Megan Crowhurst (University of Texas-Austin)
Co-sponsor: Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas
Presenters: Colette Grinevald (Maison Rhones-Alpes des Sciences de l'Homme)
Keren Rice (University of Toronto)
MaryAnn Willie (University of Arizona)
Bret Gustafson (Harvard University)
Barbara Meek, Jacqui Messing, & Jane Hill (University of Arizona)
Jessie Little Doe Fermino (MIT)

Over the past decade, linguistics as a discipline has witnessed renewed commitments to language documentation and to the collection of primary linguistic data more generally as an indispensable component of responsible linguistics. Indications of this renewed interest include the founding of new organizations committed to endangered language (EL) research, a greater commitment on the part of the LSA to regular sessions and symposia on fieldwork and EL issues at annual meetings, and a greater awareness among linguists of well-established programs designed to train native speakers to do linguistic work. Several recent discussions have focused on areas such as the contributions of classical fieldwork to linguistic theory, practical aspects of fieldwork, and ethical issues which arise in connection with field research.

Another interconnecting set of issues associated with field research in EL contexts pertains to relationships between linguists and speakers of target languages. Most field linguists are not native speakers of the languages whose data they are using; they rely on the intuitions of individuals who have privileged information about the language but who may not possess the analytical tools of the linguist. Several potential areas of tension can be identified in such collaborative relationships. First, native speaker informants may not be seen as equal partners but rather as relatively passive enablers of linguistic description and analysis. Second, if language informants working with linguists are not developing the specialized skills used in linguistic description and analysis, then 'authoritative' interpretations of linguistic facts are constructed primarily by linguists who have no direct access to native speaker intuitions about those facts. Third, native speakers and linguists may view the work differently to the extent that they do not share the same priorities and goals. Often, the specific nature of the work and collaborative relationship is not explicitly clarified. Thus, the danger exists that the product of the collaboration, if determined by the priorities of the nonnative linguist, may not satisfy the needs of the community whose members have contributed the data (and the reverse may also be true). In other cases, the linguist may be a native speaker of a minority language working on her/his own language. Native linguists are required to juggle multiple roles, including their professional roles both in the ethnolinguistic community and in the academic community and the traditional and/or personal roles assigned to them as members of their home communities. While issues of trust and access must always be negotiated in EL field situations where linguists are not members of the target community, native linguists may also be affected by these problems. The power dynamic between the linguist and collaborating speakers of minority languages which may give rise to some of the tensions just discussed also resides in the broader social context. In actual use, minority languages tend to be framed by the socially dominant or matrix language, an imbalance which sends the powerful unspoken message that the minority language is a weak, unimportant variety embedded within a powerful, socially validated one. The matrix language problem has clear implications for all aspects of work on and for endangered languages, including the development of language materials.

Keren Rice (University of Toronto)
Ethical issues in fieldwork

I examine a range of ethical issues that face the field linguist, including the following: First, universities provide ethical guidelines for working with 'human subjects' which sometimes are appropriate and sometimes inappropriate for linguistic fieldwork. Second, linguists face ethical issues in working with individuals in a field situation, as can be seen in the confusing range of terminology used for such people--informant, consultant, collaborator, teacher--terms which carry different weights and suggest different possible interactions. Third, many ethical questions arise around issues of pay, both in terms of monetary amounts and personal contributions. Fourth, ethical issues come up in communities in terms of the ownership of language materials. The responsibilities of the linguist to the community and to the individuals within that community that she/he works with will form the focus of the presentation.
MaryAnnWillie (University of Arizona)  
*An inside view of fieldwork*

My professional role as a university professor and investigator of Navajo grammar merge with roles that have been assigned to me by my community as a Navajo speaker. My isolated community is located in north-central Arizona in an area called Joint-Use Area. JUA residents have been relocated to the surrounding border towns of Flagstaff and Winslow, AZ, and if they refuse to relocate, they are given 75 year leases. Upon the deaths of refusers, such as my parents, their land will revert to government lands. With this tremendous societal upheaval, my community, in the last 15 years, has become a land devoid of young people, their livestock, and the occasional horse race. The ones left are the old--the monolinguals. In this presentation, I consider and explore some issues that have arisen in my community (pop. about 50) where there is fearfulness of outsiders, including a reluctance to engage in linguistic work, even with me. I also reflect on the general attitude of Navajo leaders that Navajo linguists do not have the expertise to handle or do linguistic work on the reservation. Although there are five Navajo linguists, none has been considered or approached for directorship of language or linguistic programs.

Bret Gustafson (Harvard University)  
*Yambojokkatuyeta Nanenee or, 'How do you say linguistic revitalization in Guarani?'

This paper examines the September 1997, Yemboati Guasu Neeroki, the Grand Assembly of the Resprouting Word, sponsored by the Guarani Teacher Training Program in Camiri, Bolivia. During this three day event, indigenous Guarani leaders and activists discussed, in Guarani, language planning activities which are a key element in the ongoing political expansion of their social movement. This paper explores Guarani metaphors and discursive framings of their language and its insertion into state, NGO, and international educational agendas. Most outsiders see language planning as a positive step towards cultural and political autonomy, and in fact, Guarani political strategies are strengthened by public reaffirmation of the Guarani language. However, the Guarani use metaphors of sickness, immaturity, inferiority, and misshapenness to talk about their language (and themselves). These self-critical representations arise from the encounter between traditional Guarani language practice, Guarani conceptions of Spanish, and Guarani experience with (and as) missionary translators, state literacy advocates, bilingual educators, schoolbook writers, and linguist-anthropologists. In response to critical suggestions about the lingering colonialism of institutionalized language planning (Silverstein 1998; Collins 1998), how might critical reflection on these intra-Guarani debates contribute to further decolonization of language planning in indigenous contexts?

Barbara Meek (University of Arizona)  
Jacqui Messing (University of Arizona)  
Jane Hill (University of Arizona)  
*Framing indigenous languages as secondary to matrix languages*

A number of years ago, the sociolinguist Carol Edelsky studied 'bilingual' Spanish-language classrooms and found that Spanish was consistently embedded in English, thereby indexing the higher status of this "matrix" language. This practice is very common in materials that purport to be supportive of endangered languages: Titles of books and chapters, introductory essays, institutional boilerplate, and much other material appears in a national language (e.g. English, French, Spanish), while the endangered language itself is restricted to specific referential content. Oral practices in classrooms often embed the endangered language in a national-language matrix as well. Such framing practices send a very powerful unspoken message to users of the materials about the inferior status of the endangered language. Materials in support of indigenous languages should avoid such framing, using national languages only where required by law or for pedagogical purposes. Even elements like required copyright information could be presented in both the endangered and national language rather than only in the national language.

Jessie Little Doe Fermino (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)  
*From a Native American point of view*

There can be no doubt that a vast majority of the world's languages stand in jeopardy of becoming unspoken languages within the next two generations. Further, there is no question that this has become a major topic of discussion among the academic world, with particular interest, naturally, for linguists. Beyond the immediate concern for the current state of Indian languages in North and South America, what work should actually be done to prevent and repair the loss of use for these languages? From an Indian point of view, in particular mine, what are the responsibilities and the roles of the nonnative linguist within this arena? How are Indian people who work on their own languages received, perceived, and related to relative to the work we choose? How can a healthy working relationship between the nonnative and native linguist be achieved in a way that best supports the efforts of the Indian community in which we both work?
Saturday, 8 January

Workshop: Linguistic Enterprises 2000: And Now for Something Completely Different

Crystal Room (3rd floor)
12:15 - 1:45 PM

Organizers: Janet Dean Fodor (City University of New York-Graduate Center)
Christine Kamprath (Caterpillar, Inc.)

Presenters: Pamela McPartland-Fairman
Michael Cahill (Summer Institute of Linguistics)
Joan Bachenko (Linguistic Technologies, Inc.)
Don Gentile (National Security Agency)

Linguistic Enterprises is one wing of a broader initiative of the Linguistic Society whose goal is to integrate linguists and linguistics into the wider world beyond academe. The specific goal of Linguistic Enterprises (workshops and website) is to provide encouragement and information to linguists who are considering the possibility of a career in private industry, government, or freelance consultation, either by inclination or under pressure from the worsening prospects for academic employment.

Those who have tried it report back with (mostly) great enthusiasm. Others are interested but don't see how to set about making it happen. Linguistic Enterprises workshops are founded on the belief that the abstract idea of a nonacademic career can be given a greater sense of reality by hearing from people who have taken that route already and can describe at first hand some of its ups and downs. Speakers focus on their own stories, telling how they make their living as linguists and what sort of mix of serendipity, determination, and careful preparation made it happen.

This year's workshop emphasizes how many different ways there are of creating a satisfying and financially adequate career that builds on an academic training in linguistics. The fact that there is no one standard job description for linguists adds to the challenge, of course; it makes it necessary to be resourceful in carving out work worth doing. It also makes it possible to fit one's professional life to one's own interests and personal philosophy.

The Linguistic Enterprises website (http://web.gc.cuny.edu/dept/linguenter/index.htm) is available year-round for job postings, contacts, shared experiences, and career-related queries of all kinds. If you are seeking a job you may post your cv at this site.

Pamela McPartland-Fairman

Lights, camera, ESL!

I took an MA in TESOL from Teachers College, Columbia University, and PhD in linguistics from the CUNY Graduate Center. My dissertation was on processing idiomatic language. While I was a graduate student I supported myself teaching second language acquisition and ESL, and I continued after graduation. For 13 years I was the Academic Director of the International English Language Institute at CUNY's Hunter College in New York City. I published 10 ESL textbooks, including books on idioms and also on reading and listening to English. My publisher recommended me as a script writer for a 48-part ESL television series “Connect with English”, funded by the Annenberg/CPB Project, WGBH Boston, and the McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc. As the project lacked other experts I soon became the Lead Academic Consultant for the series. I was also the lead author of the companion texts (Video Comprehension Books and Home Viewer's Guides). Most recently I have been the cowriter of scripts for Microsoft's Encarta Interactive English Learning, a CD-ROM project based on videotaped vignettes. Remuneration for a freelance linguist comes in fits and starts, and one must be careful to plan financially over the long haul. But I have found that one project leads to another, and the lean periods (thank goodness!) have been few.

Michael Cahill (Summer Institute of Linguistics)

Fieldwork: Keeping body & soul together

My career in linguistics started as a spin-off from my interest in Bible translation. After some years in Ghana on a translation and literacy project, in which I spent large chunks of time living in a rural village with my family and devised the first-ever orthography for the Koma people, I returned to the US and have recently graduated with a PhD in linguistics from Ohio State University. I am now back to 'active duty' with SIL. SIL has done field work in more languages than any other organization; we currently have workers in about 850 language groups, a good number of whom have graduate degrees. Linguistic field work in SIL has traditionally been in the
context of a whole language program, including learning the local language and culture and developing an orthography, literacy classes, Bible translation, and whatever local projects are appropriate. However, we are increasingly moving to more specialization than in the past. Linguistically-related work in SIL includes linguistic field research, literacy work, editing academic publications, and developing language-related software, as well as translation. Financially, each member is totally supported by individuals and churches who are interested in the work we do. There is actually no guaranteed salary from month to month, but I have never lacked in the 16 years I have been in SIL. It's a different kind of arrangement, and it's not for everyone, but it works.

Joan Bachenko (Linguistic Technologies, Inc.)

From research assistant to executive vice president

When I was in graduate school at NYU I found a part-time job at Bell Laboratories in New Jersey, working on an early speech synthesis project. The work was fascinating, but I remained true to my belief at the time that the only job for a 'real' linguist was in academia. Unfortunately I happened to graduate just as the academic job market for linguists disappeared. I spent the next several years defining myself very reluctantly (and fearfully) as a nonacademic linguist. I found I loved laboratory work, and I was able to work in two excellent labs: Naval Research, and Bell Laboratories. I worked in artificial intelligence, speech technology, and syntactic parsing. It was glaringly obvious to me that there was a strong need for linguistic expertise to inform this kind of computational work. This was a professional impetus for me--and the money wasn't bad either. Following a personal decision to move to Minnesota, I cashed in all my savings in order to start a hi-tech company that uses speech recognition and the internet to process medical dictation over the telephone. In my talk I will describe how this company grew from an idea to 50 employees, including linguists who are students at the University of Minnesota. We have a small revenue stream, but the bulk of our financing comes from private investors who see the company as a lucrative investment for the future.

Don Gentile (National Security Agency)

Linguists under cover

In college, majoring in Romance languages, all I wanted was to be a teacher. For seven years I taught French and Spanish at a senior high school in New Hampshire. Though teaching takes its toll, I enjoyed it greatly and would still be happy to go back to it. But one summer, while I was working for my MA in Spanish in the renowned language program at Middlebury College, an NSA recruiter came and gave a presentation. The opportunity was right for my skills, and it suddenly felt like a time to try something different. As you may know, the National Security Agency is a member of the U.S. Intelligence Community and a significant contributor to our nation's defense. What you may not know is that NSA is one of the largest employers of linguists in the country and a place where a linguist can have a very exciting, challenging, and rewarding career using foreign language. There is something at the agency to attract all types of linguists; whether it be the opportunity to become a technical expert in a language, learn additional languages, travel, or work with state of the art technology. Security screening, working in a large organization, and having to relocate to the DC area might be drawbacks for some people, but the advantages are many: salary and benefits, travel opportunities, advanced technology, and more...
Sunday, 9 January

Workshop: Computational Linguistics in the Linguistics Curriculum

Wabash Room (3rd floor)
9:00 - 11:00 AM

Organizers: Andrew Kehler (SRI International)
Daniel Jurafsky (University of Colorado)

Presenters: Catherine Ball (National Science Foundation)
Erhard Hinrichs (University of Tuebingen)
Daniel Jurafsky (University of Colorado)
Christopher Manning (Stanford University)
Philip Resnik (University of Maryland-College Park)

Computational linguistics is an important and growing area of linguistics. Across the country, linguistics departments are adding computational linguistics courses, hiring new faculty, and establishing programs. In addition to the intellectual contributions computational linguistics has to offer, integrating it into the linguistics curriculum holds promise for addressing a number of other concerns commonly faced by linguistics departments, including class enrollments, access to external funding, and job placement.

Establishing a new area requires that we as a discipline answer some pressing questions. The panelists have been asked to address such questions as the following:

1. Teaching basic computation and fundamentals of programming: What computer languages should be taught? Do students take this in the computer science department or is it taught in linguistics? If in computer science, are the computer science prerequisites required, and do linguistics students have them?

2. Hiring, staffing, faculty issues: Under what circumstances was the panelist hired in a linguistics department? What is the department commitment to computational linguistics—is there one computational linguist or a whole specialization? Are there any plans to hire more?

3. The computational linguistics curriculum: Exactly which computational linguistics classes are taught? What computational paradigm is taught: statistical, symbolic, or both? What type of student is the class oriented to? What difficulties had the presenter encountered?

4. Student interest: Are students interested in computational linguistics attracted to the PhD program in linguistics? How do we attract more students? Do students work jointly in linguistics and computer science? Do linguistics students end up specializing in computational linguistics for their thesis work?

5. The job market: How are students oriented to the job market, e.g. academia vs industry? Do you do anything special to place them?

Catherine Ball (National Science Foundation)
Computational linguistics within linguistics: A recipe for nonacademic careers

I discuss features of the computational linguistics program housed within the Linguistics Department at Georgetown University. With minimal resources, the program has used practitioner adjuncts, a carefully-designed curriculum combining theory with applications, and a strong alumni network to place both current students and graduates in 'high technology' R&D positions. I will also discuss a new Certificate in Language Technology designed to attract nonlinguists and employees of local companies.

Erhard Hinrichs (University of Tuebingen)
Computational linguistics: A European perspective

I provide an overview of the main centers for computational linguistics in teaching and research in Europe. I also discuss on-going efforts in teaching and curriculum development, sponsored by the European Commission, to develop core curricula for computational linguistics and for computing in the humanities, leading to the certification of European Masters Degree. Finally, I survey the diverse opportunities for research and employment in the rapidly expanding field of human language technology in Europe.
Daniel Jurafsky (University of Colorado)

Computation in the curriculum

The focus is on our experience at Boulder in integrating computation with the linguistics curriculum. This includes basic questions like how we teach programming to linguists, what languages we teach, and how we use corpus linguistics as a springboard into our computational offerings. I also discuss our proposal for a new campus-wide undergraduate and masters program in Human Language Technology. This curriculum would include two courses each from four departments—linguistics; computer science; electrical engineering; and speech, language and hearing sciences—and will be a special track offered to students in all four departments. I bring up some basic infrastructure issues such as how to keep computing labs running in a linguistic environment and whether and how to integrate a computer lab and a speech lab. Finally, I discuss the role I am hoping my upcoming textbook with Jim Martin will play in the computational linguistics curriculum.

Christopher Manning (Stanford University)

Linguistics in an age of engineering

Driven primarily by the web and speech applications, the job market for computational linguists has been expanding rapidly in the last few years. However, I believe that few of these jobs are being filled by people trained in linguistics departments. I suggest that the root cause of that lies primarily in a divorce between the concerns of current theoretical linguistics (in America) and the empirical data upon which language processing applications are built, and I discuss what might be done about it based on (sometimes successful, sometimes not) experience teaching computational linguistics to both CS and linguistics students.

Philip Resnik (University of Maryland-College Park)

Getting with the program (and I don't mean Chapter 4)

I focus on the problems and potential I have encountered—the problems having largely to do with the ability to attract students to linguistics who have a background in computation (or to provide the needed background from scratch) and the potential having to do with the way the field of computational linguistics is developing both as an intellectual discipline and within the marketplace. The emphasis is on building bridges, and the discussion focuses on connecting newer statistical approaches with traditional linguistic paradigms and on experience with computational linguistics from a research industry perspective.
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