MEETING HANDBOOK

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

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

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
9-12 JANUARY 1992
Introductory Note

The LSA Secretariat has prepared this Meeting Handbook to serve as the official program for the 66th Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America (LSA). In addition, this handbook is the official program for a meeting of the American Dialect Society (ADS) and for the Annual Meetings of the North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences (NAAHoLS) and of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (SPCL).

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance provided by the LSA Program Committee (Jay Jasanoff, Chair; Matthew Dryer; Irene Heim; Lise Menn; Salikoko Mufwene; Catherine Ringen; and Peter Sells). We are also grateful to Francis Byrne (SPCL); Douglas Kibbee (NAAHoLS); and Allen Metcalf (ADS) for their cooperation. We especially appreciate the help which has been given by the Philadelphia Local Arrangements Committee (Gillian Sankoff, Chair; Maggie Browning; Nikki Keach; Mark Liberman; Corey Miller; Donna Jo Napoli; Paul Peranteau; Ellen Prince; and Irene Vogel) and the contributions of the LSA Committee on Information and Communication Technology, especially Committee chair, John Lawler, for organizing the Computer Software Exhibit.

We hope this Meeting Handbook is a useful guide for those attending, as well as a permanent record of the 1992 Annual Meeting in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

January 1992
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General Meeting Information

Book Exhibit

There will be an exhibit of linguistic publications in the Conference Center Hall. The exhibit is scheduled to be open during the following hours:

- Fri, 10 January: 10:00 AM - 2:00 PM, 3:00 PM - 6:00 PM
- Sat, 11 January: 10:00 AM - 1:30 PM, 3:00 PM - 6:00 PM
- Sun, 12 January: 8:30 AM - 11:30 AM

The display copies in the LSA Joint Book Exhibit will be sold beginning at 8:30 AM on 12 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 12 January if accompanied by payment. All books must be picked up on 12 January between 8:30 and 10:00 AM. Unclaimed books will be resold and the advance payment donated to the Linguistic Institute fellowships.

Computer Software Exhibit

The LSA Committee on Information and Communication Technology is sponsoring a software exhibit on Friday, 10 January, 10:00 AM - 7:00 PM in Salon 10. From 10:00 to 11:00, members are invited to visit the exhibit, informally talk with exhibitors, and pick up the Software Exhibit Catalogue which contains the demonstration schedule and abstracts of the programs to be demonstrated. Demonstrations will be held 11:00 AM - 5:30 PM. The last one and one-half hours will be open for informal sessions.

Paper Copy Service

As a service to those attending this meeting, each author on the program is invited to provide the Paper Copy Service with a reproducible copy of his or her paper. Submission of such a copy should be accompanied by authorization to reproduce it upon request for anyone at the meeting. Orders may be placed for copies in Salon 1 during the following hours:

- Fri, 10 January: 8:00 AM - 4:00 PM
- Sat, 11 January: 8:00 AM - 2:00 PM

Only orders placed before 2:00 PM on Saturday, 11 January, will be accepted. To allow members to pick up orders placed earlier, the Service will be open on Sunday, 8:00 - 10:00 AM.

Job Placement Center

A Job Placement Center will be set up in Salon 3-4 during the Annual Meeting. On 10 and 11 January, the Center will be open 8:30 AM - 6:00 PM. It will also be open 9:00 - 11:30 AM on 12 January. Lists of openings will be available, and the staff will arrange interviews between applicants and employers.

Interviewers are asked to list openings and check in with the Center so that an interview schedule can be arranged. Applicants should bring an adequate supply of curriculum vitae -- enough to submit one copy to each interviewer. The Center will have no duplication facilities available.

S.N.A.P.

Salon 9 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 10 and 11 January, 9:00 AM - 6:00 PM and in the morning on 12 January until 11:30 AM.

Membership Status

Members wishing to renew their membership and/or register change of address will be able to do so on Friday and Saturday, 10-11 January, in the Conference Center Foyer near the registration desk.

Language Editor

Sarah Thomason, Editor of Language, will be in the Franklin Room at the following times:

- Fri, 10 January: 1:00 - 2:00 PM
- Sat, 11 January: 9:30 - 10:30 AM
All members, including students, are welcome to drop by to ask any questions they may have about submitting articles or reviews to Language.

National Science Foundation

Paul Chapin, Program Director for Linguistics at the National Science Foundation, will meet with interested members in Salon 8 at the following times:

- Fri, 10 January  10:00 - 11:00 AM
  3:30 - 4:30 PM
- Sat, 11 January  10:00 - 11:00 AM
  3:30 - 4:30 PM
- Sun, 12 January  10:00 - 11:00 AM

Concurrent Meetings

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

American Dialect Society (program, p. xxiii; abstracts, p. 71)

North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences (program, p. xxiv; abstracts, pp. 75-78).

Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (program, pp. xxv-xxvii; abstracts, pp. 81-97).

Highlights

Thursday, 9 January

- **LSA Executive Committee Meeting**

  The Officers and Executive Committee (Charles Fillmore, President; Arnold Zwicky, Vice President-President Elect; Robert Austerlitz, Past President; Frederick J. Newmeyer, Secretary-Treasurer; Sarah Thomason, Editor; Jill Beckman; Joan Bybee; Paul Hopper; Laurence Horn; Jay Jasanoff; Robert King; Marianne Mithun; and Ivan Sag) will meet beginning at 9:30 AM.

- **Colloquium**

  A colloquium on "Computing and the Ordinary Linguist," organized and chaired by John Lawler, will open the Annual Meeting. The colloquium will be in the Conference Center Ballroom, 7:00 - 10:00 PM.

Friday, 10 January

- **Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics**

  The Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics will sponsor a panel discussion on "Language Guidelines and Other Usage Issues" in the Conference Center Ballroom, 12:30 - 2:00 PM.

- **Committee on Social and Political Concerns**

  The Committee on Social and Political Concerns will hold an open meeting in the Franklin Room, 12:00 - 1:00 PM.

- **Committee on Endangered Languages**

  The Committee on Endangered Languages will hold an open meeting in Salon 8, 1:15 - 2:00 PM.

- **LSA Business Meeting**

  The business meeting has been scheduled in the Conference Center Ballroom, 5:00 - 7:00 PM. This meeting will be chaired by Charles Fillmore, LSA President. The members of the Resolutions Committee include: Henry Hoeningswald, Chair; Laurence Horn; and Marianne Mithun. The Rules for Motions and Resolutions may be found on page xvii.
NAAHOLS Business Meeting

The NAAHOLS business meeting will be at 6:00 PM in Salon 10, immediately following the close of the afternoon session, and will be chaired by Douglas Kibbee.

SPCL Business Meeting

The SPCL business meeting will be at 8:00 PM in Philadelphia North and will be chaired by Francis Byrne.

Saturday, 11 January

Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics

The Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics will host a continental breakfast, 7:30 - 9:00 AM, in the Horizon Ballroom. Only those who made reservations by 20 December can be accommodated.

Language in the School Curriculum

The Language in the School Curriculum Committee will hold an open meeting in Salon 8, 1:00 - 2:00 PM.

1991 Presidential Address

Charles Fillmore, the 1991 LSA President, will deliver his presidential address at 1:30 PM in the Conference Center Ballroom. The address is entitled "The Grammar of 'home'."

Poster Session

The poster session will be in Philadelphia South, 3:30 - 6:00 PM. For those who have never attended one: In a poster session, research results are presented in visual rather than in auditory form. This means that a number of colleagues can simultaneously present in the same room where attendees can circulate among them, browsing and talking to presenters as desired. All posters deal with psycholinguistics. Presenters will be available to talk about their projects from 3:30 - 5:00 PM. The posters will remain in the room until 6:00 PM.
Exhibit Hall Floor Plan
Conference Center Hall

Exhibitors

Booth 22 Academic Press, Inc.
Booth 6 Association of American University Presses
Booth 15 Basil Blackwell, Inc.
Booth 9-10 Cambridge University Press
Booth 1 University of Chicago Press
Booth 21 Encyclopaedia Britannica USA
Booth 14 Foris Publications Holland/USA
Booth 3-4 John Benjamins North America, Inc.
Booth 5 Kay Elemetrics
Booth 16 Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
Booth 18-19 Linguistic Society of America
Booth 7 Longman Publishing Group
Booth 11-12 The MIT Press
Booth 13 Mouton de Gruyter
Booth 2 Oxford University Press
Booth 20 Routledge, Chapman & Hall
Booth 13 Walter de Gruyter

Joint Book Exhibit

Abecedarian Book Company
Ablex Publishing Corp.
Chandler & Sharp Publishers, Inc.
Garland Publishing
Greenwood Publishing Group
Linguistic Society of America
Ohio State University Press
Plenum Publishing Corp.
Slavica Publishers, Inc.
Summer Institute of Linguistics
University of Texas Press
University of Wales Press

Working Papers

University of Connecticut
University of Montana
University of North Texas
Ohio State University
Simon Fraser University
Summer Institute of Linguistics (U ND)
# Computer Software Exhibit

## Schedule

**Friday, 10 January 1992**

**Salon 10**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
<th>DOS</th>
<th>Mac #1</th>
<th>Mac #2</th>
<th>Unix</th>
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<tr>
<td>10-11</td>
<td>Opening session</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Phonetic fonts</td>
<td>Palatino Phonetic</td>
<td>Henry Rogers</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Timothy Montler</td>
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<td>11:30</td>
<td>OE fonts</td>
<td>HyperBibliography</td>
<td>Christopher Culy</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lawrence Foley</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>RENUMBER</td>
<td>SuperRenumber</td>
<td>Christopher Culy</td>
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<td>Jonatan Mead</td>
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<td>12:30</td>
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<td>RENUMBER</td>
<td>Jonathon Mead</td>
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<td>David Denison</td>
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<td>Goldvarb</td>
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<td>Evan Antworth</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sharin Ash &amp; Susan Pintzuk</td>
<td>Ash &amp; Pintzuk</td>
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<tr>
<td>1:30</td>
<td>UPSID</td>
<td>Phonetic Symbol Guide</td>
<td>Allen, Pullum, &amp; Ladusaw</td>
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<td>Ian Maddison</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Acoustics for Phoneticians</td>
<td>Signalyze</td>
<td>Keith Denning</td>
<td>Edward (Sun SPARC)</td>
<td>Bunnell &amp; Mohamed</td>
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<td>Peter Ladefoged</td>
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<td>2:30</td>
<td>LX problems</td>
<td>Sounds of the World's</td>
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<td>William Labov</td>
<td>Languages</td>
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<td>Ladefoged &amp; Maddison</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Phthong</td>
<td>A World of Words</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Henry Rogers</td>
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<td>3:30</td>
<td>ProfCourse</td>
<td>Semantics Tutorial</td>
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<td>Dik &amp; Kahrel</td>
<td>Victor Raskin</td>
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<td>ProfGlot</td>
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<td>FrameBuilder</td>
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<td>Donalee Aurardo</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Morphogen</td>
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<td>Joseph Penheroudakis</td>
<td>AV Parser</td>
<td>Mark Johnson</td>
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<tr>
<td>5:30-7</td>
<td>Informal demonstrations</td>
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## Meeting at a Glance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 January</td>
<td>7 PM</td>
<td>Conf. Ctr Ballroom</td>
<td>Colloquium: Computing &amp; the Ordinary Linguist</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 January</td>
<td>Morning</td>
<td>Wyndham Ballroom A</td>
<td>Syntax 1: Pragmatics &amp; Discourse Analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 January</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wyndham Ballroom B</td>
<td>Phonetics</td>
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<td>10 January</td>
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<td>Wyndham Ballroom C</td>
<td>Psycholing: Syntactic Processing</td>
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<td>10 January</td>
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<td>Wyndham Ballroom D</td>
<td>Morphology 1</td>
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<td>Philadelphia South</td>
<td>SPCL</td>
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<td>10 January</td>
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<td>Philadelphia North</td>
<td>SPCL</td>
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<td>12:30-2PM</td>
<td>Afternoon</td>
<td>COSWL Panel</td>
<td>Typology</td>
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<td>10 January</td>
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<td>Syntax 2: Semantics</td>
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<td>Historical Linguistics</td>
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<td>Language Acquisition</td>
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<td>10 January</td>
<td>5-7 PM</td>
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<td>SPCL</td>
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<td>10 January</td>
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<td>10 January</td>
<td>8 PM</td>
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<td>SPCL</td>
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<td>11 January</td>
<td>Morning</td>
<td>Syntax 3</td>
<td>Syntax 3:</td>
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<td>11 January</td>
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<td>Template Morphology/Phonology</td>
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<td>11 January</td>
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<td>Pragmatics &amp; Discourse Analysis</td>
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<td>11 January</td>
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<td>Psycholing</td>
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<td>11 January</td>
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<td>NAAHoLS</td>
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<td>1:30-3:00 PM</td>
<td>Presidential</td>
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<td>11 January</td>
<td>2:30 PM</td>
<td>Late Afternoon</td>
<td>Syntax 5:</td>
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<td>Morphology 2:</td>
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<td>Phonology 2:</td>
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<td>11 January</td>
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<td>Pragmatics &amp; Discourse Analysis: Japanese Language &amp; Law</td>
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<td>11 January</td>
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<td>Poster Session</td>
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<td>12 January</td>
<td>Morning</td>
<td>Syntax 6</td>
<td>Syntax 6:</td>
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<td>12 January</td>
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<td>Phonology 3:</td>
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<td>12 January</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Historical Linguistics</td>
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Linguistic Society of America

Thursday, 9 January
Evening

Colloquium: Computing the Ordinary Working Linguist

Organizer: John Lawler (U MI)
Room: Conference Center Ballroom
7:00 - 10:00 PM

John Lawler (U MI): Survey Report and Prospects for the Profession
Helen Dry (E MI U): The LINGUIST List
Keith Denning (E MI U): Phonetics and Computing
Thomas Toon (U MI): Large Corpora and Text Encoding
Evan Anssworth (SIL): Computing in the Field
Discussants: James Hoard (Boeing)
Peter Ladefoged (U CA-Los Angeles)

Friday, 10 January
Morning

* = 30-minute paper

** Syntax 1 **
Chair: Beatrice Santorini (Northwestern U)
Room: Conference Center Ballroom

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>David Lightfoot (U MD-College Park) &amp; Li Ling Chiang (U MD-College Park): Chinese Reflexives and PF Interpretation</td>
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<td>9:20</td>
<td>Arshoto Terzi (CUNY-Grad Sch): Finite Control in Albanian and Greek and the Licensing of PRO</td>
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<td>9:40</td>
<td>Robert French (NYU): Wh-Small Clauses</td>
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<td>10:00</td>
<td>Jingyi Fu (U MA-Amherst): Deriving Subject Interpretations of Mandarin Possessors</td>
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<td>10:20</td>
<td>Judy Bernstein (CUNY-Grad Sch): On the Syntactic Status of Adjectives in Romance</td>
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<td>10:40</td>
<td>Edwin L. Battistella (U AL-Birmingham): The Treatment of Negation in Double Modal Constructions</td>
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<td>11:00</td>
<td>Elabbas Benamoun (USC): Some Implications of Verb Movement and Negation</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>Jie Xu (U MD-College Park): Possessor Raising in Chinese Passive and Ergative Constructions</td>
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<td>11:40</td>
<td>Geoffrey K. Pullum (U CA-Santa Cruz): Adjacency and Complement Inflection Constraints</td>
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** Pragmatics & Discourse Analysis **
Chair: Ellen Prince (U PA)
Room: Wyndham Ballroom A

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<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>*Knud Lambrecht (U TX-Austin): Sentential-Focus Structures as Grammatical Constructions</td>
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<td>10:05</td>
<td>Thorstein Fretheim (U Trondheim): Grammatically Underdetermined Theme/Rheme Articulation</td>
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<td>10:25</td>
<td>Sharon Cote (U PA): Discourse Functions of Two Types of Null Objects in English</td>
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<td>10:45</td>
<td>Richard Cameron (U PA): Switch Reference, Set-Element Salience, and Null Subject Variation in Spanish</td>
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<td>11:05</td>
<td>Karen van Hoek (Salt Inst/U CA-San Diego): Conceptual Spaces and Anaphoric Reference in American Sign Language</td>
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<td>11:25</td>
<td>Bethany K. Dumas (U TN): The Semantics/Pragmatics of A-Prefixing</td>
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<td>11:45</td>
<td>Rebecca Burns Hoffman (U CO): Syntactic Complexity in Classroom Discourse</td>
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<td>12:05</td>
<td>Sherri Lee Condon (U S LA) &amp; Saadia Ichkhakh (U Hassan I): Request Forms in Marrakshi Arabic</td>
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### Phonetics

**Chair:** Peter Ladefoged (U CA-Los Angeles)  
**Room:** Wyndham Ballroom B

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Alice Faber (Haskins Labs) &amp; Marianne Di Paolo (U UT)</td>
<td>Homophones and Near-Homophones and Their Different Roles in Sound Change</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>William Labov (U PA)</td>
<td>Near-Mergers and the Suspension of Phonemic Contrast</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:05</td>
<td>Birch Moonwoman (U CA-Berkeley)</td>
<td>The Mechanism of Lexical Diffusion</td>
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<td>10:25</td>
<td>Deborah Davison (San Jose SU)</td>
<td>Pitch Assignment to Tonally Underspecified Mandarin Syllables: Interpolation or Spreading?</td>
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<td>10:45</td>
<td>D.H. Whalen (Haskins Labs), Arthur S. Abramson (U CT/Haskins Labs), &amp; Leigh Lisker (U PA/Haskins Labs)</td>
<td>FO Affects Voicing Judgments Even with Unambiguous VOTs</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:05</td>
<td>Margaret H. Dunn (Yale U/Haskins Labs)</td>
<td>Timing and Gestural Structure in Italian Bilabial Consonants</td>
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<td>11:25</td>
<td>Caroline L. Smith (Yale U/Haskins Labs)</td>
<td>Two Patterns of Organizing Vowel and Consonant Gestures</td>
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</table>

### Psycholinguistics: Syntactic Processing

**Chair:** Stephen Crain (U CT)  
**Room:** Wyndham Ballroom C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:45</td>
<td>Lynn Lambert (U DE) &amp; William Frawley (U DE)</td>
<td>Two Kinds of Two Pass Processing: A Unified Account</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:05</td>
<td>Paul Corrall (U MD-College Park)</td>
<td>Structural Ambiguity in Unambiguous Contexts</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:50</td>
<td>Wayne Cowart (U S ME)</td>
<td>Processing Coordinate NPs</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11:10</td>
<td>Laurie A. Stowe (U Georgia)</td>
<td>Psycholinguistic Evidence for the Association between Word Order and Information in Language Processing</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>Thomas L. Cornwell (U CA-Los Angeles/U AZ)</td>
<td>Judging Fragmentary Representations</td>
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### Morphology 1

**Chair:** Mark Aronoff (SUNY-Stony Brook)  
**Room:** Wyndham Ballroom D

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Gregory T. Stump (U KY)</td>
<td>Four Position Class Phenomena and Their Theoretical Implications</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:45</td>
<td>Sharon Inkelas (U CA-Berkeley/U MD-College Park)</td>
<td>Position Class Morphology: The Case of Nimboran</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>Chris Golston (U AZ)</td>
<td>Non-Lexical Compounding</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:50</td>
<td>Richard Sproat (AT&amp;T Bell Labs) &amp; Chalin Shi (Rutgers U)</td>
<td>Mandarin Morphology Is Not Stratum Ordered</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11:10</td>
<td>Elizabeth Ritter (SUNY-Albany)</td>
<td>Where's Gender?</td>
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</table>
### Friday, 10 January
#### Afternoon

**Typology**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Chair: Paul Hopper (Carnegie Mellon U)</th>
<th>Syntax 2 Chair: Jaklin Kornfilt (Syracuse U)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Room: Conference Center Ballroom</td>
<td>Room: Wyndham Ballroom A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Session 1

2:00 *Joan Bybee (U NM):* Harmonic Contexts and the Development of Subjunctives

2:45 Matthew S. Dryer (SUNY-Buffalo): Verb-Initial Languages and the Suffixing Preference


3:25 Ronald P. Schaefer (U IL-U-Edwardsville): A Typology of the Emai Noun Phrase

3:45 Alan Rumsey (U Sydney): Bunuba Reported Speech and the Transitivity of ‘say’ Constructions

4:05 Paul Kroebel (Reed C): Preliminary Remarks on the Syntax of Quantification in Thompson Salish

4:25 Francesca Merlan (U Sydney) & Alan Rumsey (U Sydney): Ku Waru Ergativity and Feature Hierarchy

4:45 Karen van Hoek (Salk Inst/U CA-San Diego) & Ursula Belhui (Salk Inst): Spatialized Morphology in Chinese Sign Language

### Session 2

2:00 Paul Law (MIT): Norwegian Subject Clitics and Clause Structure

2:20 Susan Pintzuk: Criticization in Old English

2:40 *Susan Fischer (RIT) & Wynne Janis (Purdue U):* License to Derive: Resolving Conflicts between Syntax and Morphology

3:25 Elizabeth Owen Bratt (Stanford U): The Structure of the Korean Causative

3:45 Young-Suk Lee (U PA) & Owen Rambow (U PA): Scrambling in Korean: A TAG Analysis

4:05 Ki-Sun Hong (Stanford U): Subject Selection in Korean

4:25 Natsuko Tsujimura (IN U): Restructuring and Event Argument in Japanese

4:45 Michiko Terada (San Jose SU): An Experientive in Japanese

### Semantics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chair: Richard Larson (SUNY-Stony Brook)</th>
<th>Historical Linguistics Chair: George Cardona (U PA)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Room: Wyndham Ballroom B</td>
<td>Room: Wyndham Ballroom C</td>
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</table>

#### Session 3

2:00 Muffy E.A. Siegel (Temple U): Such: A Pro-Adjective

2:20 Shi Zhang (Duke U): Crossed Dependencies in Multiple-Topic Constructions and Syntactic Cabuli

2:40 Katsuhiko Yabushita (U TX-Austin): On the Exhaustive-Listing Use of Japanese Nominative Marker が

3:00 *Friederike Moltmann (MIT):* Implicit Coordinaton

3:45 Louise McNally (U CA-Santa Cruz): Locative Relational Nouns in Copular and Existential Contexts

4:05 Cho Condoravdi (Yale U): Individual-Level Predicates in Conditional Clauses

4:25 Michael Inman (Stanford U): Intentionality in Sinhala: Compositionality and the Semantics-Pragmatics Interface

4:45 Grazialee Saccon (Harvard U): Passivization of Intransitive Verbs

#### Session 4

2:00 Bridget Drakes (U TX-San Antonio): Exaption and Language Change

2:20 Andrew Garrett (Stanford U/TX-Austin): Greek Noncoronal Sup + Nasal Assim.

2:40 Stephen A. Wilson (U CA-Berkeley): The Accent of Latin: Stress, Pitch or Something More?

3:00 Brian D. Joseph (OH SU) & Rex E. Wallace (U MA-Amherst): Socially Determined Variation in Ancient Rome

3:20 Anju Saxena (U OR): Development of Finite Verb Endings in Standard Lhasa Tibetan

3:40 Marjorie K.M. Chan (OH SU): Zhongshan Chinese and a Mid-Eighteenth Century Sino-Portuguese Glossary

4:00 Peter Hendriks (Yale U): The Particle が in Eighth Century Japanese

4:20 James D. McCawley (U Chicago): The Biological Side of Otto Jespersen’s Linguistic Thought
Language Acquisition
Chair: Lila Gleitman (U PA)
Room: Wyndham Ballroom D

2:00  *James L. Morgan (Brown U): The Empirical Status of the No-Negative-Evidence Assumption

2:45  Karen M. Smith (U CT): The Acquisition of Questions in Normal and Language-Impaired Children

3:05  *Sigríður Sigurjónsdóttir (U CA-Los Angeles) & Nina Hyams (U CA-Los Angeles): Binding in Icelandic: Evidence from Language Acquisition

3:50  Margaret Thomas (Boston C): Historical Parallels to Young Children’s Grammars of English Reflexives

4:10  Barbara Lust (Cornell U), Claire Foley (Cornell U), Zelmira Nunez del Prado (Cornell U) & Isabella Barbier (Cornell U): On the Strong Continuity Hypothesis: A Study of Promoun Coindexing

4:30  Anne Vaisikkka (U MA-Amherst) & Martha Young-Sciothten (U Dusseldorf): The Development of Functional Projections in L2 Syntax

4:50  Karen Emmorey (Salk Inst) & David Corina (USC): Differential Sensitivity to ASL Classifier Morphology in ASL Signers

Business Meeting
Chair: Charles Fillmore
Room: Conference Center Ballroom
5:00 - 7:00 PM

Resolutions Committee: Henry Hoenigswald, Chair
Laurence Horn
Marianne Mithun

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

   3d. If at least ten members present at the meeting so desire, a resolution may be broadened to express 'the sense of the majority of the membership,' regardless of whether or not it has passed the procedure in 3c above, by the following steps: the resolution is forwarded to the Executive Committee for submission to the membership by mail ballot (in the next issue of the LSA Bulletin). Passage of such a 'sense of the majority of the membership' resolution requires the affirmative vote (more than 50%) of the membership responding.
**Friday, 10 January**

**Evening**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Syntax 3</strong></th>
<th><strong>Phonology 1</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Edwin Battistella (U AL-Birmingham)</td>
<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Mark Lieberman (U PA)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Room:</strong> Conference Center Ballroom</td>
<td><strong>Room:</strong> Philadelphia South</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Topic</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7:00</td>
<td><em>Aaron Halpern (Stanford U):</em> Syntax, Syntax, and Second Position</td>
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<tr>
<td>7:45</td>
<td>Jack Martin (U MI): Muskogean Evidence for Expanding the INFL Node</td>
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<tr>
<td>8:05</td>
<td>Ann Taylor (U PA): Second Position Clitics</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8:25</td>
<td>Liljana Progovac (Wayne SU) &amp; Steven Franks (IN U): Binding Domains, Morphological Complexity and X-Bar Compatibility</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8:45</td>
<td>Alan Munn (U MD-College Park), Cristina Schmitt (U MD-College Park), &amp; John Stonham (U MD-College Park): Anti-Causatives in Sinhala and English: A Unified Analysis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:05</td>
<td>Josep M. Fontana (U PA): Wackernagel's Law, V2, and Clitic Position in Old Spanish</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9:25</td>
<td>Almeida Jacqueline Toribio (Cornell U): Postverbal Subjects and Preverbal Locatives in English</td>
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<tr>
<td>7:00</td>
<td>Marcia Haag (SUNY-Stony Brook): Toward a Non-Deterministic English Metrical Theory: An Empirical Study</td>
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<tr>
<td>7:20</td>
<td>Sun-Ah Jun (OH SU): The Domain of Nasalization and the Prosodic Structure in Korean</td>
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<tr>
<td>7:40</td>
<td>Henry Churchyard (U TX-Austin): The Tiberian Hebrew Rhythm Rule in the Typology of Rhythm Rules</td>
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<tr>
<td>8:00</td>
<td>Lee S. Bickmore (SUNY-Albany): Tone and Accent in Lamba</td>
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<tr>
<td>8:20</td>
<td>S.J. Hannahs (U DE): Prosodic Structure in the Lexicon: Evidence from French</td>
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<tr>
<td>8:40</td>
<td>Anthony C. Woodbury (U TX-Austin): Utterance-Final Phonology and the Prosodic Hierarchy: A Case from Nunivak Yup'ik</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Noriko Kunowa Williams (George Mason U): Semantically-Motivated Intonational Phrases in Japanese</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Kathleen Hubbard (U CA-Berkeley): NP-VP Asymmetries in Lunyambo Prosodic Domains</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Livia Polanyi (Rice U) &amp; Irene Vogel (U DE): The Discourse Domains of Phonological Rules</td>
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### Syntax 4

**Chair:** Donna Jo Napoli (Swarthmore C)  
**Room:** Conference Center Ballroom  

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Alex Alina (Stanford U):</td>
<td>The Deontic Causality of Causatives: Evidence from Romance</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:45</td>
<td>Cristina Schmitt (U MD-College Park):</td>
<td>&quot;Ser&quot; and &quot;Estar&quot;: An Aspects of Analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:05</td>
<td>John Moore (FL Inst U):</td>
<td>Romance Cliticization and Relativized Minimality</td>
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<td>10:25</td>
<td>Arnold M. Zwicky (OH SU/Sanford U):</td>
<td>Exceptional Degree Modifiers: A Puzzle in Internal and External Syntax</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>Hyunsoo Lee (U CA-Los Angeles):</td>
<td>A Surface-Based Account of (Unbounded) Anaphor Binding</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:05</td>
<td>Kyoko Hirose (U CA-Berkeley/IBM Japan) &amp; Toshio Ohori (U CA-Berkeley/Keio U):</td>
<td>Japanese Internally Headed Relative Clauses Revisited</td>
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### Pragmatics & Discourse Analysis

**Chair:** Knud Lambrecht (U TX-Austin)  
**Room:** Wyndham Ballroom B  

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>William Croft (U MI) &amp; Kristin Frederickson (U MI):</td>
<td>Intonation Units and Grammatical Knowledge</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:45</td>
<td>Julia Hirschberg (AT&amp;T Bell Labs) &amp; Gregory Ward (Northwestern U):</td>
<td>The Interpretation of the High-Rise Question Contour in English</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:05</td>
<td>Gayle M. Ayers (OH SU):</td>
<td>Discourse Functions of Pitch Range in Spontaneous and Read Speech</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:25</td>
<td>Betty J. Bimler (Northwestern U) &amp; Gregory Ward (Northwestern U):</td>
<td>The Interpretation of and everything and Everything</td>
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<td>10:45</td>
<td>Andrea Tyler (U FL):</td>
<td>Lexical Coherence and Discourse Structure: A Re-Examination</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:05</td>
<td>Susan Thomas (WV U):</td>
<td>Incorporating because Clause Quotations in Written News Reports</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:25</td>
<td>Katharina Babo (N IL U) &amp; Neal Norrick (N IL U):</td>
<td>In Defense of the Notion Pre-Sequencing</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:45</td>
<td>Neal Norrick (N IL U):</td>
<td>When We Answer Our Own yes-no Questions</td>
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### Psycholinguistics

**Chair:** William Frawley (U DE)  
**Room:** Wyndham Ballroom C  

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<thead>
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<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Evelyn McClave (Georgetown U):</td>
<td>The Relationship between Prosody and Gesture</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Julie Auger (U PA) &amp; William Labov (U PA):</td>
<td>Aging and Syntactic Complexity: A Longitudinal Study</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Janice L. Jake (Midlands Tech C) &amp; Carol Myers-Scotton (U SC):</td>
<td>Testing the Fit: Syntactic Theory and Intratesential Codeswitching</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>Timothy C. Clausner (U MI) &amp; William Croft (U MI):</td>
<td>The Productivity of Metaphor</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:05</td>
<td>Sharon Flank (SRA Corp):</td>
<td>Interpreting Denominational Verbs</td>
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</table>
### LSA Presidential Address

**Room:** Conference Center Ballroom  
1:30 - 3:00 PM  
*“The Grammar of home”*  
Charles Fillmore (U CA-Berkeley)

### Syntax 5

**Chair:** Michael Kac (U MN-Minneapolis)  
**Room:** Conference Center Ballroom  
1  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Edward Rubin (Cornell U): Modification and Prepositional Phrases</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:50</td>
<td>Alan H. Kim (SIU-Carbondale): Relativizing NPs from Two Presentative Constructions</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:10</td>
<td>Elizabeth Klippie (U Quebec): Three Levels of PPs</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:30</td>
<td>Lorie Heggie (IL SU): Fronting and Resumptive Pronouns in Tunisian Arabic</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:50</td>
<td>Jaklin Kornfilt (Syracuse U): Licensing Parasitic Gaps in Turkish</td>
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<tr>
<td>5:10</td>
<td>Caroline Heycock (Oakland U): Extraction and the Syntax of Copular Constructions</td>
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<tr>
<td>5:30</td>
<td>George A. Broadwell (SUNY-Albany): The Meaning of [+pronominal]</td>
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<tr>
<td>5:50</td>
<td>Thomas Stroik (Morehead SU): A Structural analysis of Adverb Positions</td>
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### Morphology 2

**Chair:** Stephen Anderson (Johns Hopkins U)  
**Room:** Wyndham Ballroom A  
2  

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Dianne Jonas (Harvard U) &amp; Amanda Lathroun (Harvard U): Restrictions on Argument Suppression</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:50</td>
<td>Brian D. Joseph (OH SU) &amp; Jane C. Sminioiu (OH SU): The Morphosyntax of the Modern Greek Verbal</td>
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<td>4:10</td>
<td>Cornex as Morphology and Not Syntax</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:30</td>
<td>Donka Farkas (UC Santa Cruz) &amp; Draga Zec (Yale U): Coordination and Pronominal Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:50</td>
<td>Johan Rooryc (IN U): Clitic Ordering in Romance Imperatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:10</td>
<td>Philip S. Lesourd (UC San Diego): Inflection inside Derivation in Passamaquoddy</td>
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<tr>
<td>5:10</td>
<td>Shila Baks (WA SU): Derivation inside Inflection: Counterexamples from Bengali</td>
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### Phonology 2

**Chair:** Gary Mills (Temple U)  
**Room:** Wyndham Ballroom B  
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<table>
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<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Jean Arn (U AZ): Grounding in Sign Language Handshapes: Evidence from Taiwan Sign Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:50</td>
<td>Diana Brentari (Rugers U): A Sonority Hierarchy in American Sign Language and Its Implications for Phonological Theory</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:10</td>
<td>Eugene Buckley (U CA-Berkeley): On the Sonority of Glottalized Sonorants</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:30</td>
<td>Yen-Hwei Lin (MI SU): Dissimilation in Chinese Secret Languages</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:50</td>
<td>Renate Raffelsieben (U WA): Phonotactics and the Base Search Hypothesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:10</td>
<td>Thomas Veatch (Stanford U): The English Glide Slot</td>
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<tr>
<td>5:30</td>
<td>Jooans Deliglou (U IA): The Unification of High Vowel and Glide Ephenthesis</td>
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<tr>
<td>5:50</td>
<td>Shelley L. Vellman (Baystate Med Ctr): Nonlinear Representation of “Word Recipes”</td>
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### Pragmatics & Discourse Analysis: Japanese

**Chair:** Susumu Kuno (Harvard U)  
**Room:** Wyndham Ballroom C  
4  

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Minako Ishikawa (Georgetown U): A Synthesis of Three Approaches to Discourse: An Analysis of the Japanese Sentence Particle Me</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:50</td>
<td>Shigeo Okamoto (CA SU-Fresno): Pragmaticization of Meaning in Some Sentence-Final Particles in Japanese</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:30</td>
<td>Polly Szatrowski (U MN-Minneapolis): Strategies in the Japanese Invitation Dance</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:50</td>
<td>Yoshiko Matsumoto (OH SU): Interaction of Factors in Construal: Japanese Relative Clauses</td>
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### Language and Law

**Chair:** Bethany Dumas (UTN)  
5:20  

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5:20</td>
<td>Lawrence Solan (Orans, Elsen &amp; Lepsert): de Morgan’s Law as Rule of Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:40</td>
<td>Jeffrey P. Kaplan (San Diego SU): Out-of-Court Speech vs. Legislation: Does QUANTITY Apply?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Ming-Ming Pu (U Alberta): Discourse Structure and Memory Units

Judith A. Parker (Brown U): Speech Perception Deficits in Good and Poor Readers

Victoria Fromkin (U CA-Los Angeles): The Lexicon: Processing Evidence

Carole E. Chaski (NC SU): Metalinguistic Awareness and Literate/illiterate Responses to Segment Deletion

Jean Newman (U NM): Verb Bias and the Advantage of Recency in the Processing of Anaphoric Pronouns

Annette Herskovits (Wellesley C), Andrea Levit (Wellesley C), Margery Lucas (Wellesley C), & Laura Wagner (Wellesley C): The Mental Representation of the Meaning of *enough*

---

Sunday, 12 January

**Morning**

### Syntax

Chair: Laurence Horn (Yale U)  
Room: Conference Center Ballroom  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker/Institution</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Adele E. Goldberg (U CA-Berkeley)</td>
<td>In Support of a Semantic Account of Resultatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Mary Dalrymple (Xerox PARC)</td>
<td>Against Syntactic Reconstruction in Ellipsis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Mark R. Baltin (NYU)</td>
<td>Floating Quantifiers in English Infinitives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>Hotze Rullmann (U MA-Amherst)</td>
<td>The Effects of Verb Projection Raising and Scrambling on Scope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Richard Campbell (Oakland U)</td>
<td>Extra-position from Subject and Logical Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Alex Alsina (Stanford U) &amp; Jiobu Noshi (U CA-Berkeley)</td>
<td>The Interface of Semantics and Discourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>Istvan Kenesei (U Szeged)</td>
<td>On Word Order in Finno-Ugric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:40</td>
<td>John B. Whitman (Cornell U)</td>
<td>Rightward Leakage in Verb Final Languages</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Sociolinguistics

Chair: Shana Poplack (U Ottawa)  
Room: Philadelphia South  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker/Institution</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Susan Herring (CA SU San Bernardino)</td>
<td>The Effects of Gender in Computer-Mediated Linguistic Discourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Robert K. Herbert (SUNY Binghamton)</td>
<td>Language, Gender, and Ethnicity: Explaining Language Shift in Thongaland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Felice Anne Coles (Austin Community C)</td>
<td>Isleno Spanish /h/ Variation and Speech Accommodation</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Elizabeth Dayton (U PR)</td>
<td>Stativity: The Semantic Core of VBE Invariant <em>be</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>Danielle Cyr (York U)</td>
<td>Quasi Rules and Quasi Stars: The Grammaticalization of a Definite Article in Montagnais Cree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Corey A. Miller (U PA)</td>
<td>The United States-Canadian Border as a Linguistic Boundary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Kira Hall (U CA-Berkeley) &amp; Alissa Shethar (U CA-Berkeley)</td>
<td>&quot;zu Hause jesprochen, von der Strasse jehab&quot;: Women's Use of <em>Berlinsch</em> in East &amp; West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>Craig Sörs (DePaul U)</td>
<td>Politics or Language: What Is Being Planned?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:40</td>
<td>Mark L. Louden (U TX-Austin)</td>
<td>African-Americans and Minority Language Maintenance in the U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Janet S. Smith (U CA-Davis)</td>
<td>Style and Orthography in Japanese Popular Writing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Phonology 3

Chair: Irene Vogel (U DE)
Room: Philadelphia North

9:00  Lee S. Bickmore (SUNY-Albany) & George A. Broadwell (SUNY-Albany): The Morphemic Tier Hypothesis and Tone Linking in Sierra Juarez Zapotec

9:20  Tracy Alan Hall (U Dusseldorf): German Final Devoicing and the Consonantal Allophones of /R/

9:40  Samira Farwanah (U UT): Directional Syllabification and Syllable Structure in Arabic Dialects

10:00 Heather Good (USC): Learnability and Inventory Specific Underspecification

10:20  Rolf Noyer (MIT): Verner’s Law and Underspecification Theory

10:40  Peter R. Petrucci (USC): ATR and High Stability Effects in Brazilian Portuguese

11:00 Larry M. Hyman (U CA-Berkeley): Monosyllables in Bantu

11:20  *William J. Poser (Stanford U): The Structural Typology of Phonological Writing

12:05  Ian Maddison (U CA-Los Angeles): Splitting the Mora

Historical Linguistics:

Syntax & Typology

Chair: Anthony Kroch (U PA)
Room: Salon 10

9:00  *Heidi Waltz (U CA-Los Angeles): Against Uniform Directionality: A Con- trastive Analysis of Non-Nominative Verbs

9:45  *Whitney Tabor (Stanford U): Reanalysis Is Early

10:30  Catherine N. Ball (Georgetown U): Relative Pronouns in It-Cloths: The Last Seven Centuries

10:50  Robert J. Reddick (U TX-Arlington): Order and Function in the Parker Chronicle

11:10  Kathleen Carey (U CA-San Diego): Diachrony and the Experiential Use of ‘have’ Perfects

11:30  Francesca Merlan (U Sydney): Mangarrayi and Historical Change in the Organization of Case Marking

11:50  Dan Devitt (SUNY-Buffalo): Zero Allomorphy in Copula Constructions
American Dialect Society
Saturday, 11 January
Morning

Panel: A Quarter-Century Retrospective In Honor of William Labov's *Social Stratification of English in New York City*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Room: Philadelphia South</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00 - 10:30</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Chair:** Anthony Kroch (U PA)

- Deborah Schiffrin (Georgetown U): Narrative Analyses and Research Advances in Sociolinguistic Theory
- John Baugh (Stanford U): Sociolinguistics, Dialectology, and the Quest for Educational Excellence among Culturally Diverse Students
- Guy Bailey (OK SU): Spatial Dimensions of Language Change

**Panel: The Significance of Siang**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:45 - 12:15</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Chair:** Connie Eble (U NC-Chapel Hill)

- Linda Mochle-Vieregge (U IL-Urbana)
- Pamela Munro (U CA-Los Angeles)
- Thomas Nunnally (Auburn U)
# North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences

**Saturday, 11 January**

## Morning

**Session 1**  
Chair: Douglas Kibbee (U IL-Urbana)  
Room: Salon 10  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker (University)</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Dominique Linch (U NC-Chapel Hill)</td>
<td>Des marches, iles et terre ferme... A Study of the Language and the Impact of the New World in France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Joseph Subbiondo (U of the Pacific)</td>
<td>The Influence of Comenius on 17th-Century English Philosophical Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>Break</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>Geoffrey Nunberg (Xerox PARC)</td>
<td>Campbell and Hume on General Use: Language and the Politics of Taste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:15</td>
<td>Stephen Guice (Memphis SU)</td>
<td>Evaluating Pre-Institutional Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:45</td>
<td>Konrad Koerner (U Ottawa)</td>
<td>On the Importance of Dates in Linguistic Historiography</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Afternoon

**Session 2**  
Chair: Talbot Taylor (C Wm & Mary)  
Room: Salon 10  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker (University)</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Kurt Jankowsky (Georgetown U)</td>
<td>Herman Paul's <em>Individualpsychologie</em> vs. Wilhelm Wundt's <em>Volkerpsychologie</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:30</td>
<td>Michael McKert (U DE/AZ SU)</td>
<td>Form and Material in Heymann Steinthal's Semiotics of Language and Art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Douglas Kibbee (U IL-Urbana)</td>
<td>Durkheim, Language and Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Break</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:45</td>
<td>Jan-Eric Widell (Uppsala U)</td>
<td>The Social Aspect of Language Interpreted in a Suassierian Textus-Receptus Tradition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:15</td>
<td>Maria Tsiapira (U NC-Chapel Hill)</td>
<td>Sausure's Role in Late 19th- and Early 20th-Century Thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:45</td>
<td>William McMahon (U Akron)</td>
<td>Epistemology and Some Recent Theories of Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:15</td>
<td>John Joseph (U MD-College Park)</td>
<td>'Core' and 'Periphery' in the History of Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:00</td>
<td>Business Meeting</td>
<td>Chair: Douglas Kibbee (U IL-Urbana)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics

**Friday, 10 January**

### Morning

#### Syntax

**Chair:** Sarah Grey Thomason (U Pittsburgh)  
**Room:** Philadelphia North

- **9:00** Pierre Pica (MIT): Some General Questions about the Continuity Paradox from a GB Viewpoint
- **9:20** Michel DeGraff (U PA): The Syntax of Predication in Haitian
- **9:40** Alaine Kibm (CNRS, Paris): Strange Argument Structures in Kriyol (Guine-Bissau)
- **10:00** Viviane Deprez (Rutgers U): Is Haitian Creole Really a Pro-Drop Language?
- **10:20** Eugeni Golovko (Inst Ling, Leningrad): Formation of Grammatical Categories in Copper Island Alem
- **10:40** Break

#### Syntax/Semantics

**Chair:** John R. Rickford (Stanford U)

- **11:00** George L. Hutter (U TX-Arlington/SIL) & Mary L. Hutter (U TX-Arlington/SIL): Reduplication in Ndjuka: Phonology, Syntax, and Semantics
- **11:20** Arthur K. Spears (CUNY-Grad Ctr): Subjunctivity and the Haitian Creole Subjunctive
- **11:40** Flor Zephir (U MO): Syntactic and Semantic Functions of the Determiner la in Haitian Creole
- **12:00** Donald Winford (OH SU) & Francis Byrne (Shawnee SU): Towards a More Adequate Account of give-Type Serials in Caribbean Creoles

#### Contact Varieties & Processes

**Chair:** John Holm (CUNY-Grad Ctr)  
**Room:** Philadelphia South

- **9:00** Kate Green (CUNY-Grad Ctr): On Substratal Influences in Nonstandard Caribbean Spanish
- **9:20** Beth Craig (CUNY-Grad Ctr): American Indian English
- **9:40** Rudolfo Celis (U GA): Towards a Definition of Ship English
- **10:00** Charles E. Debose (CA SU-Hayward): Closely-Related Language Varieties in Contact
- **10:20** Break

**Chair:** Pauline Christie (U W Indies, Jamaica)

- **10:40** J. Clancy Clements (IN U): Language Shift and Language Borrowing Effects in Korali Portuguese
- **11:00** G. Tucker Childs (U Witwatersrand): The Expressive Function in Pidgin Languages: The Case of African Ideophones

#### Semi-Creoles

- **11:20** Heliana Mello (CUNY-Grad Ctr) & Gerardo A. Lorenzo (CUNY-Grad Ctr): On the Semi-Creole Status of Popular Brazilian Portuguese
- **11:40** Dwijen Bhattacharjiya (CUNY-Grad Ctr): Nagamese: Pidgin, Creole or Creoloid?
- **12:00** Maureen Healy (CUNY-Grad Ctr): Surinamese Dutch: A Semi-Creole?
### Friday, 10 January

#### Afternoon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense/Modality/Aspect</th>
<th>Lexicon</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Lawrence Carrington (U W Indies, Trinidad)</td>
<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Gillian Sankoff (U PA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Room:</strong> Philadelphia North</td>
<td><strong>Room:</strong> Philadelphia South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:00 Peter L. Patrick (Georgetown U): Past-Marking and Decreolization in Urban Jamaican</td>
<td>2:00 I. Fodor (Cologne): Purism in Some Creole Languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:40 John D. Roy (CUNY-Grad Ctr): Past Marking in Decreolizing Jamaican English Creole</td>
<td>2:40 Maurice Holder (St. Thomas U): Towards an Integrated Model of Pitch and Stress in Guyanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00 Abigail Maria Michel (CUNY-Grad Ctr): The Preverbal Markers of Papiamento in Curacao: ta, tabata, a lo.</td>
<td>3:00 Dingxu Shi (USC): How Much Phonology Is Available?</td>
</tr>
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</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morphology/Morpho-Syntax</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Charlene Sato (U HI-Manoa)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:40 Belinda Young-Davy (U OR): Polysynthetic Prepositions in Rama Cay Creole</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:00 Armin Schwegler (U CA-Irvine): Subject Pronouns and Person/Number in Palenquero</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:20 Claire Lefebvre (U Quebec-Montreal) &amp; John S. Lumsden (U Quebec-Montreal): Word Order in Relexification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:40 Roger Keesing (McGill U): Prepositional Verbs in Pidgin and Eastern Oceanic: The Case for Occam’s Razor in Melanesia</td>
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### Friday, 10 January

#### Evening

<table>
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<th>Business Meeting</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Francis Byrne (Shawnee SU)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Room:</strong> Philadelphia North</td>
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<tr>
<td>8:00 PM</td>
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### Saturday, 11 January

#### Morning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Title and Affiliation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Eduardo Faingold (Tel Aviv U)</td>
<td>The Reconstruction of Pidgin and Creole Systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Andre M. Kapanga (U NE-Lincoln)</td>
<td>Developing an Eclectic Approach to the Study of Language Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Charles Gilman (Rainbow Bridge Consulting)</td>
<td>North American Native Pidgin: The Original Pidgin English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>John W. McWhorter (Stanford U)</td>
<td>Lost in Transmission: A Case for the Independent Emergence of the Copula in Atlantic Creoles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Break</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Gillian Sankoff (U PA)</td>
<td>Variation and Change in Tok Pisin Grammar: The Case of <em>i</em></td>
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#### Afternoon

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Title and Affiliation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Robin Sabino (Auburn U)</td>
<td>A Point of Detail: Serial Verbs in Negerhollands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:20</td>
<td>John Holm (CUNY-Grad Ctr)</td>
<td>Atlantic Input in Pacific Pidgins and Creoles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:40</td>
<td>John R. Rickford (Stanford U)</td>
<td>The Creole Residue in Barbados</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>William A. Stewart (CUNY-Grad Ctr)</td>
<td>Re-evaluating the Evidence against Ongoing Decreolization in Gullah</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:20</td>
<td>Break</td>
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#### Social Dimensions

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Title and Affiliation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>Lise Winer (S IL U-Carbondale) &amp; Hans E.A. Boss (Emperor Valley Zoo, Trinidad)</td>
<td>Marble Pitching Terminology in Trinidad and Tobago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:40</td>
<td>Shana Poplack (U Ottawa) &amp; Sali Tagliamonte (U Ottawa)</td>
<td>Linguistic Characteristics of Nova Scotian Black English Isolates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Charles Mann (U Edinburgh)</td>
<td>Towards a Standard Orthography for Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin</td>
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</table>

#### Discourse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4:20</td>
<td>Charlene Sato (U HI-Manos) &amp; Karen Watson-Gedge (U CA-Davis)</td>
<td>Information Structure in Hawai‘i Creole English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:40</td>
<td>Satoshi Stanley Koike (CUNY-Grad Ctr)</td>
<td>Naturalistic Discourse Transfer in Japanese Hawaiian Pidgin English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:00</td>
<td>Genevieve Escuré (U MN-Minneapolis)</td>
<td>Creolity and Reduplication</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Linguistic Society of America

Abstracts of Regular Papers
Statement from the Program Committee

The abstracts which appear in this Meeting Handbook are photocopies of the originals submitted to the LSA Program Committee. Infelicities of style, grammar, punctuation, and spelling are the responsibility of the authors.
Alex Alsina (Stanford University)
The Monocausality of Causatives: Evidence from Romance

It is commonly assumed that causative constructions in Romance (faire-infinite in French) are syntactically biclausal, and that the causee is a subject (for example, Buzio (1986), DiSciullo and Williams (1987), Baker (1988), Bordelos (1988), Rosen (1989)). This assumption has important negative consequences and no positive empirical result.

The evidence, from Catalan, against the syntactic biclausality of causatives concerns word order and adverbial modification. Standard accounts incorrectly predict that the causee, structurally a subject, must follow all internal arguments of the embedded verb, and that a modifier immediately preceding an argument of the embedded verb could not modify the causative verb. In addition, certain facts involving binding and control which may be taken as evidence for the “subjecthood” of the causee do not require it to be a syntactic subject, but follow from its being a “logical subject,” a notion defined on argument structure.

The correct results follow from the proposal presented in this paper that the Romance causative construction is syntactically monoclausal, with a doubly headed structure, and that the causee is not a syntactic subject at any level, but a logical subject, and an object in the syntax.

Alex Alsina (Stanford University)
Lioba Moshi (University of Georgia)
Word Order in Kichaga: The Interplay of Semantics and Discourse

Theories which rely only on syntactic notions to determine the order of arguments (Perlmutter and Postal 1983, Baker 1988, Bresnan and Moshi 1990) fail to provide an adequate account of the order of objects in Kichaga, which is claimed in this paper to be determined exclusively by semantic (thematic) and discourse factors. Two word order principles are proposed: one which is sensitive to the thematic role of the objects, and one which is sensitive to their discourse function. The two principles interact yielding the possible orderings of objects.

The pragmatically unmarked order of objects is determined by reference to the hierarchy of thematic roles (Jackendoff 1972 and others). The unmarked order of two objects may be reversed when the first object (of the unmarked order) contains a modifier, is an independent pronoun or is a question word in place. What these three types of noun phrases have in common is that they contribute new or contrasting information, which licenses the rightward positioning of the object.

The evidence presented bears on the issue of the accessibility of thematic information to syntactic principles, and on the structural representation of double object constructions.

Jean Ann (University of Arizona)
Grounding in Sign Language Handshapes: Evidence from Taiwan Sign Language

Archangeli and Pulleyblank (in prep.) propose that f-features (features) combine with each other. These combinations are constrained by a theory of physiological inclination to combine (grounding theory). I develop the grounding theory for Taiwan Sign Language handshapes. One physiological fact about the hand is that the muscles that extend the fingers spread them automatically. Therefore, I propose the grounded condition "if [+ extended], then [+ spread]". Grounding theory predicts that handshapes produced from grounded combinations are unmarked, while handshapes produced from an ungrounded combination are marked. This is confirmed in TSL. In many signs, a fist becomes extended and spread. In very few signs (i.e. one variant of GIVE), a fist becomes extended, but the fingers do not spread. Thus, within a single sign language, TSL, the handshape produced from the grounded combination proliferates. The handshape produced from the ungrounded combination is marked.
Julie Auger (University of Pennsylvania)  
William Labov (University of Pennsylvania)  
Aging and Syntactic Complexity: A Longitudinal Study

In the present paper, we reconsider the claim that, in old age, syntactic complexity deteriorates in otherwise healthy and active adults. Our longitudinal study, based on recordings of informal interviews with 20 aged Montréal French speakers, does not provide any clear support for Kemper’s 1987, 1988 claim that the use of left-embedded constructions decreases as speakers get older. E.g., to take a case from our Montréal French data, sentences like (1), which contains a left-branching and a center-embedded subordinate clause, are as likely to be uttered by our speakers in their second interview as in their first one, realized 13 years previously:

(1) quand j’ai commencé à travailler moi, dans la société de fiducie dont je vous parlais là, on travaillait le samedi. (70-year-old speaker)  
‘when I started to work in the fiduciary society that I was telling you about, we worked on Saturday’

Besides quantifying the various types of embedding at each of the two ages studied in our corpus, we also attempt to specify the set of variables which may influence the relation between syntactic complexity and aging. E.g., the topic of discourse is a crucial variable, but another variable, "genre", sometimes overrides the effect of topic.

Gayle M. Ayers (Ohio State University)  
Discourse Functions of Pitch Range in Spontaneous and Read Speech

Pitch range plays an important role in conveying the hierarchical segmentation of discourse. Pitch range is expanded at the beginning of a new topic (Schegloff 1979; Brazil, Coulthard, and Johns 1980; Butterworth 1975), and final lowering reflects the degree of finality of an utterance (Hirschberg and Pierrrehumbert 1986; Silverman 1987). This study compares how pitch range and intonational structure are used in matched spontaneous speech and read speech discourses. Narrative portions of a spontaneous conversation are compared with fluent readings by the same speakers of a text prepared from the conversation. Symbolic intonation transcriptions were made and compared (Pierrrehumbert 1980; Beckman and Pierrrehumbert 1986), and pitch measurements were made for each intermediate phrase. As other researchers have found (Howell and Kadi-Hanifi 1991), the phrase boundaries and locations of accents differ between the spontaneous and read versions. The pitch ranges used also differ between the two versions. Although the sentences in the two versions match lexically and syntactically, topics are grouped together differently, and different items are marked as salient. In Grosz and Sidner’s terms (1986), the intentional structure and the attentional state differ. In the read version, expanded pitch range and final lowering mark the hierarchical organizational structure of discourse. However, the spontaneous version does not have an equally clear hierarchical organization, and pitch range variations also mark floor negotiations, corrections, and other interactions between speaker and listener. Spontaneous speech and read speech differ in how planned they are, and pitch range variations reflect the differences. [Work support by an NSF Graduate Fellowship.]

Shila Bakshi (Washington State University)  
Derivation inside Inflexion: Counterexamples from Bengali

Anderson’s (1981.1982) Extended Word and Paradigm model (EWP), like most linguistic theories, assumes that derivational material occurs inside the inflectional material. Apparent counterexamples are found in Bengali. Bengali indefinite pronouns are derived by suffixing /-or/ to the inflected interrogative pronouns. The inflected indefinite pronouns contain case and portmanteau case/number markers inside the derivational marker -g:

(1a) ka-r ‘whose?’  
who-genitive

b. ka-r-g ‘someone’s’  
who-genitive-indefinite

(2a) ka-der ‘whom/whose (pl)?’  
who-plural-non-subject

b. ka-der-g ‘to/of someone (pl)’  
who-plural-non-subject-indefinite

The formation of the indefinite pronouns is derivational, and therefore, according to EWP, is handled in the lexicon before lexical insertion. Case marking in Bengali, as in other languages, is obviously "syntactically relevant" and therefore, according to EWP, is inflectional and must occur after lexical insertion. Three analyses compatible with EWP will be discussed and evaluated.
Catherine N. Ball (Georgetown University)

Relative Pronouns in It-Clefts: The Last Seven Centuries

While most accounts of 20th c. it-clefts provide for both that- and wh- complements, wh-pronouns have been claimed to be highly restricted: they are rarer than that (Quirk et al. 1985) and are only fully acceptable with subject function (Delahunty 1982); which is marginal (Quirk et al. 1985) or dialectically restricted (Rochemont 1986), and pied-piping is 'at best marginal' (Rochemont 1986), or 'virtually impossible' (Quirk et al. 1985). These claims bear on the issue of whether the it-cleft complement is a relative clause, and have been adduced to support an extraction analysis of the cleft on which wh-pronouns are treated as exceptional (Rochemont 1986). In this paper, we elucidate the synchronic facts by examining the distribution of cleft complementizers in a corpus of spoken and written English. We further document changes over the last 700 years. Changes in relative clauses are reflected in the cleft, supporting an analysis of the NP-focus cleft complement as a relative clause. The data also show that the use of wh-pronouns has increased significantly since Late Middle English, and that they are neither rare in comparison to that and 0, marginal in object function, or impossible in pied-piping.

Mark Ballin (New York University)

Floating Quantifiers in English infinitives

Floated quantifiers in English infinitives vary in their distribution; when the subject of the the infinitive is PRO, the floated quantifier cannot immediately precede the infinitival marker to, but an infinitive with a lexical subject can show the floated quantifier immediately before. Thus, (a) *All to work on that would be inconvenient is unacceptable, while (b) For these people all to work on that would be inconvenient. We will show that this contrast follows from: (i) the assumption that subjects are generated VP-externally, (ii) Sportiche's (1986) analysis of floated quantifiers, in which the modified NPs move away from the floated quantifier, rather than the other way around; (iii) Chomsky's (1991) principle of economy of derivation, in which transformational processes apply only if necessary to satisfy some principle of grammar; (iv) an infn-internal specifier position, distinct from the subject position, which is a necessary intermediate landing site for elements which move to clausal subject position. The last assumption is motivated by small clauses in which overt lexical subjects co-occur with predicate specifiers, as in: (c) I consider him quite crazy. Applying these assumptions to the (b) example, the lexical NP would have to move to a position adjacent to the for to receive Case, but since there is no available Case-assigner for a lexical subject in the (a) example, movement is unnecessary, and thus is prohibited. Thus, Sportiche's analysis of floated quantifiers, the principle of economy of derivation are correspondingly supported, and our understanding of the mechanism of NP-movement is sharpened.

Zhiming Bao (Ohio State University)

Partial Reduplication in Classical Chinese

Two theories have been proposed to account for partial reduplication: A. template- affixation and melody-copying (Manantz 1982; McCarthy and Prince 1986) and B. total copying and relevant phonological rules (Steriade 1988; Bao 1990). Partial reduplication data of classical Chinese (prior to 1000AD) support Theory B.

The crucial evidence is the generalization on the tonal prosody of the partially reduplicated, dissyllabic words stated in (1). Relevant data are given in (2).

1. If the two syllables of a partially reduplicated word differ in onset, glide or vowel, they have the same tone.

2. $\text{tsǐg} t_{1}$g'\text{fo} T_{1} 'worm'; k'\text{tù} T_{4}$-k'\text{uāt} T_{4} 'hard'; m\text{k} T_{4}$-m\text{k}\text{u} T_{4} 'rain'

3. $\text{tsǐg} T_{1} \text{-Copy} \rightarrow \text{tsǐg} T_{1}$-tsǐg $T_{1} \text{-Substitution} \rightarrow \text{tsǐg} T_{1}$g'\text{fo} T_{1}

The tonal prosody shows the effect of total copying of the base. The analysis being proposed consists of two steps: total copying and substitution, which operates on syllabic constituents (see sample derivation in (3)). It will be shown that the analysis accounts for the whole range of prosodic properties associated with partial reduplication in classical Chinese.
Katharina Barbe (Northern Illinois University)
Neal R. Norrick (Northern Illinois University)
In Defense of the Notion Pre-Sequence

Within his neoSearlean theory of speech acts, Geis (1989) rejects the notion of the pre-sequence, preferring to describe relevant utterances as questions to check on a felicity condition for the intended social action. We hope to show the importance of recognizing pre-sequences for understanding interactions like the one below where the initial questions serve as lead-ins to the offer, though the information sought hardly relates to felicity conditions on the social action of offering. Nor do they enjoy the conventionality of a standard pre-offer like Guess what movie's on. Yet they clearly occupy the slot usually associated with pre-offers, and the notion pre-sequence captures the common function of these initial queries as well as those Geis rejects.

A: Is today the sixth? Is this today's schedule?
B: Yeah.
A: Then Robin Hood's on, you wanna come?

In our paper, we analyze further kinds of pre-sequences from natural conversation and show how they fit into Geis's theory.

Dawn Bates (Arizona State University)
Barry F. Carlson (University of Victoria)
Transparent Junctures in Spokane

The treatment of apparent VC reduplication as syllable reduplication is standard in Prosodic Morphology accounts. A transparent boundary between the base and the affix allows the final base consonant to satisfy the onset of the suffixal syllable. Unassociated copy material (here h) deletes, giving the impression of VC reduplication, as in Spokane:

\[ \sigma + \begin{array}{c}
\sigma \\
\text{hek}^w \\
\text{hek}^w \\
\text{hek}^w + \text{hek}^w
\end{array} \]

What mechanism guarantees that the copied h may not serve as the onset for the reduplicative syllable, even if the juncture is transparent? The right-edge-in represorization typical of suffixing operations should render hek\text{hek}^w. We interpret the PM solution in this way: the transparent boundary renders the initial segment of the copy extraprosodic. This ensures that the copied h does not constitute an onset, correctly blocking hek\text{hek}^w. Under this account of the transparent boundary, Spokane data provide surprising confirmation of the PM account of apparent VC suffixation; the template must be a syllable. Evidence for this derives from bisyllabic root shapes, which reduplicate the entire CVC of the template on the surface: čekh\text{hek}^w has the reduplicated form čeh+čeh\text{hek}^w+čeh\text{hek}^w. The č is extraprosodic, but the copy fills the entire suffixal syllable (čeh\text{hek}^w).

Edwin L. Battistella (University of Alabama-Birmingham)
The Treatment of Negation in Double Modal Constructions

The might could construction of Southern American English exhibits an odd mix of syntactic properties. Inversion, tag formation, and adverb placement suggest that in this construction could rather than might is the true modal operator: (e.g., Could you might ...?, You might could ..., couldn't you?, but *Might you could ..., *You might could ..., *might you not?). Negation, however, presents a different picture, with the negative adverb occurring after either modal (You might not could ..., or You might could not...). The present analysis treats could as the head of IP (= S) and might as a prehead modifier licensed like an adverb. To accommodate negation, my analysis extends work by Baker (1991), in which tensed auxiliaries are fronted to the left of not. The analysis has implications for the core/periphery distinction (supporting Baker's view) and for the NegP analysis developed by Follic (1989) (which seems unable to accommodate negated double modals in any straightforward way).
Elabbas Benmamoun (University of California-Los Angeles)
Some Implications of Verb Movement and Negation

In this presentation we propose that there is a principled correlation between the availability of verb movement in the context of the head of the negative projection and the licensing of Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) in subject position. In languages, such as Moroccan Arabic (MA) and French, where the negative head is a bound morpheme, verb movement is possible and so is the occurrence of NPIs in the subject (preverbal) position. The opposite facts obtain in languages, such as English and Standard Arabic (SA), where the negative head is a free morpheme; verb movement across sentential negation is not possible and NPI (preverbal) subjects are not allowed. We show that this follows from the constraints on head movement (minimality) which is sensitive to the morphological status of the negative head and NPI licensing (N-command).

Judy Bernstein (City University of New York-Graduate Center)
On the Syntactic Status of Adjectives in Romance

Recent work on Romance nominal structure (Cinque 1990, Valois 1990) has argued that the surface order D(eterminer)-N(oun)-A(djective) is derived from the underlying order D+AN by the process of N(-oun) Movement. By assuming that adjectives occupy SPEC positions, and that a functional category Num(ber)? represents the locus of nominal number agreement (Ritter 1990, Piccalo 1990), N-Movement from N to Num derives the surface string D+AN with those adjectives that typically occur postnominally. A strict movement analysis, however, offers no account for the following types of adjectives:

1. a. il povero uomo (Italian)
   b. l'uomo povero
   'the poor (s) man' (cf. *'the pitiable man')

2. a. l'altra casa (Catalan)
   b. *la casa altra

If the adjectives in (1a) and (2a) also occupied SPEC positions, then both the illicit interpretation in (1b) and the ungrammatical string in (2b) should be possible. In this talk, I argue that two classes of adjectives must be distinguished, the first type consisting of SPECs, as described above and exemplified in (1b), and the second consisting of heads that project to maximal categories (as in (1a) and (2a)). For this second type, N-Movement across the A would result in a violation of the Head Movement Constraint (Chomsky 1986, Baker 1988). This analysis, therefore, provides a syntactic explanation for the impossible interpretation in (1b) and the ungrammaticality of (2b), accounting for facts that have previously been treated as semantic properties.

Lee S. Bickmore (State University of New York-Albany)
Tone and Accent in Lamba

It has long been observed that not all languages fit neatly into a ‘stress’ vs. ‘tone’ dichotomy. Recent research has concentrated on how to formally account for ‘hybrid’ prominence systems which seem to exhibit both metrical and tonal properties. I would like to present data from Lamba, a Zambian Bantu language, which I will argue is most insightfully accounted for if one assumes the existence of both a tonal tier and a ‘degenerate’ (i.e. one layer) metrical tier. I will show, in fact, that a purely tonal or metrical account of the facts is descriptively inadequate. Morphemes vary on two parameters. They may either have a floating High tone or not, and they may either bear a grid mark or not. A grid mark essentially enables a syllable to bear a High tone. This independence in Lamba between ‘tone supplying’ and ‘tone bearing’ morphemes makes two interesting predictions. First, if a form has one or more accented syllables, but no High tone, the form will surface as all Low. Second, if a form has a High tone, but no accented syllable, the form will surface as all Low. Both predictions are borne out by the data.
Lee S. Bickmore (State University of New York-Albany)  
George A. Broadwell (State University of New York-Albany)  
The Morphemic Tier Hypothesis and Tone Linking in Sierra Juarez Zapotec  

Sierra Juarez zapotec, an Otomanguean language of Mexico, provides strong evidence for the morphemic tier hypothesis of McCarthy (1979, 1981). We show that the rule of High-docking in this language must be stated within a framework that allows the tones of distinct morphemes to be positioned on different tiers in underlying representations. Consider the following data:

1. rē-lâhñ1-10?  
   hab-arrive:again-2  
   'You arrive again.'  

2. rē-lâhñ1-3?  
   hab-arrive:again-1  
   'I arrive again.'

Note that the change from 2nd person to 1st person entails a different suffix and a tonal change at the beginning of the word. We argue that the (abbreviated) representation of (2) is (3):

3.  
   A subsequent rule, leftward L-spread, applies after tier conflation to yield rē-lâhñ1-2.  
   H-dock is stated as follows: Associate a floating H with any unassociated tone bearing unit.  
   We believe this is the first case of a language whose tone rules require the use of distinct morphemic tiers.

Betty J. Birner (Northwestern University)  
Gregory L. Ward (Northwestern University)  
The Interpretation of and everything and Everything  

The role of conventional implicature (Grice 1975) in pragmatic theory has been the subject of considerable debate, with recent work in Relevance Theory (Wilson & Sperber 1986) arguing for a reanalysis of conventional implicatures as a series of instructions for, or constraints on, the processing of discourse (Blakemore 1989). In this context, we investigate the meaning of the expression and everything and its negative counterpart or anything, whose contribution to utterance interpretation is both non-truth-conditional and conventional. Consider 1, taken from our corpus of naturally-occurring data:

1. All the kids were there. We had to bring balloons, and cookies and everything. [AP NewsWire, 1989]

We claim and everything explicitly instructs the hearer to draw an R-inference (Horn 1984) to the effect that the proposition in question is true not only of the constituent to which everything is conjoined, but also of other members of some inferable set of which that constituent is a member. While they need not exhaust the members of the set, these other set-members may remain unspecified because they are irrelevant (as in 1), unmentionable, unknown, or simply inferable from the evoked element (cf. Ball and Ariel 1978). In addition, we demonstrate that the R-inference associated with and everything can block a Q-inference that might otherwise have been drawn. In other cases the R-inference gives rise to a subsequent Q-inference by limiting the alternative instantiations of the variable to members of the inferable set.

Elizabeth Owen Britt (Stanford University)  
The Structure of the Korean Causative  

Previous analyses of Korean periphrastic causatives, including recent proposals by Cho (1987) and Kim (1990), have assumed a sentential complement with its subject controlled by a sister NP. This assumption, however, is inconsistent with the basic facts of scrambling in Korean. Scrambling does not intermix arguments or adjuncts from sentential complements into higher clauses, but causatives exhibit free scrambling of all non-verb phrases. Scrambling also provides relatively theory-independent reasons for assuming a VP in Korean, since subjects appear to have special properties in scrambling. Certain speakers allow only subjects to appear between the two verbs of a causative, while non-subject arguments are disallowed. Also, scrambled subject arguments resist forming phonological phrases with verbs, whereas non-subject arguments readily phrase with verbs (Cho 1990). My own proposal, formulated in the framework of Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (Pollard and Sag 1987, to appear) uses a structure consistent with the scrambling facts. One key aspect of the analysis is argument composition, in the spirit of recent work by Rosen and by Grimshaw, which allows bi-level generalizations to be expressed in the sharing of SUBCAT lists, and without positing embedded clausal constituents.

(SUN MORN: 7)

(SAT MORN: 3)

(FRI AFT: 2)
Diane Brentari (Rutgers University/University of California-Davis) (SAT AFT: 3)

A Sonority Hierarchy in American Sign Language and Its Implications for Phonological Theory

This paper proposes a sonority hierarchy for ASL based on evidence gathered using two linguistic tests. The first test associates a secondary movement to monosyllabic stems, thereby constructing derived forms (e.g., GO-TO / ATTEND). Secondary movements associate to syllable peaks, and this test establishes the most sonorous element of a given syllable. The second test identifies the features that are deleted from stems in forming compounds and derived forms in order for these structures to conform to syllable well-formedness conditions (e.g., WATER[sem]+RISE[sem] / WATER-RISE[compound] = 'Good'). The deleted material is the least sonorous feature of the first stem. I argue that perceptual salience and consequently visual sonority is multi-dimensional. Using the dynamic parameter of visual perceptual salience, the following hierarchy emerges: Class 1 (most sonorous) = pat movements, direction of movement; Class 2 = secondary movements and handshape changes; Class 3 (least sonorous) = orientation changes. This work raises a theoretical question concerning the relationship between sonority and information organization in phonological grammars and addresses an important difference between signed and spoken languages. While it appears that peaks of sonority and peaks of phonological information are not correlated in spoken language syllables, in sign languages these two dimensions are positively correlated.

George A. Broadwell (State University of New York-Albany) (SAT AFT: 1)

The Meaning of [± Pronominal]

Santa Ana del Valle Zapotec, an Otomanguean language of Mexico, shows unusual restrictions on antecedents. Pronouns may have pronominal antecedents, but not r-expression antecedents:

1. G-ale' be'cw ni'-mú. com-lick dog foot-pron
   'The dog, licked its front foot.'
2. G-ale' laamu ni'-mú. com-lick it foot-pron
   'It, licked its foot.'

Furthermore, a reflexive may have an r-expression antecedent, but not a pronominal one:

   'The dog, licked its foot.'
   '*'I, licked its foot.'

In the cases where coreference is grammatical, the coindexed items agree in the feature [pronominal]. I argue that [±Pronominal] is a morphological feature (or φ-feature) in Zapotec, but a syntactic feature in English, and that universal grammar provides a set of features whose assignment to the morphological or syntactic component is parameterized.

Eugene Buckley (University of California-Berkeley) (SAT AFT: 3)

On the Sonority of Glottalized Sonorants

There is evidence from a number of languages that glottalized sonorants are lower in sonority than plain sonorants. For example, in Kwakwala CVC syllables count as heavy for stress placement if the coda consonant is a plain sonorant, but not if it is an obstruent or a glottalized sonorant. Bach (1978) takes this as evidence that glottalized sonorants are in fact obstruents. Zec (1988) offers a reanalysis: only vowels and plain sonorants are assigned a mora in coda position. I argue based on data from Kashaya (Pomoan), that an explanatory treatment of the alternation between glottalized nasals and voiced stops depends crucially on the nasals being [+son]. A constraint forbids sonorants with distinctive laryngeal features in onset position. Lexically, a glottalized nasal in onset position becomes a voiced stop. I show that the simplest account is a rule which changes the [+sonorant] feature of the nasal to [-son], correcting the constraint violation. The remaining changes to [-nasal] and [-cg] follow from independent cooccurrence restrictions (formulated as persistent rules: Myers 1991). The voicing of the stop follows from the insertion of [+voice] on [+son] segments before that feature is changed. Obviously, this account is possible only if a glottalized nasal is [+son] to begin with. A potential counterexample: the glottalized nasal /h/ behaves like an obstruent in undergoing debuccalization before another coronal. One might choose to capture this pattern by calling the glottalized sonorants [-son], but that destroys our previous analysis. I adopt Clements' (1985) proposal for Klamath that debuccalization is constrained to apply only to segments with a Laryngeal node: this prevents the creation of a representation which lacks both Laryngeal and Place specifications. Thus, debuccalization applies to /h/ because it has a Laryngeal node, not because of its value for [sonorant]. Given this approach, the Kashaya data provide a case where it is not only possible, but in fact crucial that glottalized sonorants be treated as [+son].
Subjunctives can develop from agent-oriented or epistemic modalities through frequent use in harmonic contexts — contexts in which the modality expressed in the main clause is reflected by the modality of the subordinate clause. E.g. obligation is expressed in both clauses of British English It is essential that the churches should learn from each other (Coates, The semantics of the modal auxiliaries 1983:68). Since the subordinate modal only reflects the lexical meaning of the main predicate, it can be reanalyzed as semantically empty and only marking subordination. This reanalysis leads to the use of the marker in non-harmonic subordinate clause, e.g. The police are expecting the Libyans should make the first move, and thus to the development of a subjunctive. The history of English should supports this hypothesis, as does data from a cross-linguistic survey. This survey revealed that fourteen out of seventeen languages with subjunctives that also have main clause uses have subordinate clause uses only in contexts harmonic with their main clause uses, while the other three had both harmonic and non-harmonic subordinate clause uses.

Richard Cameron (University of Pennsylvania) (FRI MORN: 2)
Switch Reference, Set-Element Saliency, and Null Subject Variation in Spanish

Switch Reference is the central constraint in variationist accounts of pronominal and null subject alternation in Spanish. However, this fails to explain why specific plural subjects are far less frequently pronominal than singular ones. Lack of ambiguity in the marking of person is cited as a cause. A new approach, which takes plural subjects as sets and which considers the inerrable or explicit presence of these set’s elements at differing distances back in the preceding discourse, is able to indicate when and why speakers will favor a pronominal over a null subject when the subject is plural. Moreover, this analysis reveals that, for plural subjects in Spanish, the functional equivalent to Switch Reference is Saliency of Set-to-Element relations in the preceding discourse.

Richard Campbell (Oakland University) (SUN MORN: 1)
Extrapolation from Subject and Logical Form

In this paper I analyze PP E[xtraposition] from subject in terms of the E[mtpt] Cатегорi P[rinciple], in order to account for certain subject-object asymmetries in its distribution. Not all PPE from subject is ruled out, however: passives and a proper subset of the un accusative verbs permit PPE from subject. These are argued not to violate the ECP, since the subject in these cases has the option of undergoing Quantifier Lowering (May 1985), permitting the extrapo sed PP to antecedent govern its trace at LF. Quantified subjects that are the host of PPE must have narrow scope with respect to operators that c-command the extrapo sed PP, thus (1) is unambiguous, in contrast with the scopally ambiguous (2):

1. Several books seem to have appeared about linguistics.
2. Several books about linguistics seem to have appeared.

PPE is related to there-insertion, which is argued also to be sensitive to quantifier scope.
Many linguists have categorized the uses of 'have' perfects, and, in particular, the uses of the Modern English perfect, into four basic types: resultative, experiential, continuative and "hot news"/recent past (c. f. McCawley 1971, Comrie 1976). There has been recent controversy over whether the experiential use should be considered a subcategory of the resultative type or should remain a distinct category (c. f. Penn 1987, Brinton 1988). Central to this issue is how the experiential context should be defined: as one involving a resultant state in the subject or as one involving a past-up-to-present time span.

The present paper examines this issue from a diachronic perspective: data from both Spanish and English is used to demonstrate that experiential uses involving a resultant internal state in the subject and resultative uses appear earlier than uses with past-up-to-present adverbials. The paper concludes that, in the early development of 'have' perfects, experiential uses are closely semantically linked to resultant state uses in that their central function is to indicate an objective final state in the subject, not a past-up-to-present time span.

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Marjorie K. M. Chan (Ohio State University)
Zhongshan Chinese and a Mid-Eighteenth Century Sino-Portuguese Glossary

Pre-modern sources on Zhongshan Chinese spoken in the Portuguese port of Macao and the surrounding Zhongshan district are extremely scarce, the earliest known being a mid-eighteenth century Sino-Portuguese glossary in the Aomen Jilue 'Sketch Notes on Macao' (preface dated 1751). This paper studies the phonetics and phonology of the consonants in the dialect based on the glossary, which contains 395 entries of Portuguese words and phrases. The pronunciation of the Portuguese words were transcribed using Chinese characters read in the Zhongshan dialect. For example, entry 48 gives the gloss, [ʃa] ('sea'), and is transcribed with 

\[ /nə la/ \text{ in modern Zhongshan, for Portuguese mar.} \]

The study shows, for instance, that nasals and laterals were sometimes used to transcribe syllable-initial voiced stops in Portuguese: /m/ for Portuguese /b/, /l/ (/n/ on one occasion) for Portuguese /d/, and /g/ for Portuguese /g/. An example of Zhongshan /n/ for Portuguese /b/ is /mat ta/ for Portuguese 'potato.' Syllable-initial nasals in Zhongshan must have been post-oralized sometimes (i.e., nasals produced with oral release), as in modern Zhongshan, and /l/ was probably occasionally produced with a strong flap-like quality, sounding like a [d], as in modern southern Min dialects (e.g., Taiwanese).

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Carol E. Chaski (North Carolina State University)
Metalinguistic Awareness and Literate/Literate Responses to Segment Deletion

Morais et al. (1986) and Read et al. (1986) argue that literacy induces segmental awareness of language. Meanwhile, good readers of an alphabetic script read "logographically" (Frith 1985; Seymour and MacGregor 1984; Stuart and Coltheart 1988; Patterson and Coltheart 1987). These different strands of research suggest that (1) preliterate readers differ from literates on segment deletion tasks, but also that (2) literates may not all be sensitive to phoneme-grapheme correspondence. I attempted to replicate Morais et al.'s findings, using similar stimuli, with native-English American illiterates and literates. Subjects tested at grade levels 0-4 (N = 33) and 5-8 (N = 22), with a control group of college psychology students (N = 20). Subjects performed initial segment deletion of four types of stimuli: (1) pag --> ag; (2) awub --> wub; (3) pud --> lad * or ud *; (4) atu --> ltu? or tu?. There were six responses: (i) no response; (ii) no change; (iii) substituted word; (iv) substituted segment; (v) first two segments deleted; (vi) first segment deleted. Analyses of variance were processed for level * stimuli type * response. Literates are better at segment deletion than illiterates, but both level and syllabic structure of the stimuli affect the type of response. Literacy in an alphabetic script may induce segmental awareness, but segmental awareness is not evenly distributed among literates. Some literates choose syllabic as well as segmental strategies. Others choose a segmental strategy even when the deletion violates English phonotactics. Alphabetic literacy might affect a reader's metalinguistic awareness of language as a visual, and not simply an auditory, object.
Henry Churchyard (University of Texas-Austin)  
*The Tiberian Hebrew Rhythm Rule in the Typology of Rhythm Rules*

The Hebrew rhythm rule has apparent differences from similar rules in other languages. Since the word which surfaces as *tešāʿāzāb* in isolation surfaces as *tešāʿāzāb* before a word beginning with a phrasally-prominent stress, main stress does not necessarily retract onto a preceding secondary stress. Rappaport therefore proposes a special condition on the Hebrew rhythm rule that stress may not retract by more than one unit two levels down from the clash. But secondary stress assignment is late in Hebrew (since, for example, all processes that shift the position of the main stress always ignore any surface secondary stresses). If there are no secondary stresses when the rhythm rule applies, and so only one stress per word, then there are no distinct foot and word levels in the grid, and the Hebrew rhythm rule simply obeys a universal locality constraint that rhythm rule processes resolve a clash between two stresses by retracting the leftmost of two clashing prominences onto the immediately-preceding prominence at the level immediately below the level where the clash occurs. This does not violate the observation that the lowest level of intersyllabic metrical prominence is not affected by rhythm rules, since in Hebrew there is actually a layer of intersyllabic metric constituents (governing vowel reduction) below the stress foot layer, and the rhythm rule actually shifts main stress over a syllable with a reduced vowel, as in *nasāḏā* → *nasāḏe*. So idiosyncrasies of stress clash resolution follow from the metrical structure of Hebrew, and not from any peculiarities in the rhythm rule itself.

Timothy C. Clausner (University of Michigan)  
William Croft (University of Michigan)  
*The Productivity of Metaphor*

The analysis of metaphor given by Lakoff & Johnson (1980) advocates a view of semantics in which human conceptual structure is organized into domains of experiential knowledge and metaphorical concepts are essentially understood by means of a mapping relation from one domain to another. Converging evidence from cognitive semantics and cognitive psychology suggests that domain relations themselves have status as cognitive structures which bear on the use of linguistic expressions. Domain relations vary in their relative degree of productivity. The nature of domain relations is compared to morphological derivational relations (Bybee 1985) and modeled quite naturally by cognitive grammar (Langacker 1988). Concepts and domains of concepts can be treated as interconnected units in a semantic network. Just as morphological derivations relate phonological units and account for paradigmatic productivity, metaphors relate conceptual domains and are productive of metaphorical expressions. The model of metaphor is useful for distinguishing between expressions involving a relation between two domains and ones which involve a single highly schematic domain.

Felice Anne Coles (Austin Community College)  
*Išteño Spanish /s/ Variation and Speech Accommodation*

A well-known sociolinguistic process in American Spanish dialects is syllable-, word- and utterance-final /s/ aspiration and deletion (Greet Cotton and Sharp 1988; Hammond 1989): *ih 'e poj išteño* 'islanders.' The few remaining fluent speakers of the *išteño* dialect of Spanish, a dying language spoken in a small ethnic enclave in southeast Louisiana, vary their usual pronunciation of /s/ in a manner consistent with, but not identical to, other Caribbean Spanish dialects (Lipski 1990). Non-fluent *išteño* Spanish speakers (called 'semi-speakers' in Dorian 1981) also vary their pronunciation of /s/ in casual speech, although their decreased competence limits the number of styles they are able to produce along the formality continuum. Rather than simply being 'wrong' or 'inconsistent', however, the behavior of /s/ in semi-speaker speech parallels that of fluent speakers, differing only in the higher degree of aspiration and deletion. This variation by *išteño* semi-speakers can be regarded as a type of speech accommodation called 'upward convergence' (Giles and Powesland 1975) expressing social integration and identification. Fluent speakers are accorded prestige for preserving the culture's oral traditions (Hill 1978), and semi-speakers are motivated towards integration and solidarity by varying their pronunciation of /s/ to resemble the perceived behavior of /s/ in the speech of fluent speakers who are identified as prestigious.
Sherri Lee Condon (University of Southern Louisiana)
Safdie Ichkhakh (Hassan II University)
Request Forms in Marrakhi Arabic

Since Brown & Levinson's (1978) work on politeness strategies in a variety of languages, considerable research has been done, and remains to be done, on the relation between politeness forms and situational variables in the languages of the world. This study contributes to the effort by examining request forms in Marrakhi Arabic using a questionnaire in which informants were asked to imagine themselves in various situations and to formulate a request appropriate for each situation. Though questionnaires have disadvantages, the format made it possible to counterbalance the variables under investigation, allowing confidence that the influence contributed by each variable could be isolated. Variables manipulated in the situations were sex, social status, and intimacy of the addressee and addressee as well as the magnitude of the request. 80 informants were chosen to provide additional comparisons between male and female, younger and older, higher and lower status as well as literate and illiterate individuals (to whom the questionnaire was read). Requests formulated by the informants were classified into 3 categories: bald imperative forms, imperative forms softened by politeness formulas, and indirect, off-record forms. X-square evaluations of these differences were highly significant for all variables manipulated in the situations as well as for all comparisons of informant groups.

Cleo Condoravdi (Yale University)
Individual-Level Predicates in Conditional Clauses

A number of linguistic phenomena point to a bipartite division of predicates into individual-level and stage-level (Carlson 1977, Kriszter 1989). In this paper, I show that there is a split within i-level predicates: predicates such as familiar, serious, decisive behave like i-level with respect to all the relevant tests but are acceptable within conditional clauses without an indefinite NP as argument, while predicates such as know, intelligent behave uniformly like i-level. I argue that the predicates of the former type are not ambiguous, their apparent deviant behaviour being the result of two factors: (i) the multiplicity of ways in which a given property or relation may be individuated, (ii) the possibility of cancellation of an inference of temporal persistence associated with i-level predicates. Implicit perspectival arguments constitute a source of individuation, hence they can provide discrete entities for the domain of quantification. On the other hand, in the absence of any indefinite NP's or implicit perspectival arguments, the property or relation denoted by the predicate must be temporally individuated in order for the quantification to be felicitous. Individuation along a temporal parameter implies a discontinuous temporal distribution; moreover, a property or relation can have a discontinuous temporal distribution only if it is not temporally persistent. Temporal persistence is, for some predicates, an entailment of their lexical meaning and, for others, a default inference, which can be cancelled given an appropriate context.

Thomas L. Cornell (University of California-Los Angeles/University of Arizona)
Judging Fragmentary Representations

Various researchers have proposed accounts of agrammatism that rely in one way or another on the assumption that the structures computed by these subjects are incomplete with respect to what a normal would construct. This presents interesting problems for a theory of grammaticality judgment, since a partial syntactic structure should never be well-formed according to the grammar.

I will present a model of grammaticality judgment which can handle partial structures (as well as complete ones, of course) and which predicts the pattern of errors which we find among agrammatists. The model is based on the use of logical representations for syntactic structure, representations which are essentially sets of atomic sentences in a first order language for describing the properties of trees. A partial description in this language can be extended until it picks out one or more complete trees. The agrammatic's structure contains a subset of the information available to the normal and therefore allows extensions to more trees than just those proper to the actual utterance. Hence ungrammatical sentences, partially interpreted, may be assigned a well-formed structure, and grammatical sentences may be assigned the wrong (well-formed) structure, and hence the wrong semantic interpretation. This is exactly the pattern of errors which researchers have found.
Sharon Cote (University of Pennsylvania)
Discourse Functions of Two Types of Null Objects in English

Though most verbs in English which subcategorize for an object require that the object position be occupied by an overt NP (or its trace), there are a number of different types of apparently transitive verbs that do, under the right circumstances, fail to meet this requirement and yet remain grammatical. In this talk, I will not discuss the syntactic explanation for these phenomena, but I will explain some of the effects that these null objects have on discourse structure. I argue that the use of a null object with verbs like "call" is possible only if the null object refers to a highly salient entity in the discourse, and that this is simply the normal use of null objects. Because of the process-oriented nature of "eat"-type verbs, on the other hand, they can not make use of a null object if the antecedent is a salient discourse entity. I further argue that this distinction is best captured in a discourse model, such as CENTERING, which provides for a hierarchy of salient entities in the local discourse segment.

Wayne Cowart (University of Southern Maine)
Processing Coordinate NPs

This paper compares two accounts of how comprehenders assign a single thematic role to multiple conjuncts when a coordinate NP appears as object of a verb. One theory (implied by most linguistic research on coordination) holds that syntactic processes build a representation of the relation between the verb and coordinated NPs that appear to its right; this representation serves as one input to the conceptual/semantic processes that assign roles to those NPs. A second theory holds that syntactic processes build a representation of each NP conjunct, but provide no link to the verb that will ultimately assign a role to the conjunct; roles are assigned to the conjuncts by processes operating at a conceptual/semantic level without the aid of a prior syntactic link between verb and conjunct. Five experiments on judged acceptability explore this matter by placing a reflexive pronoun inside an object coordinate structure and putting the antecedent for this pronoun at various sites in the same and higher clauses in the same sentence. The point of this is to determine whether structurally determined preferences (i.e., those implied by the Binding Theory) are in force. The experiments yield highly reliable evidence (generally, p < .001) that subjects prefer putatively ungrammatical 'remote' antecedents when the reflexive is the second conjunct. When the reflexive is the first conjunct, there is no evidence of a preference for grammatical local antecedents as compared to ungrammatical remote ones. These results favor the second theory.

William Croft (University of Michigan)
Kirstin Fredrickson (University of Michigan)
Intonation Units and Grammatical Knowledge

Intonation units (IUs) are a more appropriate unit of analysis than sentences for spoken language, which is the most fundamental mode of language. This study uses IUs as the basis for a cognitive grammar of spoken English. 2200 IUs from the peer stories narratives were analyzed for grammatical structure and complexity. Virtually all IUs consisted of grammatical units (GUs; whole phrases or clauses). A number of complexity constraints on GUs in single IUs were found, which can be subsumed under a general avoidance of parallel subordinate GUs. Cognitive grammar (and construction grammar) represent syntactic knowledge as a network of interrelated construction types of differing degrees of schematicity. Degree of entrenchment (due largely to frequency) and ability to occur in a single IU indicate the prototypicality of constructions, an important factor in the organization of the network. Based on the corpus data, we present a skeletal grammar network of English constructions.
Danielle Cyr (York University)  
*Quasi Rules and Quasi Stars: The Grammaticalization of a Definite Article in Montagnais Cree*

Montagnais Cree is undergoing considerable lexical and grammatical restructuring as a result of bilingualism with French. One aspect of this is the grammaticalization of its demonstratives as definite articles. Although some uses of the new articles resemble those of French, other uses do not; for example, unlike French, the new articles are used with proper names and possessive constructions. There is a generational difference in the use of the articles: children use them systematically and with high frequency, while middle-aged speakers use them only rarely. But older speakers are nonetheless aware of the emerging rule, since they can predict the slots in their own discourse where children would place the articles. This suggests that the notion of grammaticality has a social dimension and that the concept of a rule for definite marking will differ according to whether it is based on the discourse of older or younger speakers.

Mary Dalrymple (Xerox PARC)  
*Against Syntactic Reconstruction in Ellipsis*

According to some analyses of ellipsis (‘reconstruction’ analyses), covert syntactic structure is present in the ellipsis site at some level or stage of derivation. Most often, this structure is assumed to be a copy of the relevant portion of the syntactic structure of the antecedent clause. On this view, examples (1) and (2) both constitute binding theory violations:

(1) *I talked to Sue, and she, talked to Sue.*
(2) *I talked to Sue, and she, did too.* (talked to Sue)

Such analyses face several problems, however. First, there is not always an available syntactic source for reconstruction, second, apparent binding theory violations also hold in cases of deep anaphora, where a reconstruction solution is inappropriate; third, reconstruction analyses incorrectly predict some grammatical examples to be ungrammatical. I will show that the correct generalization concerning these examples is not syntactic but semantic. Phenomena that appear to support a reconstruction analysis are explainable by appeal to the meanings of the predicates involved in ellipsis resolution: sentences in which such apparent ‘anaphoric violations’ are found are exactly those in which strict readings under ellipsis are unavailable for corresponding sentences involving reflexives or pronouns.

Deborah Davison (San Jose State University)  
*Pitch Assignment to Tonal Underspecified Mandarin Syllables: Interpolation or Spreading?*

Yip 1980 argues that Mandarin toneless syllables are assigned pitch by tone spreading, though earlier work (Woo 1969) suggests that phonetic interpolation between targets of adjacent, tonally specified syllables is responsible for their surface pitch values. Sherard, Zee & Maddieson, H. Chan, Selkirk, Yip and others have shown that phonetic interpolation rather than phonological tone spreading accounts for the pitch shape of the majority of tonal melodies found over Shanghainese noun and verb phrases. In this paper, following the research program in Kasing 1988 showing the transparency of underspecified /h/ to adjacent vowel features, data from five Mandarin speakers are examined instrumentally and patterns of interpolation across toneless syllables compared for segmentally controlled preceding and following contexts of all combinations of low, mid, and high tonal targets. The data generally support the phonetic tonal interpolation account except in the case of a preceding tone three, where a H tone surfaces on the tonally underspecified syllable, consistent with Yip 1980 and others’ L plus H floating tone analysis. Inter-speaker variation is also identified and discussed.
Elizabeth Dayton (University of Puerto Rico-Mayaguez)

Stativity: The Semantic Core of VBE Invariant be

Invariant be is an element of the Vernacular Black English (VBE) tense/aspect system. Linguists appear to have reached the consensus that habituality forms the semantic core of Invariant be (Labov et al. 1968; Labov 1982; Fasold 1969, 1972; Baugh 1983; Rickford 1986; Bailey & Maynor 1985, 1987, 1989; Myhill 1988, 1991), a view which rests on the co-occurrence of Invariant be with quantifying adverbs of indefinite frequency. Despite the appearance of consensus, linguists have repeatedly pointed out that habituality does not cover all occurrences of Invariant be. To reconcile the view that habituality forms the semantic core of Invariant be with the recognition that habituality does not cover all occurrences of Invariant be, this paper proposes that stativity forms the semantic core of Invariant be and that habituality is a meaning inferred from context. The argument rests on the analysis of 1220 tokens of Invariant be collected during 4 1/2 years of participant-observation research in Philadelphia. The analysis is carried out within a framework for tense (Reichenbach 1947; Smith 1978) and within a framework for aspect (Friedrich 1974; Shi 1980, 1990 a & b). This paper contributes to research on tense/aspect in VBE.

Ioanna Deligiorgis (University of Iowa)

The Unification of High Vowel and Glide Ephenthesis

Prevalent approaches to ephenthetic high vowels and glides require two default segments to fill in the empty V or C slots created through syllabification: a high vowel and a glide differentiated either by feature opposition (Hyman 1985: Vs are [-cons], Gs are [+cons]) or by lexical structure (Guerrsel 1985: high Vs are attached to syllable nuclei, glides are not). On evidence from Ponapean (Reh and Sohl 1981), a language which exhibits both high vowel and glide ephenthesis, (/kitik+men/ > [ki.ti.ki.men] ‘rat’, /kiassi/- > [ki.yas.si] ‘catcher’) I argue that the only default segment required for both processes is the non-true (and unmarked) high vowel /i/ which has the inherent property of occupying either nucleus or non-nucleus positions. Additional support is provided by the default /i/ needed in the Reduplication Pattern VII in Ponapean: this surfaces as a vowel in aliau from ali ‘to walk’, as a glide in yyuctor from yutor ‘independent’, and as compensatory lengthening in ininien (lin+i+inen) from inen ‘straight’. This is the same default segment also used for ephenthesis. Furthermore, this approach can account for all surface glides and high vowels, both ephenthetic and non-ephenthetic, in a number of unrelated languages.

Dan Devitt (State University of New York-Buffalo)

Zero Allomorphy in Copula Constructions

It is a common observation that in many languages of the world the copula is omitted when the categories of verbal inflection are least marked. In Swahili and Russian, for example, statements in the present tense do not require an overt copula, but the expression of other tenses does require a copula. This situation has led to the view that the copula present only to bear the markers of verbal inflection. However, other cases reveal that zero allomorphy in copula constructions is not a completely unified phenomenon. Present tense copular clauses in Hebrew show variation between an overt form and zero. The appearance of the overt form is not motivated by the expression of verbal categories, but rather by the expression of a relation of identity (rather than predication) between the subject and the complement. The contention of this paper is that the varying circumstances of zero allomorphy in copula constructions can be accounted for by looking at the grammaticalization of copula mormines. It is hypothesized that copulas arise from two major sources: (i) postural and locative verbs, and (ii) deictic elements. These two distinct sources can be conluded with the different circumstances under which zeros appear. Specifically, copulas from verbal sources will index verbal categories, such as tense, aspect, mood, person and number. Copulas from deictic sources, on the other hand, depending on the exact nature of the source, may show agreement in person and number, and possibly gender, but do not index the classic verbal categories. The zeros that are found in connection with these copulas are determined by propositional factors.
Bridget Drinka (University of Texas–San Antonio)

Evolution and Language Change

Lass (1990) suggests that Gould and Vrba's model of biological evolution (1982) may have applications for linguistic evolution: "idle" structures of language, like redundant or "junk" DNA, may be an important locus of change. While appealing, Lass's analysis encounters problems in two areas: 1) He claims that the Indo-European 3rd-grade aorist, an "idle" category, was exapted, i.e., reinterpreted as a 2nd sg. and pl. preterite in Germanic. Besides the fact that this distribution is suspiciously unbalanced, there is little evidence to support the reconstruction of an aor. for Gmc. Both ablaut and endings of the pret. can be derived from the perfect alone. 2) In maintaining that "useless, idle" structures may become productive, Lass also ignores an important sociolinguistic fact: remnant morphological forms do not generate prestige (cf. Eng. subjunctives). Discarded "junk" is usually not suitable for salvage. A more apt analogy to the genetic model might recognize linguistic variation as the analog to covert changes in DNA: only when a variant feature is raised to prominence will these "background" developments become apparent (cf. Eng. -ing participles).

Matthew S. Dryer (State University of New York-Buffalo)

Verb-Initial Languages and the Suffixing Preference

Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins (1990) provide a detailed quantitative cross-linguistic analysis of the suffixing preference, by which grammatical morphemes more often become attached as affixes if they follow the lexical word they go with than if they precede. Bybee et al argue that the suffixing preference is sensitive to word order, and that the applicability of verb-initial languages, where, they argue, preposed and postposed grammatical morphemes do not differ in their affixation tendencies.

This paper argues that, contra Bybee et al, verb-initial languages do exhibit a suffixing preference. Evidence from a sample of 89 verb-initial languages is presented for 6 categories of grammatical morphemes associated with verbs (tense-aspect, negatives, question morphemes, causatives, desideratives, and modals) and for 4 categories of grammatical morphemes associated with nouns (plural, case/adposition, article, and demonstrative). It is shown that all 10 of these categories conform to the suffixing preference in verb-initial languages, becoming attached as suffixes when they follow their noun or verb at a rate greater than the rate at which they become attached as prefixes when they precede.

A number of possible sources of the different results are discussed. Bybee et al's methodology differs from the one used here in a number of ways. First, their sample contains only 8 verb-initial languages. Second, they do not break down morphemes by semantic category. And third, they count individual morphemes rather than categories.

Bethany K. Dumas (University of Tennessee)

The Semantics/Pragmatics of A-Prefixing

Studies of a-prefixing (A-ING) have focused on its semantic/pragmatic significance and on the phonological and grammatical constraints on its occurrence. Stewart 1967 suggested that its presence indicated indefiniteness or remoteness in time or space. Counter examples (Wolfram and Christian 1975) made it clear that A-ING cannot be thus restricted. Hackenberg 1972 suggested that duration favors A-ING. Faegin 1979 rejected Hackenberg's analysis in favor of a conclusion that the meaning of A-ING has to do with emphasis, immediacy, and vividness. Christian, Wolfram, and Dabe 1984 suggested that A-ING functions primarily to mark intensity. Based on my analysis of both prefixed and non-prefixed verbs in Ozark narrative clauses, I suggest that the significance of A-ING is largely pragmatic. A-ING functions as a signal of (1) either (a) relaxed style ("Doc was a-teachin' school") or (b) soapbox style ("We seen 'em a-killin' 'em") and also of (2) noncontroversial behavior. Behavior is noncontroversial if it is either (a) usual or habitual or obvious bavior ("He's a-tryin' to farm and they didn't have no rain") or behavior which the speaker wishes to be taken tome ("I thought he's a-lyin'"). My analysis and continued research will shed light on the significance of A-ING and will also have implications for the general role of A-ING in talk-exchanges.
Margaret H. Dunn (Yale University/Haskins Laboratories)

Timing and Gestural Structure in Italian Consonants

Acoustic and lip aperture movement data from two Italian speakers are used to compare the timing and gestural structures of Italian single and geminate consonants, and homorganic and heterorganic clusters. Results show that regular changes in temporal organization characterize the differences between syllable-closing and syllable-initial consonant structures. A gestural-overlap account of the timing relationship between singles and geminates will be proposed and the relationship between those types and clusters discussed. Additionally, it will be proposed that the structure of the geminate gesture may account for at least one phonological property of geminates—their failure to be split by epenthesis.

Karen Emmorey (The Salk Institute)
David Corina (University of Southern California)

Differential Sensitivity to ASL Classifier Morphology in ASL Signers

Using a sign monitoring task and a grammaticality judgment task, we investigated the sensitivity of 30 deaf subjects to errors in ASL classifier verbs. Sign monitoring taps automatic on-line processes and does not require overt awareness of grammatical errors. In contrast, grammaticality judgments are made off-line without time constraints and with metalinguistic awareness. We compared grammatical violations involving semantic classifiers and SASS (size and shape) classifiers, and violations of topographic location. In the monitoring task, subjects (10 native signers, 10 early signers (exposed to ASL between ages 4 - 7), and 10 late signers (exposed to ASL between ages 10 ad 16) watched 72 videotaped sentences and monitored for a target sign, pushing a button as soon as the target sign was detected. Sentences were either structurally correct or contained an error in classifier morphology. Target signs always followed the correct/incorrect classifier. We hypothesized that if subjects were sensitive to a grammatical error response times would be slower if the target followed an error. Our results were quiet dramatic. Reaction times for native and early signers indicated that both were sensitive to errors involving either semantic or SASS classifiers; in contrast, late signers were not sensitive to errors of either classifier type. All three subject groups showed on-line sensitivity to errors in the use of topographic space. Re-analysis of the monitoring data including only correct judgements indicated that although late signers may have been consciously aware of the classifier errors for these items, they did not show evidence of such sensitivity when they were automatically processing the sentence. Our findings indicate that early language exposure is critical to normal adult processing and that the effects of late exposure to language are selective.

Alice Faber (Haskins Laboratories)
Marianna Di Paolo (University of Utah)

Homophones and Near-Homophones and Their Different Roles in Sound Change

'Apparent' mergers—cases of two sounds that seem to have merged but can be shown, based on later divergence, to have stayed distinct—pose an analytical problem for historical linguistics. Does the later divergence reflect preservation and restoration of an underlying contrast despite surface phonetic identity, or rather preservation of fine phonetic contrast? Di Paolo & Faber (1990) suggest that residual phonetic differences may distinguish apparently merged sounds in the absence of systematic contrast in formant structure, these differences leading to later divergence. This view of sound change relies on differences between near-homophones differing qualitatively from those between true homophones. In this study 12 Utah speakers produced 8 readings of a list containing homophones (heel–heal), pairs that speakers of other dialects hear as merged for at least some Utahns (heal–hill), and words containing the same target vowel nuclei in different contexts (heed). We measured F1, F2, spectral tilt, and F0 at three points in each vowel and used these values in discriminant analyses, assessing the phonetic distinctness of the 55 words produced by each speaker, and providing also probabilistic assessments of which word class each of the 440 tokens belonged to. From these classifications, the phonetic distinctness of various words can be evaluated. The expectation of confusion among homophones but not between near-homophones is borne out in analyses of two speakers, one conservative and one more innovative: words with the same vowel in similar contexts (e.g., heal, heal, peel, peel) are in fact more likely to be confused with each other than with words containing similar vowels in similar contexts (e.g., pill, hill). That is, the relationship between near-homophones differs from that between true homophones. This difference provides a basis for the 'split' of apparently merged phones observed in studies of sound change, contrasted with the lack of systematic divergence of homophones.
Donka Farkas (University of California-Santa Cruz)
Draga Zec (Yale University)
Coordination and Pronominal Reference

We present cases in which the same principles determine the agreement features (person, number and gender) of coordinate NPs and the agreement features of pronouns referring to groups, and then provide an analysis which captures this parallelism. We start with the simple case of number and person for pronouns. In a number of languages (English, French, Rumanian, Serbo-Croatian) the following generalizations hold both for pronominals and coordinate NPs: (i) Number: A singular pronoun is used for atomic reference, a plural pronoun is used to refer to groups. (ii) Person: If a participant to the speech act is included, then first person is used in case the speaker is included, and second person otherwise; if no participant is included, third person is used. A simple solution that captures this parallelism is to assign number and person values to discourse referents and have both pronouns and coordinate NPs be dependent on discourse referents for their number and person features. Since agreement features on (deictic) pronouns can only be determined on the basis of their discourse referents, morphosyntactic resolution rules proposed earlier to handle coordination fail to capture this parallelism. We next turn to a more complex case, that of partially arbitrary gender, and show that here, too, pronominal reference parallels agreement features on coordinate NPs. Our examples come from Serbo-Croatian and Rumanian. Our analysis of gender selection in pronominals and coordinate NPs relies on underspecification and default values. We capture the parallelism in gender selection in essentially the same fashion as with number and person, except that with gender, the lexicon is involved in the absence of information about the sex of the referent. Finally, we show that, in the case of noncoordinate NPs, there may be divergence between the agreement patterns they induce and pronominal features. On the basis of such facts we argue that the agreement features on a noncoordinate NP are determined in the morphosyntactic component; this prompts us to propose that agreement between predicates and their arguments is a morphosyntactic phenomenon.

Samira Farwaneh (University of Utah)
Directional Syllabification and Syllable Structure in Arabic Dialects

This paper presents evidence for a directional analysis of syllabification based on a typological study of 15 Arabic dialects. Examination of these dialects shows that a strong correlation holds between the admissibility of medial superheavy syllables, epenthesis sites, and delinking. Dialects incorporating unsyllabified segments as codas of degenerate syllables (coda dialects) also permit medial CVVC syllables (e.g., jisirna 'our bridge'; beetna-beetna 'our house'). Onset dialects vary in their treatment of VVC+C sequences: Egyptian opts for adjunction and delinking (beetna-bitna); Saudi for epenthesis (beetna), and Sudanese for adjunction (beetna). No dialect has been found in which closed syllable epenthesis cooccurs with delinking (jisirna and bitna). To account for these typological observations, I propose a symmetric approach to directionality whereby all prosodicization rules operate in the same direction. Symmetric directional syllabification produces symmetry in the syllable structure of peripheral and medial clusters in coda dialects like Iraqi: qmaωq-imaωq 'cloth'. Moreover, this analysis explains the absence of delinking in coda dialects. The directional analysis proposed here will be compared to Broselow's (1991) onset/rime analysis and will be shown to be superior on grounds of explanatory adequacy, economy, and predictive power.

Susan Fischer (Rochester Institute of Technology)
Wynne Janis (Purdue University)
License to Derive: Resolving Conflicts between Syntax and Morphology

There is a construction in ASL called a verb sandwich, with counterparts in a number of unrelated spoken languages as well as at least one other sign language. The construction has two copies of the same verb sandwiching complements and/or adjuncts. The second copy of the verb has a greater amount of inflection than the first. Both functional (discourse) and morphosyntactic pressures lead to sandwich constructions. We concentrate here on why and how sandwiches are to be derived within a Principles and Parameters framework. It appears that sandwiches arise from the inability of the morphology to keep up with the syntax, i.e., the syntax licenses more arguments than there are slots for in the morphology, causing the verb to split up. The verb is also needed in two places in order to be able to assign Case correctly.
Verbs can be formed freely from nouns, subject to certain constraints, as Clark and Clark (1979) and Aronoff (1980) have shown. Their analysis of these zero-derived denominal verbs relies heavily on speaker and hearer sharing knowledge. It is possible instead to use predicate argument structure (PAS), in the sense used in Rappaport and Levin (1988), to help predict the verb’s meaning. Landau and Geltman (1985) and Hindle (1990) use a similar prediction process for child language and large text corpora, respectively. Denominal verbs are a special case of predicting verb meaning from PAS, since the original noun provides clues beyond simply A blanks B. This paper proposes heuristics that use information needed independently for processing noun-noun compounds, and include:

1. If incorporated noun is an agent-word (e.g. pilot), it’s a predicate nominative.
2. If incorporated noun is a time phrase, it refers to EXTENT.
3. Otherwise, incorporated noun and subject have a THEME/GOAL or GOAL/THEME relation. To interpret The bird perched, check bird perch and perch bird: bird fills THEME slot in perch.
4. If the tests in (3) yield no relationship, --> INSTRUMENT (skateboard, fax)
5. If transitive --> Assume subject is AGENT, and incorporated noun and direct object have a THEME/GOAL or GOAL/THEME relation. Proceed as in (3).

This paper provides a preliminary analysis of clitic placement in Old Spanish (OSp). In OSp, clitic pronouns could either follow or precede the tensed verb, unlike in Modern Spanish, where they must always immediately precede it.

Evidence will be presented supporting the following assumptions: a) As Taylor (1990) has shown, the appropriate generalization governing the phenomena traditionally encompassed by Wackernagel’s Law cannot be captured by referring merely to word count. Rather, in OSp, as Taylor (1990) demonstrated for Homeric Greek, clitics are positioned with respect to the left periphery of IP independently of their specific position from a linear order perspective; b) OSp had the properties of a Verb-Second language.

The most significant result achieved here is that it is possible to provide a plausible account for one of the most striking facts about clitic distribution in OSp: whereas there was variation in clitic position in main clauses (from mostly predominant post-verbal position in the earliest texts to their mandatory pre-verbal position in current Spanish), strings of the form V[tense] + Clitic never appear in embedded clauses.

In conditional concessive adjuncts of the type whether dead or alive, if XP assigns an external theta-role then the adjunct is a CP. It is argued that in such adjuncts, whether is the head and its complement IP contains a PRO subject and an empty ([0 tense]) Inf1, i.e., these adjuncts are wh-small clauses. Arguments for a PRO subject are based on theta-theory, binding theory, and the PRO-theorem. The empty Inf1 is assumed to have the semantic content of the verb be, as in Kitagawa (1985), from which certain restrictions follow on what may occur as the adjunct predicate. A proposal is made based on semantic requirements on PRO to account for the non-occurrence of this construction in complement positions.
Thorstein Freheim (University of Trondheim)
Grammatically Underdetermined Theme/Rheme Articulation

In spoken Norwegian there is no perceivable difference between theme and rheme tunes comparable to the two information-structurally distinct tunes that Steedman (1991) has observed in English. Norwegian double-focus utterances exhibit a theme/rheme bipartition but you have to infer (as addressee) where the theme is and where the rheme is, and the order is not always theme before rheme.

The following kind of talk exchange will be examined:
A: Har du pengar nok til å bo på det hotellet? (Have you money enough to stay in that hotel?)
B1: Jeg 'HAR 'to 'TUSEN, ja. (I have two THOUSAND, yes)
B2: *Jeg 'har 'to 'TUSEN, ja. (I have two THOUSAND, yes)

Informants associate the number term of B1 with the 'at least n' interpretation and the implicated premise 'It would cost 2000 (crows) to stay in that hotel'. They reject the broad-focus structure of B2, because the S-enclitic affirmative particle ja only attaches to a host S that is an explicit expression of the affirmed proposition. Correct information-structural processing of B1 demands context-dependent calculation of the pragmatic function of each focus. The focused numeral of B1 has the functional properties of 'themes' ('topics'), while the numeral of B2 is a rheme that relates to no part of the preceding question. Ref. Steedman, M. (1991). Structure and intonation. Lq.

Victoria A. Fromkin (University of California-Los Angeles)
The Lexicon: Processing Evidence

Psycholinguistic and neurolinguistic research parallel the increased interest and alternative hypotheses in linguistics concerning the lexicon. Data from these sub-fields prove relevant to current linguistic controversies about the nature of lexical specification and insertion. For example, aphasics show differential impairment of derivational and inflectional processes and stems and grammatical morphemes, as well as loss of access to specific grammatical categories and semantic classes of words. Cross linguistic studies show that the characteristics of the impairments are dependent on the morphological structures and word formation rules in the language. Such aphasics can provide important insights into the grammar and linguistic theory can provide explanations for what occurs in language pathology.

Jingqi Fu (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
Deriving Subject Interpretations of Mandarin Possessors

This paper discusses subject interpretation of surface possessors in Mandarin and its syntactic correlates. In the underlined sequence ta de qiu ci de hen hao ('He plays soccer very well'), the surface possessor ta, is in fact interpreted as subject and not as possessor. He plays soccer but does not necessarily own the ball. In addition to subject interpretations for the possessor, the construction displays two distinct sets of properties. On the one hand, ta de qiu acts like an NP with respect to extraction, conjunction and cleft. On the other hand, ta behaves like a clausal subject with respect to relativization, quantificational binding and control. Given the two sets of conflicting distributional characteristics, we consider two alternatives: reanalysis and Chomsky-adjunction. Both would need the following input structure: [ta] [qiu] ci ci de hen hao, where the object has been fronted to a position adjacent to the subject. The reanalysis approach makes the two adjacent NPs into one, with the object as its head. This approach requires that quantification apply before reanalysis, an undesirable result. The Chomsky-adjunction of object to subject will overcome this problem since in the adjoined structure the head remains the subject, and hence it c-commands quantifiers in the VP.
Andrew Garrett (Stanford University/University of Texas-Austin)

Greek Noncoronal Stop plus Nasal Assimilation

Ionic Greek labial stops assimilate totally to a following m, b → m / _ n, and voiceless velar stops before m surface unchanged except in certain morphological contexts, as in /pemptmai/ → pipgmai 'I have woven for myself' vs. kkekma 'I have worked'. The last assimilation has been explained as the result of analogy (Rix), a morphologically restricted sound change (Lejeune, Kiparsky), and a process conditioned by syllable structure (Steriade). In this paper I revise Steriade's analysis in light of evidence bearing on the phonetic value of Greek γ before nasals, proposing a sound change whereby noncoronal obstruents in syllable codas assimilated in nasality to following nasals. In this case the appearance of morphologically conditioned sound change is an epiphenomenon of the relation between morphological and syllabic structure; more generally, I advocate research on sound change which is in fact conditioned by prosodic constituency (e.g. α, ω, φ) but which appears to be conditioned by the morphosyntactic information partly determining that constituency.

Orin D. Gensler (University of California-Berkeley)

Head/Dependent Marking and Tightness of Syntactic Bond: The Welsh-Berber Paradox

In Welsh and Berber, nominals occur in two alloforms, here called "tight" and "loose". In Welsh the tight form is the lenited form; in Berber it is the annexation ("construct") form. Plausibly, the "tight" form should signal a tight syntactic bond: thus (in both languages) the citation form and fronted topical Nouns are loose, while Obj of Prep is usually tight. The languages agree in these "clear cases". But in less clear environments --- Subj, Obj, PredNominal, Gen, and Adj --- the languages pattern inversely: Welsh: Loose: Subj, Gen (nonlenition) Tight: Obj, PredN, Adj (f-ug) (lenition)
Berber: Tight: Subj, Gen (annexation) Loose: Obj, PredN, Adj (free)

The key to unraveling this paradox is another difference between the languages: Berber is more Head-Marking (more synthetic) than Welsh. This yields no unitary "global" account, only partial, "local" insights. For example, Berber codes Subj and Dir/IndObj on the V, with much proleptic and resumption by full Nouns; further, any Noun which resumes a proleptic Pron must take annexation state; and since only Subj is obligatorily coded on the V, the annexation state of Subj Nouns emerges as a corollary. This argues that "tightness" need not automatically be viewed as a mark of "syntactic co-constituency", at least not in a Head-Marking language. Diachronically, finally, neither early Celtic nor pre-Berber seems to have had the category "tight/loose"; the different evolutionary paths in the two languages stem from the difference in Head/Dep标记.

Heather Good (University of Southern California)

Learnability and Inventory Specific Underspecification

In Radical Underspecification (RU), features and feature values which are initially specified are determined by the phonological properties of a language. While RU is perhaps the most widely adopted and empirically supported approach to underspecification, as a model of acquisition, it is not well constrained: Evidence for underspecification may be deeply entrenched in a language's phonology, requiring significant retreat by the learner.

To simplify the learning task and yet maintain many of the virtues of RU, I suggest an alternative, one which may be termed Inventory Specific Underspecification (ISU). ISU is discussed for backness and roundness in vowels. First, features are monovalent. For backness and roundness, primitives are [front] and [round]. Second, as in Contrastive Specification, feature selection is determined on the basis of the inventory of segments in a language alone. As most languages require only [front] or [round], the choice is determined as follows. In triangular systems such as l e n d e u, [round] is specified over [front]. In quadrangular systems such as l e m a s u, [front] is specified over [round]. As spreading is preferred to delinking, the direction of assimilation in triangular and quadrangular systems will then differ. Triangular systems will favor spreading of [round] to front vowels, as in Okp. Quadrangular systems will favor spreading of [front] to back vowels, as in Chamorro.
Many theorists have recently attempted to delimit the class of arguments to which resultative adjectives can be applied (Bresnan & Zwartn 1990, Hoekstra 1987, Jackendoff 1990, Levin & Rappaport R., Randall 1983, Simpson 1983, Van Valin 1990). Jackendoff (1990) and Bresnan & Zwartn (1990) have noted that a resultative can typically only be predicated of an argument which bears the thematic role, patient (or "theme"), however they consider examples such as 1 and 2, involving so-called "unsubcategorized" objects or "fake" reflexives, to be exceptions to this constraint:

1. The dog barked us awake.
2. Joe talked himself hoarse.

The direct objects in these sentences are said to be unsubcategorized for by the verb and are for that reason assigned no thematic role.

I propose, however, that a general semantic account in terms of patienthood is warranted. It is argued that a construction or lexical rule is required in order to account for the existence of the internal argument in these expressions. Once such a construction or rule is posited, the "fake" or "unsubcategorized" objects in the above examples are naturally viewed as bearing the thematic role, patient, since they are clearly affected arguments. Moreover, I argue that an account based on a constraint of patienthood in fact motivates the existence of these types of examples.

Several other cooccurring semantic constraints are suggested that begin to provide sufficient as well as necessary conditions on the occurrence of resultatives generally and "fake" object resultatives in particular. However, while sufficient conditions are approached, it is shown that conventionality also plays a critical role, a fact that has been ignored by all of the accounts cited above.

Chris Golston (University of Arizona)
Non-Lexical Compounding

It has been claimed that English compounds must be composed solely of lexical words (N, A, V, P). This is shown not to be the case for Ancient Greek, Latin or English. Each of these languages has both lexical compounds (LCs) like dog-house, baby-sit, blue-green, in-put as well as a large number of non-lexical compounds (NLCs) such as here-in, here-by, how-ever, who-ever, them-selves, with-in. Latin and Ancient Greek cases include:

Latin quam-cum-que "whenever" Ancient Greek hēs.tines "whoever's" who:FEM/ACC-with-wht who:FEM GEN-someone:FEM GEN

NLCs are used to form demonstrative and indefinite pronouns, pronominal adverbs, compound conjunctions and prepositions in these languages. Mixed compounds consisting of one lexical and one non-lexical constituent (order irrelevant) are quite rare (she:wof).

NLCs differ from LCs in a number of ways in these languages. LCs tend to be right-headed, recursive and internally stripped of infliction (*bird-watcher). NLCs tend to be left-headed, non-recursive and are not internally stripped of infliction (whenever, whoever). Prepositions behave as if they were both lexical and non-lexical: they undergo compounding both with lexical words (out-law, over-eat) and with non-lexical words (here-by, where-upon). LCs and NLCs are taken as evidence that lexical and non-lexical words are stored in separate lexicons: infliction is stored with non-lexical words, with the result that LCs but not NLCs appear to be 'stripped' of infliction. Prepositions are hypothesized to be in both lexicons.

Paul Gorrell (University of Maryland-College Park)
Structural Ambiguity in Unambiguous Contexts

Although details vary, the well-known preference for the clausal reading of (1) is usually taken as a particular instance of the more general preference for the minimal (or simpler) analysis of an input string (cf. minimal attachment and minimal commitment models). This property of the HSPM is assumed to be inoperative if disambiguating information is present (e.g. replace raced with ridden).

(1) The horse raced past the barn.
But examples such as (2) suggest that this is not always the case and argue for a parsing model in which the operations of the parser are (initially) restricted to the current clause.

(2) Bill admired the horse raced past the barn.
The verb admire in (2) precludes the clausal reading, yet, despite the lack of ambiguity, the parser responds as it does in (1). In (2) the result is a well-formed current clause, but a globally ill-formed structure. Examples such as (3) argue independently for initially restricting the parser's operations to the current clause.

(3) John said Bill will leave yesterday.
In order to test two tenets of English stress theory, the "heavy" CVC syllable, and lexically-specified extrametricality, an empirical study was conducted using novel 3-syllable English words. Seven hypotheses were formulated using the theoretical predictions of Selkirk (1984) and Halle and Vergnaud (1987). In the case of heavy CVC, an alternative hypothesis was posited stating that English speakers will stress a penultimate syllable three out of four times irrespective of syllable construction. The latter was supported at the 95% confidence level. There were no correlations between syllable configuration and placement of main stress. Regarding lexically-specified extrametricality, it was shown that speakers may either stress or fail to stress final CVC as a consequence of a phonological rule, not as a "lexical" phenomenon. In further support of the last point, speakers spontaneously lengthened a final CV syllable, contrary to all predictions by the cited authors. Furthermore, the cited models contain no mechanism to achieve such an effect. Several conclusions were drawn in support of a theory constraining possible stress schemes while permitting the full range of attested expression. At the same time, the choice of any particular pattern can only be predicted probabilistically.

Kira Hall (University of California-Berkeley)
Alissa Shephar (University of California-Berkeley)
"zu Hause gesprochen, von der Strasse jehant": Women's Use of Berlinisch in East and West

In our study of variation in women's use of the Berlin dialect, we suggest that the effect of sex on linguistic variation should be studied within a framework which acknowledges gender as a social construction specific to an individual speech community. The recent opening of the Berlin Wall provides new opportunities for the study of the vernacular, as differently oriented vernacular communities are now merged after being separated for twenty-seven years. After the division of East and West Berlin, the dialect developed in diverging ways and took on distinct social meanings on either side of the Berlin Wall. A number of linguists presently researching the dialect (Dittmar 1986; Dittmar & Schlobinski 1988, 1990; Schlobinski 1987; Schönfeld 1986, 1989) have illustrated that while the dialect in the East gained in prestige, the dialect in the West became more negatively associated with the working class and marginal groups. With reference to personal experience narratives and attitudinal interviews obtained from ten weeks of fieldwork in Berlin during the summer of 1991, we will illustrate the variety of ways women in the East and women in the West use the vernacular to signify social meaning. We argue against the uniform characterization of women's and men's speech as conservative or innovative, instead proposing a model of analysis which recognizes variation among and within speech communities.

Tracy Alan Hall (University of Dusseldorf)
German Final Devoicing and the Consonantal Allophones of IR

The present study analyzes the rules producing the voiced and voiceless uvular fricatives from an underlying /ʁ/ in both Standard German (SG) and in certain dialects of the Rhineland (RG). I make three theoretical points. First, I argue that the German facts require Final Devoicing (FD) to apply syllable-finally, and not within the rhyme or coda, as is commonly assumed (eg. Rubach 1990). Second, the German data support the idea in comparative linguistics that different dialects of the same language can exhibit different rule orderings. Third, the German facts are inconsistent with the assumption in Lexical Phonology that novel segments only arise in the postlexical phonology (Kiparsky 1985), since the voiceless uvular fricative--a nondistinctive segment--is created lexically in RG.
Since Klavans (1985) proposed her theory of clitic placement, several others have been advanced which are claimed to derive roughly the same taxonomy (Kaisse 1985, Nevis 1985, Marantz 1988, Sadock 1991, Anderson ms.). An examination of second position reveals however that they can be distinguished on the basis of whether they place the clitic after the first word or after the first phrase, and in the notion of “word” which they use for the former. What turns out to be needed is a theory which allows both positions, where the former is defined prosodically and the latter defined syntactically, yet captures the commonality of the two. Data which is problematic for previous theories is taken from a variety of languages and a new proposal is made according to which second position results from the interaction of syntactic and prosodic constraints. A purely syntactic or purely prosodic account turns out to be impossible.

S. J. Hannahs (University of Delaware)
Prosodic Structure in the Lexicon: Evidence from French

This paper supports recent proposals on concurrent morphological and prosodic structure in the lexicon (Booij 1988), Inkelas (1989), Booij & Lieber (to appear), Vogel (to appear). It also shows that reference to prosodic structure in the lexicon has specific advantages over level ordering by allowing certain phonological rules to apply postlexically where with level ordering noncrucial morphological considerations would require the same rules to apply lexically. For example, Glide Formation (GF) changes /i/, /y/ and /u/ to [j], [y] and [w], respectively, when followed by another vowel word internally (cf. envie 'envy' [ɛvij] - enviable 'enviable' [ɛvijabl]). GF is blocked between a prefix and stem or two stems (cf. semi-prise 'semi-ride' [semiari], tissu éponge 'tery cloth' [tiyupɔ]) with level ordering (e.g. Johnson (1987)), GF must apply lexically before prefixation and compounding to be correctly blocked. Referring to prosodic structure, however, GF may apply postlexically. Other processes of French claimed to be lexical and to support level ordering are also shown to be postlexical and not to require level ordering.

Yoko Hasegawa (University of California-Berkeley)
The Perfect-Resuttative Distinction: Evidence from the V-te ar- Construction in Japanese

The perfect indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation (Comrie 1976). While Comrie considers the resuttative as the prototype of the perfect, Nedjalkov and Jaxonov (1988) distinguish between the perfect and the resuttative. They observe that: (1) the verbs in the resuttative must express some change of state, whereas any verb can appear in the perfect; (2) while the resuttative expresses a resuttate state of a specific participant, the after-effects of the action expressed by the perfect are non-specific; (3) the resuttative can collocate with adverbials which do not occur with the base verb, whereas the perfect does not allow such a collocation. This study investigates three types of V-te ar- construction in Japanese: (a) one in which the valence of the base verb is not altered; (b) one in which the subject of the base verb is suppressed, and the object is marked in the nominative (the so-called intransitivizing resuttative); and (c) one which adds to the changes in (b) a n-marked locative which is not permitted by the base verb. These three types have been uniformly analyzed as resuttatives; however, according to N & J’s criteria, (a) is properly categorized as the perfect, (c) is categorized as the resuttative, and (b) exhibits both properties. Verbs which do not express any change can appear in (a), and the after-effects in (a) and (b) are unspecified. Although not clear-cut, the perfect-resuttative distinction nevertheless helps the analyst to derive otherwise idiosyncratic characteristics of the V-te ar- construction from the universal principles.
The facts below for Tunisian Arabic (TA) present an interesting problem in that at first glance it seems that whether or not a resumptive pronoun (RP) surface is optional.

1.  li-ktaab, Hafedh 9raa-h
   the book Hafedh bought
2.  li-ktaab, Hafedh 9raa
   "The book, Hafedh bought."

In this paper however I will argue that the distribution of RPs is not arbitrary. Moreover, it cannot be argued that RPs are simply the spillout of a variable which violates some principle of grammar as suggested in Nissen (1990).

In light of data from relative clauses, wh-questions, and properties of (1)-(2) when a past copula is inserted, I will demonstrate the necessity of positing two separate configurations for these sentences, given below.

1'.  [NPI [CP [RP proj ... RP ... t1] ... ]] 2'.  [CP [RP [T1 ... t1 ... ]] ... ]

I argue that the mandatory surfacing of a RP in (1') is tied to parametric requirements on the empty element, given that English allows the same configuration minus the RP. TA requires that pro be identified at D-structure while English allows pro to be identified at S-structure after movement. We thus have evidence that "identification" cannot be subsumed under antecedent government and that RPs may not involve "minimal effort."

Peter Hendriks (Yale University)
The Particle No in Eighth Century Japanese

This paper deals with several aspects of the behavior of the particle no in eighth century Japanese, and focuses specifically on the elicitation of its adversarial and adnominal usages, and on the investigation of the extent to which in both cases it could be regarded as a kind of copular sentence which has been adversarialized or adnominalized.

As far as the deverbal use of no is concerned, the evidence suggests that it is not, as is often thought, an extension of its usage as a nominative-accusative particle, but that it is related to the verb niru 'resemble', the use of which would be derived in the manner: ni(y) < no-i . c.f. ni < kyou < no-i 'tree'). Also, there is a pair of synonymous verbs, nusu and nosu 'resemble' to which niru would appear to related in the same way as such series of verbs as kiri, koryu, koryu 'cut', and the copula series ma, ne, no are related.

The adnominal use of no on the other hand appears more likely to be related to the copula.

Jeannine Heny (Indiana University of Pennsylvania)
Noochaya Yahya (Indiana University of Pennsylvania)
Semantic Transparency and Linkage in the Interlanguage Lexicon

This paper explores two related influences on the relatively understudied area of interlanguage prepositional patterns: Semantic Transparency and Linkage. Drawing on learned learners of English, the paper first shows that the observed patterns in prepositional usage by non-native speakers of English warrant the assumption that interlanguage prepositions are strongly linked to a single "core" meaning. The same assumption helps to explain otherwise puzzling facts in error patterns, such as the preponderance of errors involving English in as a general semantic marker for stable points in time or space. The second influence plays a role in Malay error patterns, where "Linkage", or strict correspondence, between the Malay form of and its English equivalent at distorts the expected pattern, causing at) to appear where in errors would be expected to predominate. This work builds on classical studies by Kellerman (1978) on core meanings and Andersen (1983) on transfer; the notion of "strength" in lexical networks relates to potentially interesting ways to recent models of lexical access and cognitive function.
Robert K. Herbert (State University of New York-Binghamton)

Language, Gender, and Ethnicity: Explaining Language Shift in Thongaland

This paper considers the interesting case of language shift among the Tembe-Thonga, who have over the past 100 years replaced their traditional language, Thonga, with Zulu. Men lead in this shift, and the usual report is of a sex-exclusive distribution of languages (men speak Zulu, women Thonga) in which each group clings to its language in conversation, i.e. there is no negotiative value to the codes. The explanation for men's shift to Zulu lies in South Africa's migrant labor situation and historic patterns of trade. The real puzzle, however, concerns women's non-shift, which I argue is best analyzed within an ethnography of speaking approach. Briefly, the position of women in Zulu society is considerably worse than in Thonga, where they enjoy relatively high status and prestige. Zulu identity has been embraced by men for a variety of reasons, including some political, but Thonga women have resisted the shift to Zulu language and identity on account of what they see as the real cost of such a shift in their everyday lives. The political incorporation of Thongaland into the KwaZulu "homeland" has resulted in additional pressures to shift to Zulu. The example demonstrates the complex interaction of sex, activated ethnicity, and politics in explaining language shift.

Susan Herring (California State University-San Bernardino)

The Effects of Gender in Computer-Mediated Linguistic Discourse

This paper analyzes two debates culled from linguistically-oriented computer discussion groups: the LINGUIST list, used by professional linguists, and a linguistics department graduate student group. Striking gender-related inequalities are found in the LINGUIST debate: male contributions dominate overwhelmingly in both frequency and length. In the student debate, however, while males contribute more messages, messages of both sexes are of equal length, and female voices are clearly heard.

I propose an account of these differences in terms of the rhetorical strategies employed by the dominant participants in each discussion group. The dominant contributors to the LINGUIST debate employ an adversarial rhetoric characterized by assertive, mocking, and self-promoting language. In contrast, features of an attenuated/personal style cluster in the contributions of the women linguists. In the student debate, in contrast, most participants combine features of a weaker adversarial style with a basic attenuated style.

I conclude by postulating a correlation between strong adversarial rhetoric and low female participation in academic computer discourse.

Annette Herskovits (Wellesley College)
Andrea Levitt (Wellesley College)
Margery Lucas (Wellesley College)
Laura Wagner (Wellesley College)

The Mental Representation of the Meaning of across

Both Talmy and Herskovits have proposed an underlying set of features for the preposition across which involve the figure (the object placed across), the ground (the object crossed), and the relationship between the two. However, unlike Talmy, Herskovits has argued that not all the proposed features are necessary. In order to evaluate these theoretical proposals, we conducted a preposition/picture verification test. We presented 20 female college students with 128 pictures of across (containing 8 grounds, 2 figures, and 8 relationships between the figure and ground) and 128 foils (containing similar grounds and figures, but different relationships). Results of the reaction time analysis suggest that not all features proposed in the cognitive models are equally important. Thus, whether the figure was straight or orthogonal to the ground was not important, but the shape of the ground and whether the figure extended beyond the ground were. Experiments are underway in order to test whether these prototype effects are the result of an underlying prototype structure or of the application of a simple process to a complex scene.
Caroline Heycock (Oakland University)
Extraction and the Syntax of Copular Constructions

In this paper I discuss the "reverse copular construction" exemplified in (1):

(1) The real problem is her lack of interest.
I follow Heggie (1988) and Moro (1990) in arguing that, rather than involving a distinct "bo" that occurs in these type of sentences, the reverse copular construction is the result of raising of the predicate of a small clause complement to the copula:

(2) The real problem is [her lack of interest]?
The severe constraints on extraction from the post-copular NP in this construction then reduce to Subject Condition effects, as the post-copular NP in a reverse copular sentence is in the subject position of the small clause.
Contra Heggie and Moro, I show that the movement of the predicate is A-movement. As well as accounting for the possibility of this construction feeding subsequent A-movement, this explains why, when the predicate has moved away, it cannot reconstruct at LF.

Kyoko Hirose (University of California-Berkeley/IBM Japan)
Toshio Ohorii (University of California-Berkeley/Keio University)
Japanese Internally Headed Relative Clauses Revisited

In examining Japanese internally headed relative clauses (IHRcs), this paper addresses several phenomena which have not been adequately dealt with in past analyses, and gives more accurate descriptions of their characteristics, especially: (i) the identification of the antecedent; and (ii) their difference from no-complementation.

The identification of antecedent is problematic in IHRcs as compared with externally headed relative clauses. Within the frameworks of CG and frame semantics, however, it is possible to describe the syntactic and semantic factors required in identifying the antecedent. Furthermore, the same morpheme no can serve as a nominalizer in IHRc, and as a complementizer in no-complementation. Therefore, it gives rise to two different interpretations depending on the property of the main predicate as in: [Reppou-ka okureteki-no] ngotogamu-iru. (I) blamed the reporter for coming late. / (I) complained to the reporter about his coming late. The unification mechanism in CG can account for this semantic ambiguity of the construction.

By investigating the framework which can account for IHRcs - where syntax, semantics, and pragmatics interact with each other - this paper demonstrates that an accurate description of IHRcs requires semantic attention. Furthermore, it is hoped that the present study may add an insight into previous typological studies on IHRcs.

Julia Hirschberg (A T & T Bell Laboratories)
Gregory Ward (Northwestern University)
The Interpretation of the High-Rise Question Contour in English

In this paper we investigate the meaning of the high-rise question contour in English, described in Pierrehumbert (1980) as H* H H% and illustrated in: (1) ML to receptionist upon arrival: "My name is Mark Liberman?" An intuitive interpretation for (1) might be "My name is Mark Liberman. Are you expecting me?" Previous studies have characterized this contour in terms of speaker attitude (R. Lakoff 1975, Ladd 1980, Bolinger 1989) or in terms of the relationship of the propositional content of utterances to some aspect of their discourse context (Gunter 1974, Pierrehumbert & Hirschberg 1990). Based on an analysis of naturally-occurring data, we propose that speakers employ H* H H% to convey that the propositional content of the utterance is to be added to speaker and hearer's mutual beliefs (those shared by speaker and hearer and believed by them to be so shared), and to question whether the hearer can relate that propositional content to the contents of the hearer's own (unshared) beliefs. In (1), then, ML uses the high-rise contour to inform the receptionist of his name, adding that information to their mutual beliefs, and questions whether the receptionist can relate that information to her own (non-shared) beliefs — does the receptionist recognize his name and have information about his appointment. We also explore the relationship between questions conveyed by this contour and those conveyed syntactically, e.g., via inversion.
Rebecca Burns Hoffman (University of Colorado)
*Syntactic Complexity in Classroom Discourse*

Preschool classroom discourse is composed of a small number of discourse formats: Managerial, Expository, Task Accompaniment, and Personal Narrative. Each format has characteristic topics and motives, speech act types, levels of abstraction, and pragmatic features. This study was conducted to determine if each discourse format has characteristic syntactic complexity as well. Transcripts were prepared from twelve preschool, small-group activity sessions and child utterances were analyzed according to discourse format. Syntactic analyses were performed on the ten longest utterances in each discourse format from each transcript. The number of clauses, connectives, full noun phrases, and morpheons varied significantly with format type; Personal Narrative discourse ranked highest on all measures. Syntactic complexity is discussed in terms of discourse format characteristics and implications are drawn for child language analyses and classroom practices.

Ki-Sun Hong (Stanford University)
*Subject Selection in Korean*

The purpose of this paper is to isolate the primary semantic factor relevant for subject selection in Korean. Dowty (1988) proposes two kinds of thematic proto-roles (i.e., Proto-Agent and Proto-Patient), which determine subject selection. Roughly speaking, an argument which bears more definitional properties of Proto-Agent is encoded as the subject universally. This analysis predicts that a "hit-tee" for instance, which bears all the characteristics of Proto-Patient, should not be realized as the subject of an underived (i.e., non-passive) verb. However, this prediction is not borne out in Korean, in which it can be realized as the subject.

Based on this observation, I claim that the semantic notion of a "determinant", which is independent of thematic roles, is relevant to subject selection in Korean. A determinant is defined as one who determines whether a sententially denoted situation is brought about or not (cf. Farkas 1988, Klaiman 1988, among others). This paper presents six tests to pick out a determinant, including whether the relevant argument can occur with such an adverb as ilpwe 'on purpose' (Keenan 1976). These tests clearly demonstrate that not only a hit-tee but also a hit-tee can be interpreted as the determinant of a situation. And this semantic feature sanctions either way of lexicalization. This analysis correctly predicts other subject selection facts in Korean: (i) pat- 'receive' type verbs, which evade Dowty's account; (ii) semantic differences between lexical doubles (e.g. sa- 'buy' and phal- 'sell'), which Dowty predicts none; (iii) preference of NPs denoting mobile things for the subject over NPs denoting inert things; (iv) semantic differences between active sentences and lexical passive sentences.

Kathleen Hubbard (University of California-Berkeley)
*NP-VP Asymmetries in Luyambo Prosodic Domains*

This paper is an investigation of the phonology-syntax relationship based on field work in Luyambo, a Bantu language of Tanzania (related to the "Kinyambo" of Bickmore 1989). In it I argue that phonological rules need more access to syntactic information than the proposed prosodic hierarchy allows (Selkirk 1986, Nesporn and Vogel 1986). At issue are two tone rules, one which deletes a High tone before another High within a Tone Phrase, another that inserts a High if there is no underlying High in a Tone Group. These appear initially to be parallel in NP's and VP's (operating the same way, for example, in genitive phrases and verb-direct object phrases). More complex data, however, show that the operation of the rules is not identical across syntactic categories. I conclude that although the two tone rules (High Tone Reduction and High Tone Insertion) can be stated in terms of end-based domains, conditions must be stated that depend on more specific syntactic information than the prosodic hierarchy would give.
Research in moraic phonology has generally assumed that a single representation is sufficient to account for all phonological rules dependent on moraic structure. Hyman (1984), for instance, argues that the same moras ("weight units" define syllable weight, tone-bearing units and syllability, to which Hayes (1989) adds compensatory lengthening. In this paper I examine three Bantu languages that appear on the surface to challenge this MORAIC UNIQUENESS HYPOTHESIS. All three involve situations where a pre-consonantal nasal counts as a mora for one process, but does not count as a mora for another: (1) Cibemba [Zambia]; (2) Lunyamo-Haya [Tanzania]; (3) Luganda [Uganda]. I shall demonstrate that such moraic mismatches are handled by first assigning a preconsonantal nasal as a moraic coda (using Zec's 1988 µN), though not a TBU. I then show that while compensatory lengthening increases the TBU's, other rules may decrease the mora count as the derivation proceeds in a typical Bantu language.

Sharon Inkelas (University of California-Berkeley/University of Maryland-College Park)  (FRI MORN: 5)

Position Class Morphology: The Case of Nimboran

Though a recurrent cross-linguistic phenomenon — and prevalent in the descriptive literature — position class morphology has attracted little attention in contemporary morphological theories (though see Anderson 1986)). This paper aims to integrate position class into one such theory. The language discussed Nimboran (PNG; Anceaux 1965), whose verbal morphology accords with the following template:

(1) 0 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
   root PlSubj DuSubj MascObj IncDuSubj Loc Iterative Tense SubjPers
   PObj Durative

Morphemes in the same ‘position’ are mutually exclusive. Moreover, certain morphemes occupy more than one position, with corresponding blocking effects. Of the ~70 semantically empty 'particles' that must occur with certain roots, some occupy two, three, or even four positions, as exemplified in (2):

(2) a. Positions 3, 4 -naN(+A)-
   b. Positions 2, 3, 4 -daN(+A)-
   c. Positions 2, 3 -daN(+A)-
   d. Positions 5, 6 -N-
   e. Positions 2, 3, 5, 6 -naN(+A)-
   f. Positions 2, 3, 5 -e(+A)-

The data in (2) pose a problem for a flat template approach to morpheme ordering, since the sets of jointly blocked positions are linearly discontinuous. I resolve the problem by interpreting ‘position’ in hierarchical rather than linear terms. Separating dominance from precedence enables a restrictive characterization of jointly blocked positions: they are (vertically) contiguous in the constituent tree.

Michael Inman (Stanford University)  (FRI AFT: 3)

Intentionality in Sinhala: Compositionality and the Semantics-Pragmatics Interface

Dowty (1979) proposes that verbs denoting intentional states or activities ("intentional verbs") involve an abstract operator DO in their semantic structure which is lacking in the semantic structure of verbs denoting nonintentional states or activities ("nonintentional verbs"). This together with the principle of compositionality predicts that intentional verbs should be morphologically more marked than nonintentional verbs, correlating with the presence or absence of DO. In Sinhala, however, this prediction appears to be contradicted: intentional verbs are unmarked, while their nonintentional counterparts are marked by an (archi)morpheme E. In order to resolve this apparent challenge to compositionality I show first that the intentional interpretation associated with unmarked verbs is not part of their semantic structure, but is best treated as a presupposition, i.e., pragmatically, along the lines of Holisky (1987). The lack of marking is thus consistent with the absence of DO in semantic structure. Second, I show that the E morpheme does not affect the semantic structure of verbs, but rather acts as a presupposition blocker, as in Karttunen and Peters (1975, 1979), which prevents DO from being associated with E marked verbs. A further consequence of this analysis is that it explains why marked verbs in Sinhala typically receive a nonintentional interpretation: the blocking of the presupposition is viewed as effectively negating it.
Minako Ishikawa (Georgetown University)
*A Synthesis of Three Approaches to Discourse: An Analysis of the Japanese Sentence Particle ne*

Schiffrin (1988) shows a synthesis of sociolinguistic approaches in analyzing reference in narrative, proposing shared assumptions in them. Building on her discussion of sociolinguistic approaches to discourse (Schiffrin, forthcoming), I show the theoretical and methodological merit of qualitative and quantitative analyses and offer a synthesis of Chicene pragmatics, interactional sociolinguistics, and variation analysis in the examination of functions of the Japanese sentence particle ne. I first make a hypothesis on the function of the particle in a qualitative analysis of a conversation between Japanese speakers. The hypothesis that ne reflects the speaker's attempt to establish common ground with the hearer is then examined in a quantitative analysis of 190 statements in 194 personal letters. 76 statements (40%) contain propositions which are not shared with the addressee. These results fail to falsify the hypothesis since all the propositions were already shared, the need to establish common ground is unlikely to arise. This study offers a new way of analyzing a discourse particle like ne, a linguistic form with multiple discourse functions, since different approaches complement one another.

Janice L. Jake (Midlands Technical College)
Carol Myers-Scotton (University of South Carolina-Columbia)
*Testing the Fit: Syntactic Theory and Intrasential Codeswitching*

In this paper, we examine the implications of a structurally based model of code-switching (CS) for syntax. We examine data which are problematic for syntactic theory, e.g., ma-daye a-no 'these days' (Shona/English) with morphological doubling and overlapping structures we bought about two pounds / jurai katekita no 'we bought about two pounds about bought the' (English/Japanese). The Matrix Language Frame Model, on which our analysis is based, makes crucial distinctions between the role of the matrix language (ML) and embedded language (EL) and two types of morphosyntactic categories, content vs. system morphemes. Our analysis focuses on intrasential CS, with material from both ML and EL. Two hypotheses of this model are the ML Blocking Hypothesis, in which the ML blocks an EL content morpheme if, e.g., the corresponding ML form is a system morpheme, and the EL Trigger Hypothesis, in which an unlicensed EL morpheme inhibits ML morphosyntactic procedures and triggers completion of the constituent entirely in the EL. Our analysis of these and other data, cf., wa-sha-woh-wa cell 'they have already been put in jail' (Swahili/English), supports lexicalist approaches to syntax, but shows some ML/EL congruence is at an abstract functional level.

Dianne Jonas (Harvard University)
Amanda Lathroum (Harvard University)
*Restrictions on Argument Suppression*

Fijian reduplication entails a shift in transitivity from input to output. In the process of reduplicating, transitive verbs lose an argument and surface as intransitive. Because this argument is always the internal argument, we will define the semantic changes effected in Fijian reduplication as the suppression of the internal argument. Curiously, intransitive verbs in Fijian - both simple intransitives and unaccusatives - cannot reduplicate. We cannot explain why unaccusatives should pattern with simple intransitives because our definition of reduplication simply refers to the internal argument. Upon examination, we find that the unexpected gap in surface forms is attributable to a more general principle: Rules should not be able to suppress all the obligatory arguments of a verb. This principle explains why unaccusatives and simple intransitives cannot be reduplicated. It similarly explains the distribution of passive and causative formation in Fijian. One question raised by this principle in its current form concerns its scope of application. In Fijian, which does not allow impersonal passives, it restricts both lexical and syntactic rules. Unlike Fijian, there are languages which allow impersonal passive constructions. Although these are restricted to transitive and unergative verbs in some languages, other languages allow impersonal passives from unaccusatives. Formation of the impersonal passives from intransitive verbs seems to require a violation of the principle, and a refinement which accommodates these observations is presented.
Brian D. Joseph (Ohio State University)
Jane C. Smirniotopoulos (Ohio State University)
The Morphosyntax of the Modern Greek Verbal Complex as Morphology and not Syntax

Rivero 1990 proposes an analysis of voice in Modern Greek in which the morpheme for Voice is located in the syntactic structure of the verbal complex as head of its own node. Moreover, each morphosyntactic category realized in the verbal complex, i.e. Agreement, Tense, Aspect, and Voice, is given its own place in the syntactic structure, and a rule of Verb-Raising gives the result that the order of these categories in the syntactic tree from the topmost node to the lowest mirrors that found right to left in the verbal complex. It is shown here, however, that this analysis faces several empirical problems, e.g. no place in the syntactic tree for negation, nor for the augment as a realization for Tense and the existence of forms, e.g. akústíka 'I was heard', with the morphemes ostensibly in the "wrong" order. More generally, Rivero's problems come from the idea, common among syntacticians who examine morphology, that morphology can be described as if it were syntax. It is argued here that the best treatment of the morphosyntax of the Greek verbal complex is one in which the morphology is treated as morphology and not as syntax, within a framework in which morphology contains not only affixation but also morphophonological processes, i.e. something which cannot be referred to by rules of syntax such as Verb-Raising.

Brian D. Joseph (Ohio State University)
Rey E. Wallace (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
Socially Determined Variation in Ancient Rome

Phonological and morphological variation in Classical Latin, e.g. diphthongs ae/au vs. monophthongs e/o, retention vs. loss of final consonants and initial h, GEN.SG -is vs. -us/-os, DAT.SG in -ae vs. -a, etc., has typically been treated as regional in nature. However, these seemingly "rural" features cannot be considered instances of purely geographically-based variation, for they also occur both on inscriptions from within Rome and in Roman literary usage.

Coleman (1990:14) hints at "a social dimension" to this variation, but only for <au>/<o> variation. We argue, however, that a distinctly social dimension must be recognized for much of this variation, based on: 1) instances of hypercorrection 2) the observation that datives in -a occur only in private, primarily domestic, inscriptions and never in public or official inscriptions 3) Augustus's use of "rural" domos for domus, in keeping with the populist image he cultivated upon his return to Rome. This dialectal/sociolectal situation can be best understood, we argue, in terms of the model of urbanization of Milroy 1980 and Bortoni-Ricardo 1985. The transformation of originally geographic variation into socially determined variation in an urban setting resulted from migrations into Rome and the expansion of Rome after the 4th century BC.

Sun-Ah Jun (Ohio State University)
The Domain of Nasalization and the Prosodic Structure in Korean

In Korean, coda obstruents are nasalized before an onset nasal of the following syllable. But it was claimed in Cho(1987) that a few postlexical rules in Korean including the obstruent voicing and the nasalization rule apply within a Phonological phrase, determined by a syntactic structure. Jun(1989, 1990), however, found that the domain of obstruent voicing is a phrase determined by an intonational structure and called this phrase an Accentual phrase.

This paper examined the domain of nasalization using phonetic instruments such as waveforms, spectrographs and nasal airflow waveforms. The preliminary results show that, first, the domain is an Intonational phrase larger than a phrasal level. Second, the vowel preceding the underlying nasal was significantly longer than the vowel preceding the derived nasal at an Accentual phrase boundary, but not at a Phonological phrase boundary. The same tendency was shown on the nasal. This experiment supports that the Accentual phrase is the right prosodic level higher than a word and there exists a prosodic level of Intonational Phrase in Korean.
Jeffrey P. Kaplan (San Diego State University)  
*Out-of-Court Speech vs. Legislation: Does QUANTITY Apply?*

Tiersma 1990 points out that under current law Grice’s maxim of Quantity does not apply to the utterances of courtroom witnesses (examining attorneys must probe rather than rely on implicature). Two other areas of language interpretation by courts are examined here regarding the permissiveness of Quantity: (1) out-of-court speech and (2) legislation. Interpretation of out-of-court speech follows Gricean principles, e.g., in the interpretation of “admitting admissions” (Silence as a criminal suspect in the context of an interrogating assertion by another can be taken as an actual admission), but interpretation of legislation sometimes does not. E.g.: an exception to the hearsay exclusion rule, Rule 803(8)(c) allows in as evidence “against the government in criminal cases, [written reports of] factual findings resulting from an investigation.” Implicitly following Quantity, the courts interpret 803(8)(c) as prohibiting use by the government of such written reports. Rule 803(8)(b) allows in written reports of “matters observed [e.g., by official] pursuant to duty...” but excludes, however, in criminal cases matters observed by police officers. The default interpretation of 803(8)(b) would prohibit use by either side of written reports of matters observed by police in criminal cases. But, according to the courts, 803(8)(b) is to be read in harmony with 803(8)(c) to allow in such reports at the request of criminal defendants. Why is the interpretation of out-of-court speech Gricean while the interpretation of legislation sometimes is not? Perhaps: The purpose of interpreting out-of-court speech is to find the truth about the past—what speakers, even silent “speakers,” committed themselves to by speaking. But legislation is illocutionary, aiming to fit the future world to the words, and so may have to apply to unforeseen situations; so under our flexible legal system, its interpretation may be permitted to bypass implicature, and depend in part on public policy, considerations of justice, or a court’s hidden agenda. This raises obvious questions about the consistency of interpretation of legislative language and thus provides a basis for questions about its legitimacy.

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Istvan Kenesel (University of Szeged)  
*On Word Order in Finno-Ugric*

In traditional descriptions of constituent order in Finno-Ugric languages, and even in recent comparisons of Finnish and Hungarian in particular, dissimilarities rather than analogies have been emphasized. The aim of this paper is to show that underlying the differences there is a unifying factor of movement from argument to non-argument positions, constrained by the availability of various clitics that act as heads of phrasal categories. While in Finnish the functional category of COMP has a complement Focus Phrase headed by clitics, since there are no such clitics in Hungarian, focusing is a function of movement relative to INFL. This distinction underlies the difference of ordering focus and topic(s) in these languages.

Alan H. Kim (Southern Illinois University-Carbondale)  
*Relativizing NPs from Two Presentative Constructions—There-construction and Quantifier-Floating*

Based on the observation that significant syntactic parallelism between thematicization and relativization in Japanese, Kuno (1970, 1973, 1976, 1987) proposes a hypothesis that only a constituent that qualifies as the topic of a relative clause can be relativized. Despite substantial validation since it is proposed, the hypothesis still suffers from some controversial counterexamples in the literature. In this paper I examine a series of cases where the legitimate relativization of NPs from the presentative constructions (English there-sentences and Japanese Quantifier-Floating construction) which should be prohibited by Kuno’s constraints. Based on the data from English and Japanese, I propose that elements like the predicate NP in English there-sentences and the head NP of the Japanese Quantifier-Floating construction may be relativized only if they are interpreted in <constructive> readings. Kuno’s thematicity constraint in relativization seems to need such a provision in order to allow apparent counterexamples like the following:

1. There wasn’t any unicorn in the front yard, but the unicorn that there was in the back yard was eating the roses.
2. Mary: Susan! Do you have some onions? Susan: Onions? There should be some in the refrigerator. Mary: (looking in the refrigerator) But, onions that there are, are all rotten.
3. Sennshu futatsu katta denkyuus ga minna kirete simatta.
   last week two bought bulbs-NOM all burnt

‘The two electric bulbs which I bought last week are all burnt up.’

The proposed analysis also seems to provide viable answers to other unsolved counterexamples in favor of Kuno’s hypothesis.
Hyunsoo Kim ( Cornell University)  
Prosodic Minimality in Sino-Korean Vocabulary and Its Influences on Derived Korean Words

The purpose of this paper is to provide pieces of evidence for minimality requirement for Sino-Korean words in Korean and to deal with the question of the extent to which the minimality requirement of Sino-Korean words plays a role in Korean morphology, especially in derived Korean words. 

As evidence for the bimorphic minimality requirement for undervived Sino-Korean words, the following examples will be presented: i) In undervived Sino-Korean words, monomorphic Sino-Korean morphemes cannot behave as words in Korean morphology except sub-minimal Sino-Korean words. In this case a monomorphic Sino-Korean word is always augmented into bimoraphicity by adding another monomorphic Sino-Korean morpheme which goes well with them in meaning. ii) Minimality requirement for undervived Sino-Korean words is also inherited in truncated Sino-Korean compounds. 

The examples illustrating that minimality requirement for Sino-Korean words also have an influence on derived Korean words are as follows: i) The first names of Koreans show us that when a monomorphic first name is called, a vocative vowel 'i' is always inserted, which is accounted for straightforwardly on the assumption that minimality of Sino-Korean words is a bimorphic minimal word. ii) Some argots used among college students in Korea also truncate into bimorphic words just as Sino-Korean words obey minimal requirement for bimoraphicity. iii) The same holds for the Korean reduplication.

Katsuya Kinjo (University of California-Berkeley)  
Japanese name: Its Modality and Pragmatic Extension

It has been pointed out that, because of its word order, Japanese modal expressions appear at the end of the sentences. Hukuzo particles recognized in Japanese traditional grammar, which appear in various positions in a sentence, should be taken into consideration to clarify the modal expressions as a whole. In this paper, I would like to focus on nante, one of the hukuzo particles, and argue that its several functions such as "belittling" or "surprise" should be explicated in terms of the basic "focusing" function.

Robert Kirchner (University of Maryland-College Park)  
Lardil Truncation and Augmentation: A Morphological Account

The Lardil final vowel truncation rule is unusual in that it creates serious violations of syllabic well-formedness, triggering stray erasure of consonants rendered unsyllabifiable by the operation of the rule: /mu:kumku/ → /mu:kum/ 'wooden axe'. I argue that Lardil truncation is not a phonological rule at all, but a case of morphological prosodic circumscript marking nominal forms. Its disregard of phonological constraints therefore ceases to be problematic. Monomoronic stems in Lardil appear to be augmented by euphemism of a final [a]: /yak/ → yaka 'fish'; however, when the stem-final consonant is a sonorant, the augment also includes a consonant: /ril/ → rila 'neck'. I argue that the consonant euphemism facts, as well as the quality of the euphemetic vowel, follow from the assumption that these apparently 'uninflected' forms actually bear a nominative case suffix, consisting of a consonant root node plus a floating feature [low]. With this assumption, the supposedly unrelated rule of Lardil final vowel lowering can be accounted for at no extra cost. Thus, two apparently bizarre phonological rules can be accounted for as the interaction of Lardil morphology with the phonological constraints of the language.
Elizabeth Klipple (University of Quebec-Montreal)  
Three Levels of PPs

This paper argues that prepositional phrases (PPs) may fulfill three different semantic relations to an event, corresponding directly to three syntactic levels at which the PPs are attached in the structure of a clause. These three types are: 1) verbal complements (sisters to V or V'). which indicate participants in thematic/event structure; 2) VP adjuncts, which provide attributes such as location or time of single events; and 3) IP adjuncts, which serve to restrict a quantification over a series of events. The first two are distinguished by traditional tests sensitive to the thematic/non-thematic distinction such as VP-constituency tests and the ability to undergo Passivization. However, a second distinction, between modifiers of single events and restrictors on quantification over multiple events, is shown to be relevant to phenomena involving Binding Theory, such as Reconstruction. Thus, it is concluded that the "A/A" distinction that is relevant to Binding Theory is not the thematic/non-thematic distinction, but the modifier/restrictor distinction, which is a difference between two types of adjuncts.

Jaklin Kornfilt (Syracuse University)  
Licensing Parasitic Gaps in Turkish

Parasitic gaps (PGs) are well-known to require the presence of a licensing, non-c-commanding "real" gap.—Here, I present a case study which explains this anti-c-command (AntiCC) requirement on the licensing of PGs and on the nature of PGs in general. I show that in Turkish, contrary to general preconceptions, in-situ WH-elements and other items that undergo LF-movement can license PGs and may violate the AntiCC constraint, but only if the PG is in an adjunct: (1) Hangi makale, tên e1 dosyalamadan once kaybol-du? which article, you file before vanish-past 'Which article, got lost before you filed e1?' However, PGs in arguments do require a non-c-commanding licensing gap at S-Structure:

(2) * t1 - t2 e1 tant - ran herkes - i1 sev-en - i1 çocuk-lar know-Participle everybody-Acc. like-Participle child-plur.

Intended reading: 'The children which everyone who knows e1' Corresponding examples with a non-c-commanding licenser are perfectly grammatical. This argument/adjunct asymmetry is shown to substantiate Chomsky’s (1986) proposal of independent A’-chains in PG-constructions; chain composition will apply at S-Structure for arguments and at LF for adjuncts; the AntiCC follows due to violating Cond. C at S-Struct.

Paul Kroeber (Reed College)  
Preliminary Remarks on the Syntax of Quantification in Thompson Salish

Thompson, an Interior Salish language of aritian Columbia, resembles the Coast Salish language Straits (cf. forthcoming work by E. Jelinek) in lacking determiner-like quantifiers. As in Straits, "weak" quantifiers—"some", "many", numbers—can be main predicates of clauses or (functionally adjective-like) constituents of NPs, while "all" has different syntax. But the details of how "all" behaves in Thompson are rather unlike Straits. Thompson "all" typically either is itself morphosyntactically marked like the predicates of certain subordinate clause types (e.g. time clauses), or else imposes such marking on a following predicate; such behavior is unique to this lexical item. (Straits "all" is not associated with subordinate-clause-like marking, and belongs to a small class of possibly adverbal words.) Thompson "all" thus constitutes a noteworthy variant of A-quantification (A = adverbial/auxiliary/etc.), if indeed it fits under that label at all.
William Labov (University of Pennsylvania)
Near-Mergers and the Suspension of Phonemic Contrast

A number of empirical studies have reported that speakers consistently make a distinction between certain word classes, but hear them as 'the same.' In these near-merger situations, productions of the two classes typically show narrow but non-overlapping distributions; yet speakers cannot label the classes consistently. The existence of near-mergers challenges the assumptions that production and interpretation are symmetrical and that the distinctive value of a phonetic difference is independent of its absolute size.

This paper will report the results of a series of experiments that explore the ability of Philadelphians to categorize and discriminate the /fət/ and /fət/ word classes in ferry and furry, etc. An experimental method was devised to test the unreflecting semantic interpretation of the contrast /fət/ – /fət/ without subjects being aware that a phonemic contrast is involved. In this experiment and in commutation tests, Philadelphians are significantly worse than non-Philadelphians in the ability to label and interpret the /fət/ – /fət/ distinction.

A discrimination experiment was devised to distinguish between speakers' ability to categorize and their ability to discriminate on the psycho-acoustical level. Non-Philadelphians show a linear psycho-physical response, from near 100% for a 3-step discrimination to 78% correct for a 1-step discrimination. Philadelphians with a near-merger are much inferior in discrimination for the 3-step test, but the difference tends to disappear as the test becomes harder. We conclude that the linguistic decision that two sounds are 'the same' interferes with discrimination to the extent that the task is recognized as a linguistic one. It is proposed that such a suspension of phonemic contrast is generally involved in the mechanism of merger.

Lynn Lambert (University of Delaware)
Lorn Frawley (University of Delaware)
Two Kinds of Two-Pass Processing: A Unified Account

The literature on lexical access and parsing indicates that each processor has a two-pass mechanism, but with opposite outputs. The lexical processor delivers all possible senses on the first pass, and on the second pass selects the appropriate one. In contrast, on the first pass, the syntactic processor gives a single, structurally likely parse and then goes back for multiple parses if necessary. This paper gives three sets of arguments in a unified account of these divergences. First, the space limitations of short-term memory preclude more than one syntactic parse stored at one time, but are perfectly compatible with multiple lexical representations. Second, insofar as senses are stored, but parses computed, it is more computationally expensive to redo a lookup procedure with an extremely large table as an index than it is to redo a procedure with a relatively small number of principles that can be recursively applied. Third, the chances of delivering a correct first guess make multiple-sense, yet single-parse, output the most efficient choice for each processor. The paper closes with the implications of these arguments for accounts of processing.

Knud Lambrecht (University of Texas-Austin)
Sentential-Focus Structures as Grammatical Constructions

Approaches to prosodic focus marking can be roughly divided into three types: (i) pragmatic; (ii) formal; (iii) both formal and pragmatic. None of these approaches have been able to account satisfactorily for the contrast between the two prosodic patterns illustrated in (1)/(2), on the one hand, and (3), on the other. (3) is to be understood in the 'broad' or 'eventive' reading: (1) Truman DIED. (2) TRUMAN DIED. (3) JOHNSON died (Schmickling 1976). The shortcomings of previous analyses may be attributed to the failure to recognize (3) as a category in its own right. I will argue that (1)/(2) vs. (3) represent different pragmatic categories, which are cross-linguistically manifested in different prosodic and/or morphosyntactic types. The prosodic pattern in (1)/(2) is an instance of the predicate-focus (PF) category, in which the predicate expresses a comment about the subject-topic. It is minimally characterized by the presence of an accent on the predicate phrase. The accent on the subject in (2) is not categorial: it's presence or absence does not alter the focus category of the sentence. The prosodic pattern in (3) is an instance of the sentence focus (SF) category, in which the subject is a non-topic and in which both it and the 'predicate' are in focus. The SF pattern is to be understood in terms of the formal contrast with the PF pattern, in which the predicate carries an accent. The subject in (3) is accented not because it is 'more important' than the predicate, but because accenting the predicate would result in a PF reading. The formal difference between PF and SF cannot be captured within a system a formal oppositions, rather than with a set of formal or pragmatic rules. The SF pattern is formally motivated but it is not predictable from more general properties of the grammar. SF sentences are constructions in the sense of Fillmore 1988 and Fillmore, Kay, & O'Connor 1988, i.e. formal (in this case prosodic) templates with inherent semantic and pragmatic properties.
It is commonly assumed that the phonotactic properties of words derive solely from the assignment of syllable structure. Based on a comprehensive survey of English phonotactics using a machine-readable dictionary, I will show that two predictions of syllable-based phonotactics are not borne out. These predictions involve both the 'quality' and the 'length' of intervocalic clusters. I will then present an alternative account of English phonotactics. This account involves: (1) a revision of syllabic theory so that its sole function is to assign a moraic representation to a string on the basis of a segment's intrinsic sonority; and (2) various syllabically-neutral 'dissimilarity' constraints holding between pairs of adjacent consonants and operating in conjunction with conditions governing the distribution of linked place nodes in underlying representation.

This paper argues that Norwegian subject clitics are in INFL to account for their inability to undergo long-distance movement. It shows that their distribution supports Belletti's (1988) view of clause structure according to which the projection of INFL dominates that of Tense. In light of the fact that subject clitics may cliticize to an empty C and appear as the first constituent of an embedded clause, but do not show up as the first constituent of a matrix clause, I claim that subject-initial verb-second clauses are IPs in Norwegian, and generalize this to Mainland Scandinavian languages (contra Vikner and Schwartz (1991)). To derive the verb-second property of most Germanic languages, I propose a constraint against adjunction to root-clauses.

I first present some data from English and Korean which raise some problems on LF-raising analyses of anaphors such as Chomsky (1986a), Cole, Herman and Sung (1988), Huang and Tang (1988), etc. First, they fail to account for how anaphor binding into a coordinate structure is obtained in both languages. The second problem comes from the absence of the For_to filter effect in the LF-movement of anaphors. The occasional absence of crossed binding and nested binding interpretations in the Korean multiple reflexive construction shows that the ECP alone is not sufficient to regulate the antecedent-anaphor relation. Building on GPSG analyses like GKPS (1985), Kang (1988), Pollard and Sag (1983), etc., I propose a surface-based account of (unbounded) anaphor binding which handles the above-mentioned problems as consequences of feature passing triggered by the semantic interpretation of the anaphors and constrained by language-specific constraints. Nothing blocks the binding (or foot) feature REFL from being instantiated in a coordinate NP. The REFL feature specification instantiated in accordance with the Foot Feature Principle and the semantic interpretation of the inherited REFL feature on the coordinated NP guarantee that an anaphor can be a conjunct of the coordinate NP or a part of it. No For_to Filter problem arises in the GPSG framework. A language-specific Feature Cooccurrence Restriction is proposed which constrains the crossed and nested binding interpretations in the Korean multiple reflexive construction.
Young-Suk Lee (University of Pennsylvania)  
Owen Rambow (University of Pennsylvania)  
Scrambling in Korean: A TAG Analysis

In this paper, we argue that both local and long-distance scrambling in Korean are best analyzed as an identical syntactic phenomenon, and give a Tree Adjoining Grammar analysis of it. In Korean, both local and long distance scrambling (scrambling across a tensed clause) are possible. It has been argued that long distance scrambling is distinct from local scrambling ([Ik-Hwan Lee 89]) on non-syntactic grounds. However, diagnostics such as weak crossover, and binding within the GB framework ([Webelhuth 89], [Mahajan 90], [Saiko 90], [Miyagawa 90]) indicate that local and long-distance scrambling are the same syntactic phenomenon, namely, A-movement. These facts are problematic for GB: on the one hand, they contradict the standard definition of A-movement; on the other hand, they cannot be explained in terms of base-generation because the projection principle would be violated in the case of long-distance scrambling. We propose an analysis based on Tree Adjoining Grammar in which argument structure is separate from syntax and handled in the lexicon instead. Our analysis accounts for the apparent A-movement properties and provides a unitary account of local and long-distance scrambling (cf. [Joshi, Kroch and Santorini 90]).

Philip S. LeSourd (University of California-San Diego)  
Inflection Inside Derivation in Passamaquoddy

Passamaquoddy verbs which indicate an ache, pain, or medical problem in a part of the body are productively derived from partially inflected forms of the corresponding nouns, namely forms which bear a person-marking prefix. The derived stems receive verbal inflection as usual, but the personal prefix within the stem may also be varied according to the logical possessor of the body part, syntactically represented as the subject of the verb: n-qni-yak@n-ini-yun (1-head-ache-lsg) 'I have a headache,' k-an@nyak@n-ini-yun (2-head-ache-2sg) 'you (sg.) have a headache' (cf. epi-yan (sit-lsg) 'I sit,' epi-yin (sit-2sg) 'you (sg.) sit'). Passamaquoddy thus provides an example of morphological derivation from inflected forms in which inflectional elements within the base retain their syntactic relevance within the derived stem, contradicting a proposal by Anderson (1988) which would exclude all such derivational processes on universal grounds and maintain the strict segregation of derivational processes from syntactically relevant inflectional processes.

David Lightfoot (University of Maryland-College Park)  
Li-Ling Chuang (University of Maryland-College Park)  
Chinese Reflexives and PF Interpretation

Cole et al (1993) and others have analyzed long-distance anaphors in Chinese as moved to INFL at LF, thereby accounting for the fact that zili is always subject-oriented and cannot have a long-distance antecedent across an intervening subject of a different person. A puzzle for this analysis is that the trace of the moved zili is subject to a condition of lexical government, whereas virtually everybody denies that lexical government is a LF condition.

We adopt Hornstein's distinction between LF and LF', where LF' is determined on the PF side of the grammar and deals with relations that are not inter-nominal, and the view that lexical government is exclusively a PF condition. This predicts that zili is not subject to the locality conditions of the binding theory and that zili does not show reconstruction effects, both well-known puzzles. It also predicts novel facts: that the focus marker shi can reduce the binding domain of telical, qiaceen and other elements subject to the binding theory, but not that of zili.

We thereby argue against a single level of representation incorporating all indenical relations, and against parameterizing the binding theory to accommodate these long-distance anaphors.
Yen-Hwei Lin (Michigan State University)

Dissimilation in Chinese Secret Languages

This paper examines several dissimilation rules in the Chinese secret languages (SLs) reported by Chao (1931) and Li (1985), and specifically argues against an account that appeals to OCP (McCarthy 1986) related cooccurrence restrictions of the source languages as a possible explanation (e.g., Yip 1988 on the Cantonese SL).

A survey of the types of dissimilation occurring in Chinese SLs reveals that most cases of dissimilation cannot be attributed to constraints extended from the source languages, e.g., the velars dissimilate in the Taiwanese SL kʰak' -> lak-koŋ' -> laŋ-koŋ' shelf, but there is no constraint against two velars within a morpheme in Taiwanese, e.g., kak 'horn'. However, all attested instances of dissimilation in Chinese SLs can be systematically accounted for by the Identity Constraints (ICs) prohibiting identical onsets, codas, and rimes within the domain of the syllabic derived forms.

These syllable sensitive dissimilatory processes are suggested to be limited to game languages that have a function of concealment, and the degree of concealment of a SL is reflected in the extent to which the ICs are observed. One important implication of this analysis is that the need to make specific reference to syllabic subconstituents casts doubt on the claim that these constituents can be dispensed with in phonological representation (cf. McCarthy and Prince 1986).

Mark 1. Louden (University of Texas-Austin)

African-Americans and Minority Language Maintenance in the U.S.

Over the past twenty five years, sociolinguists have devoted a number of studies to the verbal behavior of African-Americans, with a heavy emphasis on the synchronic and diachronic aspects of BVE. However, there is a significant gap in the study of their sociolinguistic history. Specifically, there is considerable evidence from a variety of sources on the degree to which blacks have been nontargets of English in the US, not only as a target of English but also as an intra-group variety as well.

In this paper I will present an overview of my data on the extent of historical minority language use among African-Americans. The examples I will present include: German in Pennsylvania, New York and Texas; Dutch in New Jersey and New York; Spanish in Florida and Louisiana; French in Louisiana; and Gaelic in North Carolina. In most of the cases, the same factors which account for the relatively long-term maintenance among white speakers, geographic and social isolation, are operative among black speakers also. Further, because of the prolonged social isolation of African-Americans through discrimination, in some cases blacks have been among the last native speakers of these languages. Parallel data from 'tri-racial' (white-black-Native American) isolates' and the Afro-Seminoles will also be considered.

Barbara Lust (Cornell University)
Claire Foley (Cornell University)
Zelmira Nunez del Prado (Cornell University)
Isabella Barbier (Cornell University)

On the Strong Continuity Hypothesis: A Study of Pronoun Coinciding

Prior research has raised questions on the status of UG as a model of the 'initial state.' One one view, UG is argued to be subject to qualitative change over the course of acquisition (e.g. Radford 1990, Lightfoot 1990). On the other hand, the principles and parameters of UG characterize the scientific state' and exert continuous constraint on first language acquisition (e.g. Whiten et al 1990, Demuth to appear, and others). Currently, critical debate on the degree to which children may be limited to 'referential' interpretations of pronouns (e.g. Rooper and Nishigauchi 1987). There is also continuing debate on the theoretical status of pronoun coindexing (e.g. Lasnik 1976, Evans 1980, Higginbotham 1980, and others).

We study these issues through investigation of children's (3-5 years of age) acquisition of 'sloppy identity' in VP ellipsis (cf. Reinhart 1986, Fukuura 1988, Fiengo and May in prep.).

(1) Scooter scratches his, arm and Ernie; does [Ø] too.

We argue, on the basis of children's interpretations of structures like (1), that children access both referential and bound variable readings of
Different aspects of the control of timing are reflected by mora count and phonetic duration. Moras are abstract units of timing that express categorial equivalences. Within any length category, phonetic duration may be quite variable. However, moraic structure and duration show a general relationship: if moraic structure is reorganized we expect to be able to confirm this by measurements of phonetic duration. By the usual account a long vowel resulting from compensatory lengthening receives the same representation as a lexical long vowel: both have two moras. We might therefore expect them to have similar durations. Yet in data from Sukuma, compensatorily lengthened vowels are significantly shorter than lexical long vowels, falling almost halfway between the duration of the long and short vowels. This intermediate length is not predictable from any of the familiar phonetic processes that affect phonetic vowel duration. For example, these vowels cannot be regarded as long vowels which have been shortened before a trisyllabic consonant. Intermediate length is thus an aspect of the phonology, not the phonetic realization, of Sukuma, requiring a structural representation distinct from that of a long vowel and that of a short vowel, but intermediate between them. If the mora originally associated with the nasal is not delinked but spreads to the preceding vowel when the resyllabification occurs, such a structure is generated.

Joseph L. Malone (Barnard College/Columbia University)
Release from Principle C

Upwards of 150 examples of prime facie violations of Binding Theory’s principle C from 8 or more languages over a variety of written and oral utterance types are examined. With but a small residue (around 3%), cases may be classified under 5 rubrics: to wit, an R-expression may be bound by a preceding, co-commanding antecedent within the same root clause when the R-expression occurs with the domain of a Subject of Consciousness (Zuri-Metzger, 1983; to exist inside the antecedent: (2) occurs within an apposition or similar island excluding the antecedent; (3) is conceived of as different from an expression simply coreferential with the antecedent; (4) functions as an anaphoric epithet; (5) is coindexed with only one of the NPs constituting the antecedent. Several important findings derived from these rubrics are discussed, bearing on among others the structure and function of apposition, logophoricity, and de新三ization strategies.

Jack Martin (University of Michigan)
Muskogean Evidence for Expanding the INFL Node

A recent debate in the syntactic literature concerns: 1) the presence (Pollock 1989, Chomsky 1991) or absence (Hartman 1990, Baker 1991) of such functional nodes as Tns (Tense), Agr (agreement), and Neg (negation) in ‘core’ grammar; and 2) whether or not ‘weak’ agreement in English is linked to verb movement and periphrasis (Pollock 1989). Data from the Muskogean languages provide further evidence for functional nodes in syntax, and for Pollock’s proposed link. Specifically, Pollock’s theory accounts for: 1) the ordering of morphological processes in Muskogean; 2) the appearance of periphrasis in Hitchcock precisely where agreement is null; and, 3) differences in the placement of clitics in, e.g., Choctaw and Hitchcock. The link between ‘weak’ agreement and periphrasis in languages unrelated to English confirms Pollock’s hypothesis, but suggests that the ‘rich’/‘weak’ parameter may distinguish overt/null person markers in a single language, and not just between languages.
Many linguistic phenomena that appear to be subject to syntactic constraints have been shown, e.g. by Kuno 1976, 87; Lakoff 1971, Prince 1978, to depend also on such extra-syntactic factors as presupposition and empathy. The involvement of such factors is even more evident in constructions in which syntactic constraints alone are clearly insufficient to determine the thematic relations among the elements. Novel N+N compounds in English as discussed in Downing (1977) are one example. In Japanese, it is common for extra-syntactic factors to play a large role in construal and in judgments of acceptability. Instances include topic constructions, no N constructions, adnominal clause constructions, and zero-anaphora. It is my contention that only a unifed theory that includes semantic/pragmatic principles can satisfactorily account for such constructions.

In this paper, I concentrate on relative clause constructions in Japanese and consider interactions among factors that determine thematic relations. One example discussed is given by the array of constructions following the format [IX ga tabeta Y] ("X NOM ate Y") in which the thematic role of the noun replacing Y is highly sensitive to semantic and pragmatic factors. Given that syntactically underdetermined constructions such as the relative clause in Japanese are commonplace, the analysis in this paper suggests that a comprehensive grammatical theory should allow for the incorporation of non-syntactic factors as integral parts of the system.

James D. McCawley (University of Chicago)
The Biological Side of Otto Jespersen's Linguistic Thought

Central ideas of Darwin's theory of natural selection figure prominently in Jespersen's works. As early as 1886, Jungstedt's linguistic change in Darwinian terms: variation, in the pronunciation and meaning of the various units, and factors that raise or lower a variant's viability. His critique of the Neogrammarian principle of exceptionlessness includes the point that phonologically parallel words often differ in the relative viability of their variants. By 1904, Jungstedt was using "functional load" in explaining differences in how much resistance each language offers to various natural phonetic tendencies. He argued that conformity to a sound-symbolic generalization raises a form's viability and can thus exempt some words from sound changes and accelerate the adoption of new words and of novel meanings for existing words. Natural selection figures even in Jungstedt's paper on international auxiliary languages, as in his account of why "ni" is the winner in a contest for a word for "automobile", spread so rapidly throughout Scandinavia. Jungstedt's speculative scenario for language origins is in terms of Darwinian "preadaptation": conventionalized sound-meaning correspondences can arise in numerous ways prior to the development of anything like a language (J argues that singing, in all of its diverse social functions, developed prior to language), and a language would develop not ex nihilo but by members of a human community segmenting and imposing arbitrary semantic analyses on some of this large body of meaningful sound and starting to combine the pieces in novel ways, as modern children do anyway (J argues) in the course of acquiring a language. J thereby vindicated his unpopular conclusion that early human languages had highly irregular morphology and syntax.

Evelyn McClave (Georgetown University)
The Relationship between Prosody and Gesture

Spontaneous gestures and speech are known to be separate yet complementary manifestations of the same underlying psychological structure. Meaning is co-expressed or divided between the two channels. Previous research has studied the interface of gestures and speech from a semantic and syntactic perspective, yet prosodic factors have been found to determine some gestural positioning and length. The study of the relationship between prosody and gestures reveals that prior to the surface unpacking of an idea unit, a "decision" is made in deep time if and how to use both channels of communication.

Gestural beats are organized in rhythmic patterns and do not necessarily cooccur with stressed syllables as previously assumed. Tone group nuclei function as gestational points for rhythmic groups which supports the theory that thinking utilizes words as cognitive tools and provides evidence that in some cases at least entire tone units are formed in advance.

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Louise McNally (University of California-Santa Cruz)

Locative Relational Nouns in Copular and Existential Contexts

This paper offers a semantic analysis for the behavior in copular and existential contexts of nouns which
denote relations between locations and individuals, as illustrated by the contrasts in (1):

(1) a. #Dents are in my car.    c. People are in my car.
    b. The dents are in my car.    d. There are dents in my car.

First I argue that the contrast between (1a) and (1b-c) is a consequence of the denotations of their
respective subject NPs, and not e.g. the discourse status of those subjects. I then show that Kimball’s
(1973) proposal that examples like (1d) are licensed because (e.g.) dents in my car forms an NP is
insufficiently general, since the structures in (2) must also be available for (1d):

(2) a. [[There are [dents]_{np} in my car]_{s}]
    b. [There [are [dents]_{np} in my car]_{np}]

Finally, I motivate a semantics for the existential construction in which the VPs in (2) denote sets of (i.e.
properties of) locations and show how, given this semantics and either structure in (2), the acceptability
of (1d) follows.

Francesca Merlan (University of Sydney)

Mangarrayi and Historical Change in the Organization of Case-Marking

Australian languages have afforded evidence concerning shifts in case-marking organization from
‘ergative’ to ‘accusative’ patterning. The present paper examines comparative and internal
evidence for such an historical shift from the ‘non-Pama-Nyungan’ language, Mangarrayi, of
southern Arnhem Land. This language shows limited ‘split ergativity’, but mainly exhibits
nominative-accusative patterning in its nominal and pronominal morphology, unlike some of its
closest putative congeneres which show more thorough-going ergative-absolutive patterning in the
noun. It is shown how an element -hra- which now occurs as nominative case-marking element in
a range of morphological systems (noun class prefixes, pronominal prefixes to the verb, and
nominal number suffixes) must, on the basis of internal and comparative evidence, be interpreted
historically as having had a non-objective distribution over free, third person (singular and non-
singular) pronouns, and as having had a discourse-related, not strictly grammatical role. The
evidence adds to our understanding of the sources of restructuring of complex case systems, and
in specific areal terms provides some evidence for subgrouping in southern Arnhem Land.

Francesca Merlan (University of Sydney)
Alan Rumsey (University of Sydney)

Ku Waru Ergativity and Feature Hierarchy

Silverstein showed that lexically “split” case marking is constrained according to a universal
hierarchy, with pronouns ranked first, then proper nouns, then other human nouns, etc.: He explained
the patterning of such splits in terms of the differential “naturalness” of the various NP types for agent
vs patient role. Subsequent studies supported Silverstein’s empirical generalizations, but challenged his
explanation of them, prompting Silverstein to reformulate it in terms of differential “transparency of
metapragmatic reference” i.e., the degree to which an NP’s reference is presupposed by its use in
context (Australian Journal of Linguistics 1:227-47). This reformulation has been largely ignored by
other linguists, perhaps because little or no evidence has been adduced to show that it has any
empirical consequences. We argue in favor of it, based on evidence from Ku Waru, a Papuan
language of the New Guinea Highlands. One frequent use of Ku Waru’s “optional” ergative marker is
on subjects of verbs of speaking. Its incidence there is inversely correlated with the degree of imputed
overlap between the “reporting” speech event and the “reported one” (ranging from zero to full
overlap in the case of “performative” uses of ‘say’). This can be accounted for in terms of differential
“metapragmatic transparency”, but not of “agency potential”. It motivates a further elaboration of the
Silverstein’s hierarchy, as it subdivides his unitary feature +/-EGO.
Corey A. Miller (University of Pennsylvania)

The United States-Canadian Border as a Linguistic Boundary

Traditional dialectology has demonstrated the effect of political boundaries on linguistic boundaries where closely related languages are spoken. This paper describes the results of 55 interviews conducted with high school students in Calais, Maine and St. Stephen, New Brunswick, towns of similar size separated only by the St. Croix River. Lexical, phonological, syntactic and prosodic data will be presented which illustrate the ways in which the political border can indeed be seen as a linguistic boundary.

Several examples were discovered where Calais and St. Stephen residents differed almost categorically. All of the Calais respondents used some form of the word *cut* in the context, "If someone places himself at the head of a line without waiting, you say he ___?", while all the St. Stephen respondents used some form of the word *but*. Sorry was pronounced [sori] by all of the Calais interviewees, while virtually all of the St. Stephen respondents pronounced [sori]. In addition to these areas of divergence, there is a discussion of several points of variation treated in the literature on Canadian dialectology that did not occur in the data. Traditional Canadianisms such as *chesterfield* for couch and the pronunciation *leftenant* for lieutenant did not occur in the data, despite attempts at elicitation.

The data from the experiment show that the dialects examined are being affected by two opposing tendencies: polarization and convergence. This study shows how syntax, phonology, and lexical choice are affected by these countering forces, as well as demonstrating the conscious and subconscious effects of the state on the speech of its citizens.

Friederike Moltmann (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

Implicit Coordination

Within a planar theory of coordination (Lueade 1991) I argue for a new construction type of 'implicit coordination' where constituents of clauses are implicitly conjoined and evaluated by an operation of group formation like plural 'is' (Link 1983). For instance, in (1) a man and a woman are implicitly coordinated.

(1) A man came and a woman left who know each other.

Implicit coordination is available also for comparatives, for instance for the antecedent of same in (2).

(2) The same amount of alcohol has a greater effect on women than on men.

I argue that the semantic evaluation of sentences with implicit coordination requires two partial interpretations, one based on the structure with implicit coordination, the other based on a multi-clausal structure, in which the element taking the implicitly coordinated antecedent is disregarded.

Birch Moonwoman (University of California-Berkeley)

The Mechanism of Lexical Diffusion

In San Francisco White English (*a*), (*a*), and (*A*), corresponding to historical phonemes /æ/, /æ/, and /ø/, respectively, evidence sound change. In some cases of sound change it has been observed that phones in very frequently used items are affected first and most extremely by a change rule. Attempts made at explanation thus far do not consider a mechanism for selection of the frequently used items by the rule. This paper details the lexical conditioning involved in the backing of (*a*) before fricatives, (*æS*), and the fronting of (*a*) before alveolar stops, (*æT*), in San Francisco; and elaborates an argument for the mechanism of lexical diffusion. (*æS*) is subject to separate backing and lowering rules. The gradual backing movement shows lexical conditioning. The vowel in the frequently used word class is advanced in centralization significantly more than is expected under conditioning. (*a*) before obstruents is moving forward. For all speakers (*æT*) has the most forward distribution. Across speakers, the mean value for F2 for the vowel in the frequently used word got is higher, indicating a fronter vowel, than for (*a*) in any other (*æT*) item. Results of a phonetically gradual process of change can be seen in vowel charts showing distributions for individuals of different ages. Changes in the realizations of sounds in words that are maintained in the lexicon through use. As a process continues, the use of an item reflects, to speaker-hearers, the changing distribution of realizations of an affected sound in the item. The process works continually, that is, a rule is added to the grammar that operates on sounds in items as they occur. A notion that an active rule operates over time opportunistically on sounds as speakers speak them and hearers hear them is preferable to the notion that in some timeless way a rule operates through the lexicon on underlying forms, because such a notion associates language knowledge and language use.
John Moore (Florida International University)
Romance Clitics and Relativised Minimality

A long-standing debate has been whether Romance clitics involve movement or agreement. The two approaches may be characterized as follows: movement analyses involve antecedent government; agreement analyses involve head government. This is illustrated for Spanish in (1), where the clitic to either antecedent governs a trace or head governs pro.

(1) Curro lo quiere e_i/pro_i.
Curro wants it.

I will argue that treating Romance clitics as antecedent governors entails losing the ECM account of the Head Movement Constraint. Treating clitics as head governors solves this problem: HMC phenomena follow from the ECP, while restrictions on clitic-climbing and multiple clitic placement follow from Relativized Minimality. This is of interest because it argues for a head-government approach even in languages like Italian, where clitics and overt NPs do not usually co-occur.

James L. Morgan (Brown University)
The Empirical Status of the No-Negative-Evidence Assumption

It is axiomatic in all recent work in language learnability that input excludes negative evidence. The empirical basis for this, however, is meager: a classic study by Brown & Hanlon (1970) showed that explicit feedback is not contingent on grammaticality, and a scattering of anecdotes illustrate that children are not always amenable to explicit corrections they do receive. Several recent studies converge in showing that ungrammatical utterances in early stages of acquisition selectively elicit recast responses. Some authors have asserted that these responses constitute negative evidence and therefore play an important theoretical role in counteracting the need for linguistic constraints.

Two studies examined effects of recasts on children's acquisition of use of articles with singular common nouns and inversion of auxiliary verbs in wh-questions. All instances of the target constructions were extracted from the Adam, Eve, and Sarah transcripts (Brown, 1973; MacWhinney & Snow, 1985). Grammaticality of each instance and subsequent adult responses were coded. Time series analyses examining cumulative effects of recasts on children's overall grammaticality and contingency table analyses examining immediate effects of individual recasts revealed systematic relations between recasts and higher subsequent ungrammaticality.

These results suggest that recasts foster diversity of usage, a conclusion incompatible with the hypothesis that recasts provide corrections. These results therefore provide more conclusive empirical underpinning for the no-negative-evidence assumption.

Alan Munn (University of Maryland-College Park)
Cristina Schmitt (University of Maryland-College Park)
John Stonham (University of Maryland-College Park)
Anti-Causatives in Sinhala and English: A Unified Analysis

In this paper we provide evidence based on the analysis of anti-causative structures in Sinhala and English for a separate aspectual tier which licenses arguments in the syntax (Pustejovsky 1997, Grimshaw 1990). We argue that two independent aspectual features Cause and Actor are required to explain the properties of anti-causatives and that Sinhala shows morphological evidence for the proposed features. Our evidence comes from (1-3)

(1) a) lameya dora arinawa
    child-Nom door open
    The child opens the door
b) dora arenawa
    door opens
    The door opens

(2) a) lameya elu-mas kanawa
    child-Nom muton eat
    The child eats
b) lameya du-danawa
    child-DAT muton eat
    The child eats muton (accidentally)

(3) a) lameya a'danawa
    child-Nom cries
    The child cries
b) lameya a'danawa
    child-DAT cries
    The child cries out

The forms in (1-3) all show a uniform morphology. We argue that this represents a process of anti-causativisation which removes a Cause feature from the aspectual tier of the Argument Structure. We account for the distinction between (1) and (2) by claiming that in (1a) the subject is Cause but not Actor; anti-causativisation deletes the Cause feature and the subject can no longer be realised as an argument (1b). In (2a) the subject is both Cause and Actor, thus deleting the Cause feature in (2b) does not affect the argument realisation, but does affect the interpretation of the predicate.
Jean Newman (University of New Mexico)
Verb Bias and the Advantage of Recency in the Processing of Anaphoric Pronouns

Listeners rely on a number of different sources of information to determine the referent for an ambiguous pronoun. The present study examined the relative contributions of three classes of variables—semantic, focusing, and cognitive—to the activation of potential referents in spoken sentences using a cross-modal naming task. Naming latencies for one of two potential referents, measured at the spoken onset of the pronoun showed that listeners rely primarily on implicit causality in the verb; passivization strengthened the verb bias effect, but could not override it. With neutral verbs (determined through norming procedures) listeners showed a strong preference for the most recently mentioned name suggesting an advantage for recency rather than first mention with spoken input.

Neal R. Norrick (Northern Illinois University)
When We Answer Our Own yes-no Questions

When a speaker latches a guess onto her own yes-no question, as in the passage below, it invites the inference that she expects agreement, thus effectively reducing the yes-no question to an implied statement, which demands no answer: So Barb says nothing, and Kay resumes after a pause.

-> Kay: Are you gonna see him before I do? I guess not.
(2:0) Just a: (shuffling through papers)

Barb: Here. (finding correct paper)

The inference follows as a general conversational implicature associated with the single-speaker question-answer sequence. But the guess is not a repair, since it fails to cancel the original yes-no question: A wrong guess tends to elicit a response to the initial query, as it does below.

Barb: And on Wednesday and Friday I have the 3:30 to 4:44.

-> Amy: You have it on Friday, too? No just Wednesday.

Barb: Wednesday and Friday, 3:30 to 4:44.

In my paper I investigate single-speaker question-answer sequences as examples of discourse ambiguity to show how participants negotiate their meanings in concrete conversational contexts.

Rolf Noyer (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
Vernon's Law and Underspecification Theory

Vernon's Law (VL), which governs the alternation of voicing in the Proto-Germanic (Gmc.) fricative series /fθχs/ according to the location of the Indo-European (PIE) stress, is analyzed here as a simple laryngeal spreading rule (1). The voiced alternants are derived by spreading the feature [+slack] from a preceding stressless vowel or voiced segment. Three assumptions underlie this proposal: (a) the laryngeal equivalence of vocalic tone and obstruent voicing (high = voiceless, low = voiced; Halle & Stevens 1972); (b) the phonological reflex of the PIE stress in Gmc. as high or rising tone (d Alquén 1988); (c) a system of feature underspecification (2) and ordered redundancy rules and cooccurrence restrictions (3) that crucially permits only the inceptive series to alternate for voicing (2) at the time when VL (1) applies (after 3b, before 3d).

(1) Vernon's Law

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>Gmc</th>
<th>[slack]</th>
<th>[suffix]</th>
<th>[coast]</th>
<th>(3) a. [+coast, stressed] [+slack]</th>
<th>(3) b. [+son] [+slack]</th>
<th>(3) c. [+suffix, +slack]</th>
<th>(3) d. [+] [+slack]</th>
<th>(3) e. [+] [+]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pick</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
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<td>o</td>
<td>+</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The pattern of markedness in (2) allows as well a simple statement of Grimm's Law as a shift in the interpretation of the underlying [-] values only, highlighting the utility of underspecification for explaining sound changes.
Diane O'hala (University of Arizona)
Malakmalak Reduplication

McCarthy & Prince (1986) claim that all reduplication phenomena can be accounted for in terms of Prosodic Morphology. Patterns of reduplication can be explained by accessing one of six units of prosody and utilizing it as the reduplicative affix. The six are described as the prosodic word, the foot, the syllable, a monomoraic syllable, a bimoraic syllable, and a core syllable. Note that the minimal constituent to be affixed is always at least a syllable. In this paper, I present data from Malakmalak, an Australian language (Birk, 1976). I argue that Malakmalak partial verb root reduplication can only be accounted for by affixing a single mora. (Compare Sloan's 1989 analysis of Tzeltal.) As such a unit is lacking in the framework of McCarthy & Prince, the data suggest that the Prosodic Morphology Hypothesis be emended to include the mora as a possible reduplicative affix.

Shigeko Okamoto (California State University-Fresno)
Pragmatization of Meaning in Some Sentence-Final Particles in Japanese

Japanese complementizers no, koto, and to or tte (tte is a colloquial form of to) are controlled by epistemological factors. Generally, no is used for a directly perceived event (e.g. John ga Mary o butu no o mita. 'I saw John hitting Mary.'); koto for an indirectly perceived event (e.g. John ga sida koto o sita. 'I learned that John died.'); tte as a quotative marker (e.g. Mary wa John ga sida tte ita. 'Mary said that John died.') (e.g. Josephs 1976). Because of the clause-final position of the Comps, these no, koto, and tte are also used as sentence-final particles. This paper analyzes their usages as SFPs and discusses the nature of the difference between these SFPs and the corresponding Comps. [A] No as a SFP is typically used when the speaker gives, or asks for a clarifying comment on a certain situation in the context (Doo sita no. 'What's the matter?') (cf. Teramura 1984 and others). [B] Koto as a SFP has two usages: (1) for making the utterance exclamatory (Maa omoi koto. 'Oh how heavy!'), (2) for indicating obligation or command. [C] To as a SFP has three usages: (1) for making the utterance defiant, (2) for checking things to be attended, (3) for making some announcement. [D] Tte as a SFP has two usages: (1) for indicating that the proposition was expressed by (a) third person(s), (2) for indicating the speaker's strong insistence. These no, koto, to and tte are for several reasons to be regarded as grammaticalized SFPs, not as Comps lacking an explicit main verb (e.g. To and tte are not interchangeable like the Comps). In sum, compared to the Comps, the semantic-pragmatic properties of the SFPs are more subjective, expressive, and discourse-oriented. The path from the Comps to the SFPs thus involves 'pragmatic strengthening' and 'subjectification', which is consistent with the general direction of semantic change (Traugott 1989).

Judith A. Parker (Mary Washington College/Brown University)
Speech Perception Deficits in Good and Poor Readers

Twenty good and poor readers in 6-8th grade were tested for perception of place of articulation of voiced stop consonants using synthetic syllables consisting of only a transition or a burst-transition. A significant difference was found in the burst vs. burstless condition: the onset burst significantly enhanced perception in both groups, the partial condition eliciting the strongest group difference. Compared to the good readers, the poor readers showed less categorical perception for /da ga/ stimuli lacking burst signals. Subjects in both groups exhibited variation in perception of place, manner, and locus of boundaries. Several poor readers appeared to be especially impaired in perceiving the burstless stimuli. Overall, more intra-phoneme discrimination was observed in this population than is frequently reported for adults.

These results attest to the salience of the burst signal. The import of this finding will be discussed in two contexts: (1) acoustic theories that posit a complement of acoustic parameters which register as specific speech sounds for human listeners and (2) current claims about speech perception abilities of poor and dyslexic readers. The data are consistent with the view that there are significant differences in speech perception between good and poor readers (e.g., Godfrey et al., 1981; Lieberman et al., 1985; Werker & Tees, 1987; de Weide, 1988). The present findings support the claim that reading disability is not attributable to one causal condition.
Peter R. Petrucci (University of Southern California)  
**ATR and High Stability Effects in Brazilian Portuguese**

This paper argues that vowel alternations in the verbal paradigm of Brazilian Portuguese (BP) (e.g., /m̩w̩eɾ/ 'to move' /mgw̩o/ 'I move'; /f̩gɾi/ 'to hurt' /f̩jɾo/ 'I hurt') are best treated as a stability effect (Goldsmith 1976, 1990) involving the reassocation of an "orphanned" ATR or High feature. The stability analysis is able to account for the fact that the alternation only occurs when the vowel triggering the process is deleted; earlier analyses (Harris 1974; Quilici 1980) had to appeal to a vowel harmony rule that was conditioned by the highly ad hoc linear morphological structure: /...C̩ + V + V.../. The BP stability facts raise an important question concerning the structure and behavior of hierarchical feature trees: how can a terminal feature like ATR or High, associated to a higher floating structure, reassocate autonomously to an adjacent segment and show a stability effect? The paper explores this question and challenges Piggott's (1987) claim that only Tone and Nasal are capable of stability.

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Susan Pintzuk  
**Clicitization in Old English**

Previous studies of Old English syntax have analyzed pronouns as clicitics: syntactic, base-generated in and moving to positions adjoined to case assigners (van Kemenade 1987); or phonological, moving and attaching to the right periphery of the first constituent of the clause at PF (Kiparsky 1990). Neither analysis fully accounts for the distribution of Old English pronouns and adverbs, which may appear in either initial or second position in both matrix and subordinate clauses. In this study I adopt the clicitization framework of Klarans 1982, 1985, who separates the syntax and phonology of clicitics by proposing that clicitics attach syntactically to phrases and phonologically to words. I demonstrate that Old English pronouns and adverbs are syntactic clicitics, which attach either before or after the first immediate constituent of their domain of clicitization. Pronouns but not adverbs are optionally phonological clicitics, which must attach at PF to the preceding word. This analysis correctly accounts for the distribution of pronouns and adverbs in Old English clauses. Moreover, it supports Klarans' theory of the separation of the syntax and phonology of clicitics, and in fact extends it by demonstrating that syntactic clicitics do not necessarily undergo phonological attachment.

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Livia Polanyi (Rice University)  
Irene Vogel (University of Delaware)  
**The Discourse Domains of Phonological Rules**

Phonological rules that apply across sentences (e.g. Flapping) are problematic for theories which treat postlexical rules on the basis of the surface syntactic structure of sentences (Selkirk 1978, 1986; Nespore and Vogel 1986 [N&V]; Hayes 1989). N&V treat rules applying across sentences as domain span rules within the largest phonological constituent, the Phonological Utterance (PU). While normally coextensive with a sentences, a PU is in some cases formed by joining two sentences into a single constituent. Phonological, pragmatic and syntactic/semantic conditions were given in N&V for such PU restructuring. We will demonstrate that the Linguistic Discourse Model (LDM) (Polanyi 1896, 1987, 1988; Schae and Polanyi 1988) predicts across sentences which the rules in question may apply. The LDM assigns a structural description to a discourse: an Open Right Tree with binary branching nodes dominating contextually indexed clauses joined to adjacent indexed clauses under nodes defined and labeled by rules of Coordination, Subordination or Logical Relation. Flapping then applies in environments defined by the appropriate relations in the LDM, specified semantically by co-membership in relevant contexts (reflected in the indexes on the constituent clauses) and/or structurally (reflected in the label of the dominating mother node).
William J. Poser (Stanford University)
The Structural Typology of Phonological Writing

Received opinion holds that writing systems are of two types: segmental and syllabic, and that syllabic systems are more basic, and, when the spread of the Greek alphabet is discounted, more common. I argue, first, for a richer typology that includes systems based on onset/rhyme splits (e.g. the Pelland and Pahaw Hmong systems for Hmong), and moraic systems (e.g. Japanese kana and Eskimo "yllables"). The mora plays an additional role in head moraic systems, in which only the first mora of a heavy syllable is represented, as in Linear B. Second, I argue that the predominance of syllabaries has been vastly over-estimated. Some putative syllabaries are actually moraic. Others (e.g. Korean hangul and Winnebago) involve a level of syllabic organization, but this is clearly not the ultimate level of phonological analysis, which is segmental. Still others, the consonantal West Semitic systems (e.g. unpointed Hebrew) and Egyptian, are misanalyzed. Indeed, syllabaries are virtually non-existent, the only examples known to me being Sumerian/Akkadian/Hittite cuneiform and Loma. The improved typology simplifies the correspondence between phonology and writing and provides additional evidence for the the mora, onset, and rhyme constituents. The rarity of syllabaries eviscerates arguments for the psychological atomicity of the syllable.

Bradley L. Pritchett (Carnegie Mellon University)
John B. Whitman (Cornell University)
The DTC Redux: A Unified Account of Perceptual Complexity at S-Structure and Logical Form

The DERIVATIONAL THEORY OF COMPLEXITY equated a sentence's derivational history and surface perceptual complexity. This paper argues that a revised version of the DTC which explicitly recognizes the fundamental role of the Projection Principle in modern Transformational Grammar provides a unified account of a range of apparently unrelated human performance phenomena including preferred scope readings at LF as well as the limits on s-structure ambiguity:

1. Representational Theory of Complexity (RTC): Given multiple syntactic representations of a string, that which contains fewer chain links is the less perceptually complex.

This, for example, predicts the attested preference for the de dicto over the de re reading of ambiguous sentences such as, John believes someone is following him?

2. In [IP NP John] [VP v believes] [CP [IP NP someone] [IP NP v]] [v is following him]],]
   b. [IP NP someone] [IP NP John] [VP v believes] [CP IP NP v] [v is following him]

Furthermore, the apparently unrelated phenomena of unacceptable syntactic ambiguity is also accounted for:

3. a. [IP NP John ga] [VP v] [NP Rex ga] [v suki da] = John likes Rex
   b. [IP NP John] [ga] [IP NP Rex ga] [VP NP v suki da] = Rex likes John.

Despite the general freedom of scrambling in Japanese, the revised DTC correctly predicts that the string in (3b) should not admit the grammatical interpretation (3b) where John ga corresponds to object.

The success of the revised Derivational Theory of Complexity in accounting for the apparently disparate phenomena of operator scope preferences and unacceptable ambiguity ultimately confirms of Chomsky's hypothesis that knowledge of language has a direct and transparent role in language use.

Ljiljana Progovac (Wayne State University)
Steven Franks (Indiana University)
Binding Domains, Morphological Complexity and X-bar Compatibility

To derive the properties of long-distance reflexives without LF movement, we propose that the choice of SUBJECT be relativized according to the X-bar status of the reflexive:

4. If R is an X₀ (i.e. morphologically simplex) reflexive, then its SUBJECTs are c-commanding X₀ categories only, namely AGR. If R is an Xₘₐₓ (i.e. morphologically complex) reflexive, then its SUBJECTs are Xₘₐₓ specifiers, namely [NP, NP] and [NP, IP]...

Since X₀ reflexives are sensitive to X₀ SUBJECTs only, they will have no binding domain in languages with no independent AGR, such as Chinese. In a language with AGR in finite clauses the domain for an X₀ reflexive extends only up to the first finite clause, as in Russian. Subject Orientation follows from our X-bar compatibility requirement: an X₀ reflexive can be bound only to AGR (hence also to the subject NP coindexed with it), since AGR is the only c-commanding head with the relevant phi-features.

This approach also correctly predicts that complex reflexives embedded in subject NPs are bound one clause up, since AGR does not delimit the domain for complex anaphors. In contrast, X₀ reflexives, which recognize AGR as a SUBJECT, do not extend their domain even in i-within-i configurations, as in Russian.
Ming-Ming Pu (University of Alberta)
Discourse Structure and Memory Units

The present study is undertaken to investigate the psychological reality of episodes existing as memory chunks in narrative discourse production. The purpose of the study is to see how the structure of discourse is organized, presented and recalled, and what consequences the hierarchical structure has for the linguistic coding employed during the dynamic time course of discourse processing. An experiment was conducted to test the episode theory. The major findings are summarized as follows. 1) Episodic organization of narrative production is psychologically real: the story was memorized as episodes. 2) Episodes exist as separate memory units: an episode was memorized as a whole and tended to be forgotten as a whole. 3) Episodes are shown to be dominated by macropropositions: the paragraph level theme governs the lower level propositions which are elaborations of the macroproposition. 4) The encoding load at an episode boundary is much heavier than that at the inside statements of the episode. Episode boundaries are recognized and marked: NPs are used at the boundary to introduce or reinstate reference, and pronouns (and zeroes) are used within the episode to maintain reference. 5) Subjects of the two language groups (English and Mandarin Chinese) behaved the same way in their episodic organization and selection of anaphors regardless of how picture sequence is arranged, and what language they used.

Geoffrey K. Pullum (University of California-Santa Cruz)
Adjacency and Complement Inflexion Constraints

Nearly all published formulations of the Doubling constraint, from Ross (1972: LI 3.61-86) to Milsark (1988: LI 19.61-34. p. 625), refer to adjacent -ing-inflected verbs. This entails that both matrix material immediately following the first V and complement modifiers preceding the second V will block adjacency and thus void the constraint. A crucially different formulation would refer instead to adjacency between V and VP. This would predict that premodifiers of the V inside the VP will not void the constraint. Facts like the following, unnoted in the literature so far, favor the V-VP statement: (1a) [VP Keeping right on [VP drinking]] would be most unwise. (1b) *[VP Keeping [vp secretly drinking]] would be most unwise. (2a) I hope you won’t be [VP continuing throughout next week [VP discussing the same material]]. (2b) *[I hope you won’t be [VP continuing [VP suddenly jumping out and scaring people]]]. (3a) *[VP Starting off [VP being more helpful]] would be a good idea. (3b) *[VP Starting [VP not being so helpful]] would be a good idea.

Williams (1983: LI 14.287-308 esp. 303-6) gives a V-VP version of the constraint that predicts (1)–(3) correctly, but it is overgeneral in two ways. First, it does not explicitly require that the VP be the complement of the V, and thus blocks grammatical cases such as (4) I’m going fishing, with an adverbial -ing VP. Second, it is generalized to sequences of non-present participles to block (5) *John was seen leaving, but since (as Williams notes) traces are invisible to the Doubling constraint (note (6) *This is the man that we’ve been keeping laughing for two hours), this also blocks (7) This is the chair that I have had made. The extra generalization is spurious. The right formulation of the Doubling constraint simply excludes the constituent structure [VP+[PP] V [VP+[PP] ...].

Renate Raffelsieben (University of Washington)
Phonotactics and the Base Search Hypothesis

This paper discusses the question what type of phonological information plays a role in the recognition of lexical relatedness between words. Generative Phonologists have proposed that feature changing rules which account for alternations are crucial whereas the phonotactic rule system is said to be irrelevant for recognition (Mohanan 1986). I will present evidence challenging the latter claim. Central to my argument is the assumption that speakers acquire the canonical patterns which characterize the structure of primitive words. My hypothesis is that a word which does not conform to these patterns triggers a search for a base. Relations which involve words whose phonotactic structure triggers a base search are predicted to be less susceptible to semantic drift than relations involving words which are projected by canonical patterns. This prediction is borne out posing a problem for the standard view of this matter.
Robert J. Reddick (University of Texas-Arlington)
Order and Function in the Parker Chronicle

Word order as one signal of the discourse function of an Old English independent clause has gone unrecognized, particular orders being explained by means of a Verb-Second constraint (e.g. Kemenade 1984, Hock 1985), the weight of constituents (e.g. Colman 1988, Pintzuk and Kroch 1989), or the influence of initial adverbials (e.g. Traugott 1972). None of these, however, can explain particular orders in the Pre-900 entries of the Parker Chronicle (to the entry for 896). This paper argues that, in the Parker MS, entry-internal New Event clauses (all independent) regularly differ from Continuation clauses (either independent or coordinate) in word order. For example, 56% of the entry-internal New Event clauses begin with an anaphoric time adverbial, while only 20% of the Continuation clauses do. 80% of those New Event clauses locate the finite verb before the first free-standing NP, while only 21% of the Continuation clauses do. Since only 28% of entry-internal New Event clauses locate the finite verb immediately after the entry-initial time adverbial Her, it cannot be the adverbial that causes verb-second order, and the NP that precedes the finite verb in the vast majority of Continuation clauses is always a rhematic NP. Light or not, the theme being established in the preceding New Event clause.

Elizabeth Ritter (State University of New York-Albany)
Where’s Gender?

This paper proposes a non-unified treatment of number and gender based on evidence from Romance and Hebrew. The two main claims are the following: (i) number is a functional head but gender is a feature which is realized on one of the existing heads of the noun phrase, and (ii) that the choice of syntactic head which bears gender specification is subject to cross-linguistic variation. Two arguments will be advanced to support the claim that gender is a feature on NBR in Romance and on N in Hebrew. First, switching gender can be used to derive new nouns in Hebrew, but not in Romance. This fact is consistent with the hypothesis that the gender is inherently specified on a lexical category in the former, and on a functional category in the latter. Second, although both Romanian and Hebrew both have irregular nouns with stems of one gender and plural markers of the other. In Romanian, these irregular nouns take their gender from the plural suffix, but in Hebrew, it is the gender of the stem which dominates. In both languages the element that bears the gender of these irregular Ns is the same as the element that bears the gender of regular ones.

Johan Rooryck (Indiana University)
Cletic Ordering in Romance Imperatives

Despite crosslinguistic variation in the position of clitics in Romance languages, clitics have to follow non negated imperatives in Romance. This is illustrated for French, Italian, Spanish, and European Portuguese in (1):


This descriptive generalization should derive from a general principle of the grammar. We claim that Relativized Minimality (Rel Min, Rizzi 1990) is the principle involved here. Following Baker (1988) and Kayne (1989,1990), the core position of clitics in Romance is obtained by adjunction (incorporation) of the X_e clitics to the left of _V_ and the C^p-V^p complex subsequently left-adjoints to I^p and AGR^e. If positive imperatives as in (1a) involve head movement of the V-T-AGR complex to C^p (Riviero 1998), we are in need of an explanation why the verb moves to C^p without its clitics. Imperatives have 'inherently fixed' agreement properties: they are restricted to 2nd p. sg. and pl. or to 1st p. pl. Imperative AGR-C^p is different from AGR^e, which has undetermined v-features at DS for person, number and gender. Let us represent (2b) as (2c), where the cl-V-T-AGR complex moves to AGR-C^p

(2) a. Regarde-le ‘Watch him’ b. * Le regarde ‘I watch’ c. [cp [[[er-v- Ver(= regard)] e-] AGR^e] AGR-C^p ] [AGR-P[int [iv] V] AGR^e] [TP [VP]]]]

In (2b,c), AGR-C^p intervenes between the clitic in AGR-C^p and the clitic's trace in the complex trace. We claim that the similarity between imperative AGR-C^p and clitics (both having inherently fixed features at DS) makes AGR-C^p a potential X_e for the governor of the clitics. As a result, the trace of the clitic in AGR^e is not governed by the clitic in AGR-C^p, and the structure is ruled out by the ECP. The analysis will be extended to the enclitic ordering in Spanish and Italian infinitives. Rel Min should integrate a content-oriented definition of potential governor.
Modern Aramaic is a Semitic language with productive nonconcatenative morphology and epenthesis. These two features have been of great interest in recent morphological and phonological theory, but Modern Aramaic has not yet been considered. In this paper, I show that a wide range of forms derived from verbal roots in Modern Aramaic can be accounted for by combining two recently developed prosodic theories: prosodic morphology, developed by John McCarthy and Alan Prince, and prosodically-governed epenthesis, developed by Ellen Broselow and Junko Itô. Partially pre-specified CV-templates can be used to characterize the shape invariants of all stems in the verbal system; and the prosodic theory of epenthesis, using right-to-left moraification and syllabification of affixed forms, correctly predicts epenthesis sites for all forms which display epenthesis (24 in all). Also discussed is the question of whether or not CV-templates should be retained as units of representation in the morphology, or abandoned in favor of higher-level prosodic units.

Edward J. Rubin (Cornell University)

Modification and Prepositional Phrases

The primary goal of this paper is to make some general (i.e. universal) statements about modifiers. In addition I lend evidence to the claim that prepositions have argument structures, and moreover, the full range of argument structures available to other lexical categories. In pursuing these goals, I draw on data from Romanian and clarify the sometimes ambiguous categorial and semantic status of the morphemes de, pe, and pina, the so-called auxiliary prepositions.

Regarding the first goal, the paper concludes that there is need for a functional head, called Mod0, which occurs as the head of the sister of a node which is to be modified. The existence of this head makes possible an adequate explanation of the distribution and interpretation of the morpheme de in examples such as omul din România ‘the man from Romania’ or ‘the man in Romania’, omul este în România ‘the man is in Romania’ and omul este din România ‘the man is from Romania’. More generally, it facilitates an understanding of the relationship between syntactic structures and semantic interpretations.

Hotze Rullmann (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

The Effects of Verb Projection Raising and Scrambling on Scope

Haegeman and van Riemsdijk (1986) argue for a theory of reanalysis to account for the phenomenon of Verb Projection Raising found in West-Flemish, a variant of Dutch. Their empirical arguments are based on word order facts and scope facts. Von Stechow and Sternefeld (1988) have shown that the word order facts can be accounted for by an alternative analysis assuming adjunction of the verb projection to the matrix verb – an analysis explicitly rejected by H&V – provided we allow for scrambling of object NPs. In my talk I will show that H&V’s scope facts can also be accounted for under an adjunction analysis that takes scrambling into account. The proposed analysis is based on the assumption that an NP, or other scope bearing element, base generated in an embedded infinitival clause will get wide scope over the matrix verb if and only if it is scrambled out of the embedded clause and adjoined to the matrix VP or VP. My analysis improves upon H&V’s account in that it doesn’t need any non-standard assumptions about scope. It also offers a more plausible explanation for certain facts concerning the distinction between root and epistemic modals observed by H&V.
Drawing on Hopper and Thompson's model of transitivity, Munro argues that "say" verbs are often less than perfectly transitive, and... the quotations they introduce are often very different from normal objects or object clauses (Syntax and Semantics 15:302). Evidence from Bunuba, an Australian Aboriginal language spoken in the Kimberley region of Western Australia, generally supports Munro's claim, but Bunuba framing clauses themselves vary considerably in transitivity; some have ergative-marked subjects and some absolutive. The difference is correlated with the extent to which the framed locution is being represented as a discrete speech event, e.g., 'The emu-ERGATIVE said "Who me".' vs 'White people-ABSOLUTIVE say/call it Ober's Creek'. The relevant difference may be comprehended under Hopper and Thompson's notion of "individuation", with appropriate modification to take account of the special properties of locutions as transitive "objects". Also relevant for the differential transitivity of Bunuba framing clauses is the presence or absence on the verb of oblique cross reference to an addressee, which may independently condition ergative marking on the subject, even where there is no framed locution. While Munro considers only the framed locution as a possible candidate for "object" status, what most complicates the question of transitivity for these Bunuba constructions is that there are two competing candidates for it, so that their overall transitivity is not simply "intermediate", but potentially ambiguous. Similar considerations may shed further light on the "peculiar" behavior of framing clauses in other languages such as those discussed by Munro.

Graziella Saccon (Harvard University)
Passivization of Intransitive Verbs

Extending Kratzer's (88) analysis of stage-level predicates, we argue that ALL one-place predicates (unaccusative or intransitive) are actually TWO-place predicates: besides the NP, they also have a locative argument, which we assume to be generated inside VP like all arguments (McCawley (70), Sportiche (88), etc.). We provide data from an Italian dialect that strongly supports this hypothesis. As in transitive verbs, one of the arguments of these 'new' two-place predicates must move out of VP, but the extraction of the locative shows some puzzling restrictions:

(1) a. *El [a piandent la María t] al cinema
b. El [a piandent tanta gente t] al cinema
-AGR cried the Mary at the movie
-AGR cried lots of people at the movie
'Mary cried at the movie'
'Lots of people cried at the movie'

We propose that this contrast can be explained if we equate our two-place predicates with passive constructions like(2):

(2) a. *God [is loved t by Mary]
b. God [is loved t by lots of people]

In passives, as well as in intransitive/unaccusative verbs, NP-movement from the base-generated VP-internal position is semantically interpreted as a CHARACTERIZATION of the moved argument. We conclude the paper discussing what are the semantic components of CHARACTERIZATION and which of them are shared by the 'traditionally' transitive verbs.

Anju Saxena (University of Oregon)
Development of Finite Verb Endings in Standard Lhasa Tibetan

This paper aims to show that the tense/aspect and evidential system in modern standard Lhasa Tibetan developed by grammaticalizing the older nominalized construction with a copula, by tracing the development of two of the evidential markers, vin and 'dug, and development of pa and gi as perfective and nonperfective markers. It will be argued here that pa, which has a perfective interpretation in standard Lhasa Tibetan, is a reanalysis of the nominalizer pa, when it precedes evidential markers (such as vin and 'dug), and gi (the nonperfective marker) is a reanalysis of cing which is a nominal marker indicating temporal overlap. As a consequence of the reappraisal of copulas as evidential markers, and pa as the perfective marker, the structural configuration of a clause (with a nominalized argument) is getting reanalyzed in standard Lhasa.

In order to do the diachronic study, the following materials, listed in their chronological order, will be examined: (i) a sixth century Tibetan text from Tanhuang (Thomas 1957), (ii) classical Tibetan texts (Hahn 1974), (iii) mi-la ras-pa'i rgyan-thar, a fourteenth century Tibetan text (De Jong 1959), and (iv) standard Lhasa Tibetan (Delancey 1985).

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Ronald P. Schaefer (Southern Illinois University-Edwardsville)

A Typology of the Emai Noun Phrase

Following Croft (1990), I examine the structure underlying postnominal modifiers in a previously undocumented Emai language of Nigeria, Emai. By hypothesizing an expanded heaviness hierarchy (Hawkins 1983, Foley 1980), I show the nature of a conflict between modifier value (DEM > NUM > ADJ > GEN > SORTAL > REL) and postnominal modifier position (HEAD GEN ADJ SORTAL NUM REL DEM). That is, modifier categories with antipodal values are ordered furthest from the head, while categories of intermediate value are ordered closest to the head. Although a consistently positive or negative correlation between position and value does not occur, two contrasting strategies can be discerned which lead to a balanced rather than hierarchical configuration of heaviness values within the noun phrase. For one strategy, category heaviness decreases as distance from the head noun increases: ADJ NUM DEN. For the other, heaviness increases as distance from the head increases: GEN SORTAL REL. When fused, these strategies maintain, relative to the edges of postnominal space, an inwardly directed ranking of their categories from lightest to heaviest. Moreover, they allow categories of corresponding rank, e.g. GEN and DEM, ADJ and REL, and SORTAL and NUM, to occur in a nested fashion across postnominal space. Hence, a specific pattern of typological mixture defined by the heaviness parameter characterizes postnominal modifier structure in Emai,

Cristina Schmitt (University of Maryland-College Park)

"Ser" and "Estar": An Aspectual Analysis

Until recently the distinction and distribution of ser and estar (copula and auxiliary verbs in Portuguese and Spanish) have been considered a matter of lexical inherent properties such as permanent /transitory with no input into the syntax. In this paper, we argue that the distinction between these two verbs can be associated with the distinction between Stage-level predicates and Individual-level predicates as described by Kratzer (1989) and Diesing (1988, 1990). However, we show that the Stage-level and Individual-level distinction is to be derived from the aspectual properties of the argument structure (see Grimshaw, 1990) of the predicates rather than from the presence of an extra argument position (Davidsonian Argument) and/or different structural properties of Infl (as in Kratzer, 1989 and Diesing, 1990). Our proposal allows us to unify the account for these two verbs in their predicative and auxiliary uses.

Mary Ellen Scullen (Indiana University)

Prosodic Minimality and Abbreviation in French

The Prosodic Morphology Hypothesis (PMH) (McCarthy and Prince 1990) claims that templates used in shape-invariant morphology are defined in terms of authentic prosodic units. This paper argues that abbreviated words in French map onto an iambic foot template supplemented by the notion of "minimality". Abbreviated words are exclusively of the forms (1) CVC, Cv.Cv, Cv.CV or (2) CVC.CV, Cv.Cv.CV. The forms in (1) conform to an iambic foot template while those in (2) appear not to. Yet, they can be reanalyzed as an iambic foot (CVC, Cv.CV) followed by something else (Cv). This corresponds to McCarthy and Prince's (1991) notion of "loose Minimal Word". I conclude that abbreviation in French involves mapping onto a Minimal Word (iambic foot) template, and that French thus supports both the PMH and Prosodic Minimality.

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Muffy E. A. Siegel (Temple University)
Such: A Pro-Adjective

This paper is an exploration of the role of such as a pro-adjective. First, I adduce evidence that such is indeed an adjective. Syntactically, it occurs either before or after other pronominal adjectives, and it co-occurs with both determiners and quantifiers. Semantically, it can be translated as a one-place predicate. I also show that such is at least part of a pro-form; it exhibits the anaphoric/deictic distinction and, pronominally, it creates pronominals, arguments that adhere to part B of the binding conditions. Finally, I discuss the implications of admitting NPs containing such to the ranks of pronominals: The correct definition of "pronominal" cannot be given in terms of a limited range of features, as such NPs have lexical heads. Moreover, the semantic reflex of structurally conditioned co-indexing cannot be interpretation as bound variables of the arguments co-indexed, as such itself, but not the pronominals it creates, is interpreted as bound by the same quantifier as its antecedent.

Sigridur Sigurjonsdottir (University of California-Los Angeles)
Nina Hyams (University of California-Los Angeles)
Binding in Icelandic: Evidence from Language Acquisition

In this paper, we report the results of an experimental study on the interpretation of the local reflexive skilf, the 'long distance' reflexive sigi, and pronouns by Icelandic-speaking children. We tested 55 children between the ages of 3:4-6:0, and 10 adults, on 92 sentences, using both an act-out task and a modified judgement task.

Our results provide evidence for the developmental interpretation of the Subset Principle and replicate the results of many other studies which have found a delay of Principle B as compared to Principle A. The results also suggest that the 'long distance' reflexive sigi in Icelandic has two different functions depending on the verb that governs it.

This is the first comprehensive study on the acquisition of binding in Icelandic and the first study to use Crain & McKee's (1987) modified judgement task to probe children's comprehension of long distance anaphora. The results of our study emphasize the importance of cross-linguistic studies on the acquisition of binding and the importance of using different techniques to reveal children's understanding of anaphors and pronouns.

Craig Sirles (DePaul University)
Politics or Language: What Is Being Planned?

Research into language planning (LP) in the post-colonial Third World has focused a good deal of attention on policy selection and implementation, but when a plan falls short of its stated goals, few reasons come forth, and the gap between LP goals and outcomes goes unexplained. This paper argues that LP research overemphasizes the place of language in the planning process. In some Third World planning milieux, solutions to political problems sometimes outweigh concerns about language, and LP specialists working in these areas find themselves more in the business of planning politics than planning language. I propose three extra-linguistic variables for determining the true target of planning -- politics or language -- and for reconciling the disparity between LP goals and outcomes. These are: 1) the makeup of the political and economic elite in the country; 2) the ideological commitment of central authorities to carry out the plan; and 3) the potential conflict between national development and traditional values within the polity. I suggest that these factors explain many LP policy shortcomings in post-colonial Africa. More important, I argue that they provide LP specialists with an important tool for policy evaluation, one which elevates politics to a more central position within the planning process.
Caroline L. Smith (Yale University/Haskins Laboratories)
Two Patterns of Organizing Vowel and Consonant Gestures

Languages commonly described as stress- or syllable-timed, such as Italian, are perceived as having a rhythm in which vowels are the nucleus of rhythmic units. In contrast, in mora-timed languages such as Japanese the basic rhythmic unit, the mora, depends on both vowels and consonants. It is proposed here that there is a correlation between the temporal organization of articulatory gestures for vowels and consonants and the role of vowels in the overall rhythm of a language: in syllable-timed languages, vowels are timed independently of consonants, but in mora-timed languages vowels and consonants are of equal importance. If the timing of vowels and consonants is integrated at the same level, then a change in the duration of either one would be expected to cause a reorganization encompassing both vowels and consonants, but if vowels are to some extent independent of consonants, the vowel-to-vowel timing need not be affected.

Measurements of X-ray microbeam traces of tongue and lip movement showed that in Japanese, increasing the duration of an intervocalic consonant from single to geminate lengthened the first vowel, increasing the time between the onsets of the two vowels, but in Italian there was a strong tendency for the interval between vowel articulations to remain stable. These results suggest that vowel-to-vowel timing, as proposed in e.g., Öhman(1966) and Fowler(1981), may provide the basic temporal organization for Italian, but that for Japanese, vowel-and-consonant timing (e.g. Brownman and Goldstein 1990) may be a better model.

Janet S. Smith (University of California-Davis)
Style and Orthography in Japanese Popular Writing

Literate Japanese today use a writing system comprising four orthographic types, a plurality which affords a rich flexibility of script choice. Japanese have come to stereotype script types and proportions with extralinguistic features of texts and their inscribers. Hence, women and men, the young and the old, and the parochial and the sophisticated are understood distinctly to signal, at the subtextual level, self-identity and audience identity features through script choice. In this study, popular associations between script choice, lexical and grammatical constraints, genres, inscribers and target audiences are tested via statistical analyses. Results indicate that, at least in the domain of modern, public texts, these associations are far more complex than have been generally understood and require thorough investigation at the sociolinguistic as well as the linguistic level. By utilizing a micro-level, ethnographic approach to the study of writing systems and inscription practices, this project is intended to expand our understanding of orthographies as independent channels for expressions of creativity, social self-identity, and cultural forms.

Karen M. Smith (University of Connecticut)
The Acquisition of Questions in Normal and Language-Impaired Children

The principles and parameters theory of language acquisition proposes that children acquire language quickly and virtually without error by following an innate language acquisition program. If this is true, then a specifically language-impaired (SLI) child who eventually acquires the adult grammar could not acquire language in a deviant way. He would have no mechanism to make deviant hypotheses and no way to recover from errors. In this study, subject, object and adjunct long distance wh-questions were elicited from normal and SLI children to determine if SLI children follow a deviant path of language development. The performance of the SLI group was not qualitatively different from the normal group. Children in both groups made the error of including a wh-word at the beginning of the embedded sentence (e.g. who do you think who kicked the ball? why do you think why the lady pushed the car?). The same pattern of errors occurred in both groups. A child included a medial wh-word either in all question types (subject, adjunct, object) or in subject and adjunct questions, or in subject questions only. The errors are accounted for by an indexing hypothesis which suggests that some children do not know that non-lexical elements can transfer indices and that non-lexical items can be head governors. It is concluded that SLI children do not acquire syntax in a deviant way and that the predictions of the principles and parameters approach to language acquisition are supported in the language of SLI children.

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Lawrence Solan (Orans, Eisen & Lupen)

**de Morgan's Law as Rule of Law**

There is a rule of law called the "and/or rule." One version of it follows: "Generally the words 'or' and 'and' in a statute may be construed as interchangeable when necessary to effectuate legislative intent." In this paper, I investigate the circumstances under which courts apply this rule. Frequently, problems of statutory interpretation arise when the conjunction or disjunction is within the scope of a logical operator, such as negation. For example, a federal statute permits the government to seize property used for illegal drug trade unless the owner can prove that the illegal use of the property was "without his knowledge or consent." Applying de Morgan's law, this phrase is best understood as meaning "without his knowledge and without his consent." Courts, however, have been interpreting the statute as meaning "without his knowledge or without his consent." Analysis of these and other cases will be presented. I will show that while each application of the and/or rule makes sense on its own terms, there is no independent theory of when to apply the rule, leaving the law in a state of unpredictability.

Cari Spring (Ohio State University)

**Prospodic Variability and the Minimal/Maximal Distinction**

Current phonological research demonstrates that Template Satisfaction (McCarthy and Prince, 1986, 1990) is crucial to explain the minimal realization of prosodic constituents in morphological operations. The observation that prosodic constituents also have a maximal realization remains unformalized. This paper presents a formalization of Maximization and shows its empirical instantiation in the languages of Azinica Campos and Choctaw. I show that Maximization is a crucial choice between analyses of reduplication in Azinica and to relate what appear to be distinct feet of reduplication in different morphological contexts via a single parameter. This analysis results in the formal alignment of independent processes of prosodic morphology in Azinica. Maximization is also necessary to identify the correct analysis of Choctaw y-grade morphology; I demonstrate that independent components of the y-grade, and some of the complexities of dialectal differences in this language are handled by this formalization of Maximization. The result of the theoretical point of the paper is a further constraining of the emerging theory of Prospodic Morphology (McCarty and Prince, 1986, 1990).

Richard Sproat (A T & T Bell Laboratories)
Chiling Shih (Rutgers University)

**Mandarin Morphology Is Not Stratum Ordered**

Packard (1990) proposes a stratum-ordered model of Mandarin morphology. We argue that Packard's evidence does not support this conclusion: some of his data involves instances of broader patterns not handleable by stratum ordering, whereas other claims are simply false. For example, Packard notes that resumptive verbs cannot form A-not-A questions involving reduplication of the (left-hand) head: *stainbu*stanwan (talk-not-talk-finish) "finish talking?". He claims that resumptive formation occurs at stratum II and A-not-A formation at stratum III, where the head is no longer visible. However, these data are part of a much broader pattern that cannot have a morphological explanation: in contrast to non-resumptives, resumptives uniformly disallow A-not-A questions with *bu*, even when the whole verb or VP is copied: *stianwanzheisewen1i*bu-*stianwanzheisewen1i* (talk-finish this problem not...). Packard further proposes that the suffix -zi is restricted to attach to the head of nouns, claiming that -zi may not attach to the left-hand member of compounds. This claim is in general false: *shi-zitou* (lion head) 'a meatball'; *hu-zii pi* (orange skin) 'orange peel'.

Laurie A. Stowe (University of Groningen)  
Psycholinguistic Evidence for a Dissociation between Types of Verb Information in Language Processing

Psycholinguistic evidence will be presented which demonstrates that information regarding the number of arguments that a verb takes has a different status in language processing from information about the typical semantic content of the arguments.

The semantic content of an argument cannot always be used to decide on the correct structure of an ambiguous string. Thus we see evidence that, under pressure, people have misparsed certain structures even when they had semantic information that could have been used to disambiguate the structure, as in (1).

(1) The courses taught at the university are very demanding. However, there is no sign of mispairing when information about the number of arguments can be used to decide between the potential analyses, as in (2).

(2) The child abandoned during the winter died of exposure. This dissociation of types of information can be taken as evidence against any linguistic theory which attempts to collapse both types of information into one theoretical construct.

Thomas Stroik (Morehead State University)  
A Structural Analysis of Adverb Positions

May (1985) and Larson and May (1990) propose a Quantifier Raising (QR) analysis of antecedent-contained deletion (ACD) sentences. In this paper, I use the QR analysis of ACDs to investigate the structural positions that adverbs can assume within the internal structure of VPs. Since the QR analysis of ACDs provides two views of a VP taken from two different structural positions, we can use this analysis to triangulate into the VP, isolating the structural positions of the various constituents of the VP. Focusing on the evidence in (1) -- where the temporal and locative adverbs can be read as modifiers of the embedded verbs in (1a) as well as modifiers of the matrix verb, but the reason and manner adverbs can modify only the matrix verbs in (1b) -- I use the QR analysis, together with Browning’s (1989) version of the Empty Category Principle, to demonstrate that temporal and locative adverbs are VP internal, while reason and manner adverbs are VP adjuncts.

(1)a When/Where did John see everyone that Mary did  
 b Why/How did John see everyone that Mary did

Additional support for my analysis comes from my treatment of various object-adverb asymmetries that involve reason and manner adverbs, but not temporal and locative ones.

Gregory T. Stump (University of Kentucky)  
Four Position Class Phenomena and Their Theoretical Implications

Though they have only rarely been commented on in the linguistic literature, the following four phenomena are not infrequently encountered in languages with well-developed position class morphology: AMBIGUAL position classes, in which prefixes and suffixes coexist, competing for the same hierarchical slot in the structure of an inflected form; PARALLEL position classes—distinct classes in which the same affixal forms are used to express similar sets of feature specifications; PORTMANTEAU position classes, whose members are portmanteau realizations of an expected affix sequence; and REVERSIBLE position classes—distinct classes which vary systematically in their relative ordering. Drawing on evidence from Swahili and Fula, I exemplify each of these four phenomena and discuss their implications for morphological theory. I argue that the most satisfactory theoretical account of these phenomena is furnished by the PARADIGM FUNCTION THEORY, in which position class restrictions are determined by a class of functions defining the formal relations between roots and the fully inflected members of their paradigms (Stump 1991a, 1991b). I demonstrate the superiority of this approach over two alternative approaches to position class morphology which have been entertained in recent years: the SUBLANGUAGE APPROACH (according to which position class restrictions are subcategorization restrictions on lexically listed affixes) and the LINEAR ORDERING APPROACH (according to which position class restrictions are linear restrictions on the order in which realizational rules of inflection apply).

Polly Szatrowski (University of Minnesota-Minneapolis)

*Strategies in the Japanese Invitation Dance*

This research addresses the following questions from the point of view of conversational analysis: 1) What methods are effective for the collection and analysis of naturally occurring conversations in Japanese? 2) How do Japanese communicate and negotiate in invitation contexts? 3) How do Japanese strategies relate to general theories of conversational interaction?

Based on an analysis of 33 Japanese telephone invitations, I modify previous views of utterance function in terms of form and meaning (Hayashi 1960, 1973; Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo 1987) and the notion of adjacency pairs (Schegloff and Sacks 1973). Specifically, my view of conversation considers larger segments of conversation, i.e., "invitation" and "answer" stages which are characterized by participant goals and role, "inviter" vs. "invitee" (Szatrowski 1989a, 1989b). The canonical question-answer pair is seen as emerging from the discourse (Hopf 1987).

My work also shows a distinctive difference between the strategies used in English and Japanese in the above conversations and the necessity to revise Davidson's (1986) notion of "subsequent invitation version" in the Japanese context.

Whitney Tabor (Stanford University)

*Reanalysis Is Early*

A key question for diachrony is "When does reanalysis occur?" That is, when a language undergoes a series of related changes that at some point warrants positng a revision of the grammar, when do we claim the revision occurs? Timberlake (1977) argues that reanalysis must happen at the beginning of such an episode: only then can we motivate the changes. But here I study a case—the history of the English possessive [s]—in which this claim runs afoul of the Lexical Integrity Hypothesis (cf. Selkirk 1982): the [s] seems to have gone from being a lexical ending to being a clitic (cf. Janda 1980); during the transition period, it continues to exhibit many lexical behaviors; therefore Early Reanalysis implies that syntax has access to the internal structure of words. I present a resolution in which some possessives receive a lexical analysis and some a clitic analysis. This model confirms work by Kroch (1989) on frequency correlations and suggests a simplification of the complex descriptive machinery which has been proposed to handle the modern [s] (cf. Nevis 1985, Zwykly 1987, Lapointe 1990).

Ann Taylor (University of Pennsylvania)

*Second Position Clitics*

Perhaps the most common clitic position cross-linguistically is second in the clause. Among others, such diverse languages as Warlpiri, Ngiyambaa, Luiseno, Vedic Sanskrit, Ancient Greek and Pshito have been reported as having such a category. The definition of second position, however, is not completely uniform across languages; some languages define it as following the first constituent, some following the first word, and still others allow both options. Most previous accounts of this phenomenon (e.g. Pullum 1981; Klavans 1982) attempt to include all three types as variants under one process. However, a detailed examination of the syntax of second position clitics in Homeric Greek, shows that these previous analyses are empirically inadequate. In Homeric Greek clitics generally appear either in IP initial position (provided some other word precedes (conjunction, complementizer, etc.) or following the first word of IP, regardless of constituent structure. Syntactic derivations for this positioning are tested and rejected as inadequate; rather, the evidence supports a phonological clitic movement rule.

Finally, this type of clitic placement is compared to that in which clitics are positioned after the first constituent and it is suggested that the latter type is derived by the movement of clitics into INFL rather than IP initial position, as in the Homeric Greek type.
Michiko Terada (San Jose State University)

An Expletive in Japanese

According to Chomsky’s extended X-bar theory, every sentence must have a subject. When the matrix subject position is a non-thematic position, the position is filled by an expletive in English or French. Japanese, however, does not have an overt expletive. This raises the question of whether the language has a null-expletive to fill the position or raises an embedded subject to the matrix subject position. I will argue that Japanese does indeed have an expletive which is null. I will discuss how a negative polarity item shika-na ‘only’ behaves in the so-called “raising constructions” and show the presence of a null-expletive. This is a natural conclusion considering the wide use of a null-pronoun in the language.

Arhonta Terzi (City University of New York-Graduate Center)

Finite Control in Albanian and Greek and the Licensing of PRO

Drawing evidence from Albanian and Greek, I argue for the presence of PRO as the subject of subjunctive clauses — finite structures introduced by a distinct particle — that have replaced infinitival complements in the above languages. The presence of PRO explains the incompatibility of complementizers and the subjunctive particle and the absence of subject omission effects from similar structures in the Romance.

My account motivates a redefinition of the licensing conditions for PRO along the lines of Kayne (1991) who takes PRO to be governed — without violating the PRO Theorem. Finite predicates in Romance and Germanic cannot license PRO because on their way to adjoining to IP, they have to stop at each functional projection and thus leave a trace that fails to be head-governed by I in Rizzi’s (1990) sense. Infinitives do not face this problem since they can adjoin directly to IP. In Albanian, Greek and probably the rest of the Balkan languages PRO is governed and thus licensed by the finite verb that can adjoin to IP because the subjunctive marker is present and head-governs its trace.

Crucially, no empty counterpart of this particle is present in Romance or Germanic.

A redefinition of the licensing conditions for PRO based on government has advantages over an account of finite (and non-finite) control via Case theory (Hashemipour 1988) since it explains instances of control in which government obtains while Case is not available.

Margaret Thomas (Boston College)

Historical Parallels to Young Children’s Grammar of English Reflexives

This paper starts from Lightfoot’s suggestion that investigation of diachronic facts may enhance our understanding of first language acquisition. Discussion focuses on properties of reflexives in the grammars of young children learning English, and in the grammars of adult speakers of Middle and early modern English, properties which differ significantly from those in the grammars of contemporary adult speakers. The data are from the use of reflexives in earlier stages of the language as compiled in the OED, and from examples of the spontaneous production of reflexives by children aged 2 to 4 years as recorded in the computerized CHILDES files. Both sources yield evidence of grammars where reflexives (a) may appear in subject position in tensed clauses; (b) may lack sentence-internal antecedents; and (c) substitute himself/themselves/self for himself/himself. These properties can be accounted for with respect to child learners of the modern language under the assumptions of Chien & Wexler (i.e. that children under 5 or 6 years do not classify reflexives as anaphors) and of McDaniel, Carins & Hsu (i.e. that such children analyze reflexives as genitives + the (non-anaphoric) NP self). But the problem remains of determining what motivates child learners to abandon this analysis in favor of the adult treatment of reflexives as anaphors, and what impelled the same re-analysis in the history of the language.
Susan Thomas (West Virginia University)
Incorporated because Clause Quotations in Written News Reports

Clark and Gerrig (1990) present a theory of direct quotations as demonstrations, which differ from descriptions (encompassing indirect reports) in two ways: they are nonserious actions and selective depictions. They also propose that direct quotations have two general functions: detachment and direct experience. Incorporated quotations (indirect-direct reports), as analyzed by Clark and Gerrig, combine description and demonstration. Contrasting reports like Ralph said that the play failed because he wasn’t prepared and Ralph said, ‘The play failed because I wasn’t prepared’ with those like Ralph said that the play failed ‘because I wasn’t prepared’, this paper analyzes the functions of the latter as it occurs in written news reports. This paper will suggest that incorporated BECAUSE clause quotations in news reports are solely demonstrations, selectively depicting a reason, distancing the Reporter from the reason, and proposing solidarity with the Audience (reader). A semantic feature of SEPARABILITY, characterizing the connection between the statement of an event (main clause) and the statement of a reason for it (BECAUSE clause) is combined with a pragmatic feature of CREDIBILITY, defined as a relationship between Reporter and Audience, to account for the occurrence of incorporated BECAUSE clause quotations. In using such quotations the Reporter explicitly distances him/herself from the causal connection and invites the Audience to do likewise.

Asha Tickoo (Nanyang Technological University)
Narrative Structure Revisited: What’s Given and New about Temporal Order

Both Labov (1981) and Hopper (1981) have defined Narrative as the iconic representation of the temporal order of past events: The listener infers the temporal order of past events ‘from the temporal sequencing of clauses in the report of those events.’ (Labov 1981:225). While this definition is in itself unquestionable, it touches upon only one dimension of the representation of past time by Narrative clauses. They do iconically represent the order of past events, but they at the same time, also represent what is given and new about this order, at the time of the utterance of the clause which represents it. When we account for this representation of given-new information about past time, we are able to identify not merely one type of Narrative clause, but at least three.

Almeida Jacqueline Toribio (Cornell University)
Postverbal Subjects and Preverbal Locatives in English

This paper is devoted to an exploration of certain constructions in English in which the structural subject position is occupied by an NP other than the thematic subject. On the one hand there are the constructions in (1), in which a pleonastic element appears in Spec. The question arises whether the structure which suberves constructions of the kind in (1) might also account for those constructions in which the structural subject position appears to be filled by a locative phrase, as in (2).

(1) a. There appeared a man in the garden
   b. There were seen two men in the garden

(2) a. On the shelf sat the family portrait.
   b. On this spot was erected a statue in his honor.

A number of differences converge to suggest that the constructions in (1) and (2) should be treated differently. The analysis to which we draw is one in which locative inversion is characterized as an instance of A-movement. In addition, we posit that the postverbal subject in these constructions comes to be associated with INFL indirectly, assuming that English possesses an expletive clitic pro.
Restructuring phenomena have been analyzed as a result of a rule application that transforms a bi-clausal structure to a mono-clausal structure, where the rule application is triggered by a certain set of matrix verbs. In Japanese, there are two environments in which Restructuring takes place, sentences with purpose clauses and those with gerundive clauses. Despite this apparent resemblance, however, these two constructions differ in the following two aspects: (i) in sentences with purpose clauses, adjuncts can modify only the matrix verb, whereas in those with gerundive clauses, they can modify only the embedded verb; and, (ii) object-oriented deictic predicates are allowed in gerundive clauses, but not in purpose clauses. I will show that these differences should be ultimately attributed to the presence of the temporal/aspectual feature specification of [Tense] in gerundive clauses and the absence of it in purpose clauses. The presence of [Tense] licenses deictic predicates and it also licenses adjuncts modifying the embedded verb in sentences with gerundive clauses, while the absence of it fails to sanction such licensing in purpose clauses.

Andrea Tyler (University of Florida)
Lexical Cohesion and Discourse Structure: A Re-Examination

Tannen (1988) presents an innovative examination of the role of repetition in conversation, arguing that repetition helps create and sustain interactional involvement. However, one component of her analysis, the notion of lexical cohesion which is borrowed uncritically from Halliday and Hasan (1976), has been criticized by Green (1989), Green and Morgan (1980) and Morgan and Selinker (1980) as confusing lexical repetition and anaphoric reference with the natural consequences of staying on topic and general pragmatic principles. This paper attempts to retain the insights gained by Tannen (1988) and meet the arguments posed by Green and Morgan by placing the notion of lexical cohesion within an integrated discourse framework (Ellis & Roberts, 1987; Gumperz, 1982; Tyler, Jefferies & Davies, 1988). By comparing discourse produced by native speakers of English with a number of English texts produced by Korean and Chinese speakers, the effect of lexical repetition and anaphoric reference on text coherence is highlighted. The paper argues that lexical repetition serves to provide context-situated definitions of words and phrases and to provide a discourse-specific synonym set; the absence of these patterns of repetition contributes to a perception of incoherence in the nonnative discourse examined here.

Anne Vainikka (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
Martha Young-Scholten (University of Dusseldorf)
The Development of Functional Projections in L2 Syntax

We examine the acquisition of lexical and functional projections in adult L2 syntax, arguing that lexical projections are transferred from the L1, while functional projections are acquired following principles and parameters of L1 theory. We suggest that adults use different triggers for acquisition of these projections than children do. Largely based on their findings that Turkish learners of German behave like Romance learners in that all learners begin with a head-initial VP, irrespective of the headiness of VPs in their L1s, Clahsen and Muysken (1986, 1989) argue that adult L2 learners use general cognitive strategies since UG is no longer available. Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1981) show that Turkish and Korean learners of German transfer their head-final VPs from the start, initially producing only bare VPs. In keeping with previous analysis of the Romance data (Duplessis et. al. 1987, Schwartz and Tomaselli 1988) we argue that Spanish and Italian learners of German transfer their head-initial VPs at the initial stage of acquisition; we further argue that these learners have only a bare VP at this stage. The stages of acquisition for adults are comparable to those for children, yet the correlation between acquisition of functional elements and syntactic projections is lacking for adults.
This paper describes a set of complex phenomena within the spatialized reference systems of American Sign Language. Referents introduced into an ASL discourse are associated with spatial loci, and both pronouns and verbs of certain morphological classes are spatially indexed to those loci, thus unambiguously indicating their referents. This paper addresses circumstances in which one referent is associated with two distinct spatial loci. For example, the equivalent of "At the Institute he does good research, but at school he's flunking out" would (depending on context) have the pronominal signs directed to two distinct loci, although both refer to the same person. I analyze this in terms of the theory of mental spaces (Fauconnier, 1985). I will describe some of the factors influencing the choice of referential loci, as well as circumstances in which the loci for pronouns and verb agreement are distinct.

This paper describes a set of spatialized morphological processes in Chinese Sign Language, which is used in Hong Kong and parts of mainland China. CSL is entirely distinct from American Sign Language. We report on our finding that CSL uses spatial patterning extensively in its morphology. In its use of spatialized inflecting forms, CSL thus closely resembles ASL. In the inventory of spatial morphological devices, there are significant differences between CSL and ASL. We will describe a number of parallels and differences between the CSL and ASL inflectional systems. We will also describe spatial devices used for morphological derivation in CSL, in particular the restructuring of forms borrowed from written Chinese. Representations of Chinese characters are re-analyzed into component parts which are then manipulated to produce derived and inflected forms which are spatially much more complex than mere static representations of Chinese characters.

English syllable structure contains a glide slot. This paper justifies this claim and explores its consequences. It is shown that postvocalic /r/ is a glide. The complementary distribution of postvocalic /r/ with /y,w/ within English syllables suggests that these segments have the same position in syllable structure. If so, this would imply the existence of a position in syllable structure which these segments may occupy, one at a time. This “glide slot” is presumably identical with the second timing slot of long vowels and of diphthongs, but it is associated with syllables, since the complementary distribution occurs within single syllables. Several difficulties are eliminated, including the problem of the length contrast before /r/ (which doesn’t exist) and the 18 counterexamples taken from Trager & Bloch’s (1941). The theory of the glide slot restricts the phonological structures that are compatible with certain historical changes and dialectal variations. When a postvocalic consonant changes its phonetic quality, as in the vocalization of /r/ in earlier English, and the vocalization of /l/ currently in progress in various English dialects, the consequences are merger and/or breaking. Several historical and ongoing phonetic/phonological changes are clarified in this light. Directions for future research are outlined.
Shelley L. Veitman (Mercy Hospital)
Nonlinear Representation of ‘Word Recipes’

Children who use 'word recipes' often alter word shapes to fit these preferred phonotactic forms. The most striking types of recipes involve precedence restrictions, such as 'if a word contains a velar in any position, that velar must precede all other C's in the output form' (Berman 1977). Generative phonological analyses would require complicated metathesis rules to account for the apparent movements of elements affected by precedence. A nonlinear model of early phonology is proposed in which such elements would share a common root node, with contrastive features specified but unordered underlyingly. Surface order would be predicted by well-formedness conditions.

Heidi Waltz (University of California-Los Angeles)
Against Uniform Directionality: A Contrastive Analysis of Non-Nominate Verbs

This paper provides a contrastive analysis of German and English non-nominate verbs. It will be seen that the predicates in question do not show synchronically uniform behavior -- nor do they develop along the same lines historically as has been claimed in previous studies. Thus the theoretical claim of uniform directionality with regard to the development of non-nominate constructions has to be questioned seriously on the basis of the data presented here.

Don Weeda (University of Texas-Austin)
Boontling Trucation and Prosodic Morphology

McCarthy & Prince (1986) and Weeda (1991), among others, demonstrate that many word truncation (WT) patterns follow from mapping a prosodic template to a word. Here we analyse a pattern of WT in which the input phonology and morphology constrain the shape and prosodic contour of the output, mediated by general principles. Boontling (Adams 1971) is a deliberately contrived jargon of Mendocino County, California. Boontling words, compounds and phrases are disguised by rephonemicization of vowel quality, apocopative truncation, or both. Monomorphemic and suffixed words are apocopated to a mono-syllable (at < abalone) or a suffixed monosyllable (socker < sockdolager). However, prefixed, compound and phrasal sources produce more variation: monosyllabic (beemsh < bum show), trochees (neemer < no more), lambs (appelsah < apple show), and trisyllables (appeldier < apple drier). The analysis: Map a syllable template from left to right, appending a suffix. The result is subject to a proposed Stem Survivorship Condition (SSC) which states that stems cannot be entirely deleted. A violation of the SSC triggers initial syllable extra-metricality (EM), extending the mapping domain. Our proposal is consistent with PM under the "loose template" parameter of McCarthy & Prince (1991) and demonstrates that even morphological minimality requirements such as the SSC may be accommodated within prosodic accounts of word-formation.
D. H. Whalen (Haskins Laboratories)  
Arthur S. Abramson (University of Connecticut/Haskins Laboratories)  
Leigh Lisker (University of Pennsylvania/Haskins Laboratories)  

*FO Affects Voicing Judgments Even with Unambiguous VOTs*

The voicing of utterance initial stop consonants is primarily determined by the voice onset time (VOT), which is largely signalled by the time between release of the stop and the onset of voicing. In addition, a falling fundamental frequency (F0) is typical after a voiceless stop while flat or rising F0 usually accompanies voiced stops. These “perturbations” of the F0 by the voice of the stop have also been found to be effective perceptually, but only when the voice onset time (VOT) was ambiguous. The present study explored this effect by having English-speaking subjects identify the syllables /ba/ and /pa/ with one of seven VOT values and one of five onset F0 values. Unspedied identifications were, as before, unaffected for unambiguous VOTs. However, when the responses were made as quickly as possible, an inappropriate F0 was found to slow response time even for unambiguous VOTs. These results indicate that features that might be considered redundant are nonetheless taken into account perceptually. [Work supported by NIH Grant HD-01994.]

John B. Whitman (Cornell University)  
*Rightward Leakage in Verb Final Languages*

It has long been known that supposedly “strict” verb-final languages (as an approximation, those included by Greenberg (1963) in his Class 23) vary in the extent to which they allow “leakage” of material to the right of the verb. For example, Erguvanli (1984) notes that Kuno’s (1978) generalization that the post-verbal position in Japanese is restricted to “afterthought” material is too restrictive for Turkish. Many researchers (e.g. Herring & Paoliello, 1991) have noted a similar contrast between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages, where the former appear to allow a wider range of elements in post-verbal position.

This paper relates the the degree of rightward leakage allowed by verb-final languages with a morphological property, the presence or absence of post-tense suffixes (Whitman 1989) to the right of tense and/or agreement affixes in the verbal complex. It argues that languages with a morphological slot for post-tense suffixes severely restrict rightward leakage, while languages without such a position are relatively permissive of this possibility. The paper proposes that languages with post-tense affixes must addjoin postverbal constituents to a syntactic projection higher than S, and that the restrictions on rightward leakage are accounted for by the upward boundedness of rightward movement (Ross 1967).

Noriko Kurokawa Williams (George Mason University)  
*Semantically-Motivated Intonational Phrases in Japanese*

Previous treatment of two phonological phrases (minor and major) in the standard Tokyo dialect of Japanese (McCawley 1968, and Poser 1984) accounts for two tonal forms in a string of two accented words /yonemotosan no ozuyo'tyan/ ‘Mr.Yonemoto’s daughter’ /yonemotosan no/ ‘Mr.Yonemoto-genitive’ and /ozuyo'tyan/ ‘daughter’):

a) [□□□□□□□□□□□□□] (partial cataphasis) and b) [□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□] (accent deletion). Our study recognizes a third form c) [□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□] (total cataphasis), and claims that a three-way distinction of the tonal forms in a)−c) directly corresponds with a three-way semantic distinction, whether a word bears a focus or not: The scope of focus is on ozuyo'tyan in a); yonemotosan no in b); and yonemotosan no ozuyo'tyan in c).

The proposal of a third phonological phrase (intermediate) enables us to account for the three tonal forms. Two semantically-motivated intonational phrasing rules are proposed by which the scope of semantic focus governs the underlying structure of the phonological component, as to underlying tones (initial low tone and accent high tone) and phrase boundaries (a minor phrase boundary on every focus-bearing word; and an intermediate phrase boundary at the left-most focus-bearing word), thereby governs surface phonetic forms.
Stephen A. Wilson (University of California-Berkeley)
The Accent of Latin: Stress, Pitch or Something More?

The debate on the phonetic nature of Latin accent sets the claims of several Roman grammarians that their language had pitch-accent (Varro, Cicero, etc.) vs. modern scholars who take syncope, accent-verse-letus agreement, and the presence of stress before and after the Classical period as rare signs of stress accent in Latin (Sturtevant, Kent, etc.). A model of accentual change incorporating metrical and ossegmental theory can resolve this dispute by distinguishing rhythmic prominence patterns from lexical accent. Under such theories, stress-like patterns may be independent from accent, though pressure exists to simplify the system by subordinating accent placement to metrical conditions. Based on analogies from Slavic, Bantu, and other languages, I suggest a three-stage development: 1) the “free” pitch accent inherited from IE coexisted with a non-accentual pattern of metrical prominence. 2) The original conditions of the IE accent were lost, and the pitch accent became associated with metricaly strong positions, thus combining the features of many stress and pitch systems; 3) Pitch distinctions were lost, leaving a true stress system. Such an approach outlines mechanisms for change in prosodic systems through the interactions of the tonal and metrical subsystems, and validates the usefulness of such structures for diachronic studies.

Anthony C. Woodbury (University of Texas-Austin)
Utterance Final Phonology and the Prosodic Hierarchy: A Case from Nunivak Yup’ik

Support for prosodic hierarchy theory (NesporthVogel 1986, Hayes 1989) comes when a single unit or domain in the prosodic hierarchy is referred to by more than one independent process in the phonology. Conversely, when a language has a special prosodic boundary phenomenon, it should refer to some level in the hierarchy and hence pattern together with whatever other features in the phonology refer to that level. This paper is about a robust utterance-final phenomenon in the Nunivak dialect of Central Alaskan Yupik Eskimo. It is a clearly detectable, nongradient distortion of ordinary word stress (Jacobson 1984:37), and should therefore be expected to give unequivocal evidence for prosodic units. The point of this paper is that it doesn’t. Instead, it supports a rather different model of postlexical prosody, according to which the distributions of prosodic junctures can be referred directly to syntax, discourse structure, or pragmatics with no loss of generality to the phonology (Liberman, McLemore, & Woodbury 1991).

Jie Xu (University of Maryland-College Park)
Possessor Raising in Chinese Passive and Ergative Constructions

Some Chinese passive and ergative constructions have verbs that are presumably incapable of assigning accusative Case being followed by NP’s as in examples (1) and (2) below:

(1) Zhangsan si-le liangke shu. (2) Zhangsan bei tou-le liangke shu.
Zhangsan die-ASP two tree Zhangsan PASS steal-ASP two tree
'Two of Zhangsan’s trees died.' 'Two of Zhangsan’s trees were stolen.'

I argue that given the possessor/possession semantic restriction between the superficial subject and object NP’s, the former is in the SPEC (modifier) position of the latter at DS in passive. And given the Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978), the superficial object NP, with the possessor NP in its SPEC, is also in object position at DS in ergative as well as in passive. To save the thematic object NP from the Case-filter, the syntactic process of ‘Possessor Raising’ applies to move the possessor NP from the SPEC/NP position to the subject position which is Case-marked and θ-roleless in both constructions. The head noun (i.e. the superficial object NP) left behind receives the assignment of the inherent partitive Case (Bellletti 1988), to which the thematic object NP as a whole is not eligible because of the ‘indefiniteness effect.’
Katsuhito Yabushita (University of Texas-Austin)

On the Exhaustive-Listing Use of Japanese Nominative Marker ga

Since Kuroda (1965) and Kuno (1973) observed that there is a usage of Japanese nominative marker ga referred to as "the exhaustive-listing reading," many authors have tried to attribute the reading to the lexical and syntactic (configurational) properties of ga. In this paper, we will see that such sentential-grammar approaches to the phenomenon are essentially misguided. Instead, it will be demonstrated that the reading should be taken as a conversational implicature resulting from the fact that the utterance of sentences is used to change information states. And, furthermore, the information-state change is subject to the background-focus structure of sentences. This accounts for the fact that sentences with topic marker wa, instead of ga do not have the exhaustive-listing reading.

Shi Zhang (Duke University)

Crossed Dependencies in Multiple-Topic Constructions and Syntactic Calculi

Steedman (1985) proposes Permutation-Lifting (PL) NP → (S/X)/(S/X)/NP to account for topicalizations such as (1) The apples, Bill put on the table, and (2) That book, Kim claimed that Zed had already read. The rule, with the topic feature, correctly excludes instances of nested topicalizations in English such as (3)*On the table, the apples, he put and (4) That book, Zed, Kim claimed had already read. In this paper, we show that languages allow nested multiple-topic structures like those in (3) and (4). We propose a non-feature-marking PL to handle languages in which multiple arguments can be extracted as topics. Additionally, we show that Chinese allows multiple-arguments extraction which involves crossed-dependencies as in (5), coordination as in (6) and both crossed-dependency and coordination as in (7) (5)-(7) are direct word-by-word English translation due to limited space; (5) Zed, that book, Kim claimed had already read. (6) Zed, Kim claims has bought and Bill believes has read that book, and (7) Zed, that book, Kim claims has bought and Bill believes has read. Without evoking mixed compositions, we suggest flexible type-change composition rules to allow generation of crossed-dependencies while keeping original type-forming operators of Lambek Calculi. We also demonstrate that the proposed type-change rule has application to extraction in English relative clauses such as (8) This is the man who Bill says ate the cake and Kim says ate the apple.

Arnold M. Zwicky (Ohio State University/Stanford University)

Exceptional Degree Modifiers: A Puzzle in Internal and External Syntax

We identify two restrictive assumptions adopted in many approaches to syntax - Strictly Categorial Determination (SCD: the category of an expression entirely determines its external syntax and is entirely determined by its internal syntax) and Strictly Local Determination (SLD: both the external and internal syntax of an expression are determined strictly locally) - and note that apparent counterexamples to both abound. We treat one such problematic case, involving exceptional degree modifiers in English.

An expression like too big or how big is an AdjP with Deg and Adj as its immediate constituents, yet its external syntax is not that of other AdjPs like very big and more extraordinary. Instead of combining with N to make N' (very big dog), it combines with an NP with the determiner a to make NP (too big a dog).

Apparent violations of SLD engendered by these modifiers fall in with other situations where "particle words" mark syntactic constructions. Apparent violations of SCD fall in with other situations where syntactic rules refer to specific constructions - here, to the AdjP construction combining exceptional Deg modifiers with Adj heads. Our analysis then both gains support from and gives support to other arguments for a construction-based framework for syntax.
Linguistic Society of America

Abstracts for Organized Session
Colloquium: Computing and the Ordinary Working Linguist

Conference Center Ballroom

Organized by: John Lawler, University of Michigan

Thursday Evening, 9 January
7:00-10:00 PM

Few issues stir such broad and deep interest among linguists of all kinds as do discussions on the uses, value, and shortcomings of computers in the practice of linguistics. Unfortunately, such discussions only rarely lead to useful dialogue because there is no good common venue for the shared experience of the practitioners. There is a field called "computational linguistics," but it is more properly considered a subdiscipline of computer science, and the interests of ordinary working linguists are usually quite distinct from topics considered there. We hope this colloquium will begin to provide such a venue.

This session grows out of last year's membership survey by the LSA's Committee on Information and Communication Technology. A number of issues surfaced repeatedly there to which we will attempt to speak. One of them—the lack of knowledge about what software is available and the consequent daily re-inventions of the wheel—is addressed in part by the Software Exhibit. This colloquium will report on the results of the user survey, and then try to bring together in one event a series of reports on what is new, what is old, and what is now possible in a few of the many potential areas where computing has affected the practice of the linguistic profession.

Evan Antworth (Summer Institute of Linguistics)
Computing in the Field of Linguistics

The wide availability of personal computers, particularly battery-powered portable computers, has changed the way linguists do field work. Data management software has replaced punch cards and 3x5 slips. While general-purpose database management systems (such as DBASE) can be used for language data, field linguists need software designed specially for linguistic work. Programs now exist for managing lexical and textual data, and to a lesser extent, phonological and grammatical data. These programs are mainly limited to data entry, sorting and retrieval. While linguistic software aids the linguist in retrieving data for forming and testing hypotheses, the hypotheses themselves still must come from the linguist, not the computer. Some of the programs widely used by field linguists include IT and Shoebox. There is also a new Macintosh program that generates concordances on both flat text and interlinear text. It should be useful both to field linguists and to literary scholars.

Keith Denning (Eastern Michigan University)
Phonetics and Computing

This presentation will discuss what kinds of software and hardware are now available to linguists for phonetics. The emphasis will be on micro-computer-based products, which either run without modification on ordinary personal computers, or require some small amount of extra audio equipment. Both research-oriented products (like Signalize) and software more appropriate for educational uses (like HyperCard) will be considered.
The LINGUIST list is an electronic discussion forum available to academic linguists; it is housed at Texas A&M University and moderated by the presenters. In its 8 months of existence it has acquired over 1300 subscribers from North and South America, Europe, and Australia; but many linguists are still unaware of its existence or facilities. Thus, one purpose of this presentation is to introduce the LINGUIST list to potential subscribers by summarizing its history, its administration, and the nature of its discussions. We also hope to refine its objectives and guidelines through discussion with current participants. Discusses will be such editorial problems as the handling of overtly political messages, commercial product announcements, and "flames." And suggestions will be solicited for the improvement of editorial procedures, electronic distribution, visual format, and the quality of the discourse.

John Lawler (University of Michigan)
Survey Report and Prospects for the Profession

Over the last year, the LSA's Committee on Information and Communication Technology conducted the first member survey on computer use. It was not intended to be a scientific survey of the membership, but rather to collect information for future use. This report will present the major findings of the survey, and touch on a number of issues that arose frequently in members' responses. (For those interested, a copy of a HyperCard stack detailing all responses will be available for consultation or copying at the meeting.) Following this, I will briefly introduce the other presenters and explain their topics in this context. Finally, I will suggest some future developments we can look forward to, and some that we can be instrumental in achieving.

Thomas Toon (University of Michigan)
Large Corpora and Text Encoding

This presentation will survey (1) the corpora which are readily available and of primary interest to linguists; (2) the standards under which the various corpora were encoded; (3) hardware and software requirements/options. I will report particularly on University of Michigan efforts to provide networked access for faculty and students via a distributed Unix workstation environment. We will discuss strategies for establishing and maintaining systems.
American Dialect Society

Abstracts of Regular Papers
Panel: A Quarter-Century Retrospective In Honor of William Labov's
Social Stratification of English in New York City

Philadelphia South
Saturday, 11 January
9:00-10:30 AM

Chair: Anthony Kroch (U PA)

Panelists:
Deborah Schiffrin (Georgetown U): Narrative Analyses and Research Advances in Sociolinguistic Inquiry

John Baugh (Stanford U): Sociolinguistics, Dialectology, and the Quest for Educational Excellence among Culturally Diverse Students

Guy Bailey (OK SU): Spacial Dimensions of Language Change

This session is sponsored by the American Dialect Society to honor the 25th anniversary of William Labov's Social Stratification of English in New York City (1966). Papers by D. Schiffrin, J. Baugh, and G. Bailey consider different dimensions of sociolinguistics and dialectology that have been influenced by methodological advances that can be traced to Labov's classical New York City research. Schiffrin examines the role of narrative studies in sociolinguistics, drawing upon conversational data in support of her observations. Baugh reaffirms the educational relevance of sociolinguistics and dialectology, particularly with respect to educational parity for America's students of color. Bailey concludes this session by considering the relationship between social studies of linguistic variation and "spacial" studies of variability. Phonological evidence and, perhaps, grammatical data will be presented in support of Bailey's remarks. Each paper addresses empirical questions that are relevant to contemporary research questions in linguistics, dialectology, and applied linguistics.

Panel: The Significance of Slang

Philadelphia South
Saturday, 11 January
10:45 AM-12:15 PM

Chair: Connie Eble (U NC-Chapel Hill)

Panelists:
Linda Moebe-Liezegege (U IL-Urbana)
Panels Munro (U CA-Los Angeles)
Thomas Nunnally (Auburn U)

In the inaugural issue of Language in Society in 1972, William Labov characterized articles on slang as belonging to "an outer, extralinguistic darkness," as indeed slang at that time did not ordinarily constitute the subject matter or data of professional scholarship. Twenty years later, slang is coming in from the outer darkness to be recognized and studied. College campuses in particular have offered the opportunity for glimpsing this lexical phenomenon in everyday use. The panelists have all contributed to the developing identification and analysis of slang through studies of student vocabulary.
North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences

Abstracts of Regular Papers
Dianne Brain (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

This paper traces existing lexical items which entered the English language from Spanish during the era of colonization. Its purpose is to shed light on the acquisition of neologisms in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England and to provide insight into the impact that the first accounts of the Spanish colonization had on the English understanding of the New World.

Stephen Guice (Memphis State University)
Evaluating Pre-Institutional Linguistics

Much has been said, most often negatively, about the relative value of linguistic work produced prior to the Neo-Grammarians. This paper will address this general question of the value of this work by looking at the work of two early nineteenth-century American linguists, John Pickering (1777-1846) and Peter Stephen DuPonceau (1760-1842). Neither man was in one sense a "professional" linguist, yet they both had a quite significant impact on the linguistic theory and scholarship of their own and later periods. By examining the community and continuity of scholarship that these men participated in, it is hoped that some general principles for treating the linguistic work of earlier periods can be proposed.

Kurt Jankowsky (Georgetown University)
Hermann Paul's Individualpsychologie versus Wilhelm Wundt's Volkerpsychologie

The vital role played by psychology in language development and language use is not an invention of the late 20th century. The question was hotly debated at the time when the historical study of language had reached a new height during the last three decades of the previous century. The status of being the most notable -- and perhaps also the most fruitful -- protagonists for the exhaustive investigation of what the impact of psychological aspects on language was and is, must undoubtedly be accorded to Paul and Wundt. Their differences in point of departure, methodologies employed, and, naturally, objectives attained are substantial, and so are the repercussions which they triggered from both contemporaries and succeeding generations of scholars. This paper will attempt to present and interpret their respective positions and draw conclusions as to the relevance of their findings today.
Douglas Kibbee (University of Illinois-Urbana)

*Durkheim, Language, and Linguistics*

The French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1858–1917) is best known for his injunction that "social facts must be studied as things" (Les regles de la methode sociologique). Among those 'things' was language: "Le langage est chose sociale au premier chef" (L'education morale). Indeed language was central to many of Durkheim's concerns, both as an object of study (one of the many social forces unifying societies) and, in the case of the French language in particular, as a barrier to progress. Both of these interests reflect Durkheim's involvement in the development of the institutions of the French Third Republic and they both have repercussions in linguistic circles. The failure of these ideas to take firm hold in French linguistic circles can thus be linked to the waning of republican fervor in the years leading to World War I.

Konrad Koerner (University of Ottawa)

*On the Significance of Dates in Linguistic Historiography*

In the history of any discipline dates have a great importance attached to them. They appear to serve as signposts in the progress of the field in question. In the natural sciences these dates are often connected with discoveries or inventions and of course with the names of their authors, e.g., the discovery in 1628 of the circulation of the blood by William Harvey or the construction in 1876 of the first apparatus for the transmission of sound through electricity by Alexander Graham Bell. In the science of language these dates are usually associated with the publication of books that subsequent generations regarded as containing statements, observations, or explanations that led to a change in the direction of the field. The most widely accepted, if not canonical, dates in linguistics are 1786, 1816, 1876, 1916, and 1957. Almost every student is familiar with the names associated with these dates: Sir William Jones, Franz Bopp, the Neogrammarians, Saussure, and Chomsky. Some of these dates, notably 1786, 1876, and 1957, have been contested by historiographers in recent years for a variety of reasons: lack of originality, competing dates, and insufficient discontinuity among them. The present paper investigates the selection of Bopp's *Conjugationssystem* as marking the beginning of linguistics as a science, the reasons for this choice and their possible justification. The result of this research sheds interesting light on the various internal and external factors that may impinge on the choice of other works as meriting such distinction, such as Friedrich Schlegel's *Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* (1808), August Schleicher's *Compendium* (1861, 1876), Hermann Paul's *Principien* (1880, 1920), or Karl Bühler's *Sprachtheorie* (1934), to mention just a few.

Dominique Linchet (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

*Des Marches, fils et terre ferme... A Study of the Language and the Impact of the New World in France*

This research confronts the 1522 French translation of H. Cortez' second letter with the 1519 Spanish original. Through morphological, syntactical and orthographical analysis, it will attempt to situate this text in the history of the French language and it will explore the possible influence of Spanish on the translation. This study will conclude by stressing the importance of such a document in the history of languages and in the transmission of knowledge.
Central to Steinthal's linguistic theory is his semiotic conception of the parallel role of form and material in language and art. Steinthal viewed works of art and language as mediating presentations consisting of a material or content and a form, the means by which a presentation is accomplished. He believed that the material and form of a presentation also have formal and material aspects respectively, but he insisted that the form of a presentation is not the same as the form of its content. Steinthal considered works of art and language as appearances, consisting only of form. They are only form because their forms are inseparable from their material aspects, whose only value is to be form, thus allowing them to appear as something else. Steinthal distinguished between an outer form, the articulated sound-form, and an inner form, the peculiar forms in which objects and relations between objects are mentally represented or the grammatical categories finding their outer expression in the morphology of a language. Similarly, the way in which a content is apprehended and presented in a work of art constituted its inner form. Steinthal advocated the evaluation of the inner forms of languages and works of art, and he established a hierarchy of inner forms of languages based on the material/formal and nominal/verbal distinctions in their morphologies.

William E. McMahon (University of Akron)
Epistemology and Some Recent Theories of Linguistics

The ideas of classical TGG, formulated more than 25 years ago, were founded on logical empiricist philosophy of science. In philosophy the deductivist paradigm has been largely superseded by "anti-realism." This paper will examine the impact of anti-realism on the field of linguistics. Critiques of Chomsky along the lines of anti-realism will be considered and evaluated. Finally, there will be a discussion of whether TGG has fulfilled the scientific requirements that were originally proposed for it, or whether there are some alternative criteria in terms of which linguistic theories should be evaluated.

Geoffrey Nunberg (Xerox PARC)
Campbell and Hume on General Use: Language and the Politics of Taste

The historiography of doctrines of usage has been extensively and often unfortunately colored by attitudes towards modern prescriptivism. The problem is evident in discussions of 18th-century interpretations of Horace's dictum that custom (usus) is the arbiter of correctness. Along with Johnson, the most influential 18th century interpreter of this doctrine was George Campbell. Modern historians of the period have taxed Campbell with inconsistency for endorsing the authority of general use while at the same time holding that usage is subject to critical review. In fact Campbell's position had nothing to do with modern linguistic naturalism. Its immediate source was in Enlightenment aesthetic doctrines, particularly those of Hume, whose 1757 essay "On the standard of taste" Campbell closely paraphrased in presenting his views of usage. Hume laid the faculty of taste to uniformities of human nature, which while subject critical refinement, must over the long run ensure that a "considerable uniformity of sentiment" is evidence of aesthetic merit. As applied to usage, this entailed that precedents validated by general acceptance must be taken as authoritative, not simply out of an ethical obligation to conform to established practice, but because they were likely to be truer than any others. In this, as in most other of their features, 18th-century doctrines of usage were aimed at revising aristocratic cultural hegemony, by establishing the authority of the print discourse of the bourgeois public sphere.
Maria Tsiapera (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

*Saussure’s Role in Late Nineteenth-Early Twentieth Century Thought*

The 19th century for most human sciences accepted that by finding the historical reason or cause of some form of human behavior, one would explain it. Thus history equaled explanation. Saussure along with his contemporaries Durkheim and Freud reacted against this idea. Social and linguistic facts must be treated as part of a system of conventions and values. Saussure and his two contemporaries, Durkheim and Freud, established this type of investigation that sought out the system of behavior rather than the individual causes. An over-generalization of the 19th century would be that under the apparent order of the world hides a fundamental irrationality. For example, Marx’s view that the orderly exchange of commodities that goes on in a society is based on the anarchical principle of personal interest and the reduction of man to material things. One might say that the 20th century inverts this perspective and the question becomes how does man cope with the apparent chaos of the modern world? This question was asked more or less simultaneously in a variety of fields but Saussure’s reply best exemplifies the early 20th century approach. The basic idea being that language is a system, that it is self-regulating and complete and it adapts to change by transforming its features while maintaining its system or structure.

Jan-Eric Widell (Uppsala University)

*The Social Aspect of Language Interpreted in a Saussurean Textus-Receptus Tradition*

“We have argued for a conceptual coherence to be observed in de Saussure’s Cours de linguistique générale with regard to the social characterization of language. (cf. Widell, 1990; also KÅHOLM-presentation 1991). In this paper we will illustrate some interpretations of the social aspect of language pursued in a Saussurean textus receptus-tradition, i.e., a tradition where the Saussurean ideas are susceptible of various interpretations but also of discussion and criticism. Thus Trubetzkoy claims phonology to be a social science, studying Sprachgebilde (langue) as a social institution, whereas Hjelmslev explores conceptual distinctions for a reinterpretation of the Saussurean dichotomy langue – parole. In Goberg’s tripartite conception of language the concept of norm encompasses what is realized in a socio-historical reality. In Volosinov’s polemic attack on abstract objectivism the Saussurean linguistics is criticized for its preoccupation with “normatively identical forms”.

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Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics

Abstracts of Regular Papers
Jacque Arends (University of Amsterdam)  
The First Creole Grammar: Pieter van Dyk's Sranan Manual (1740)  
(SAT MORN: 7)

Generally (e.g. Holm 1988: 18) Magens' 1770 grammar of Negerhollands is held to be 'the first published grammar of any creole language'. However, there is reason to believe that it is predated by Van Dyk's 'Instruction of Negro English (Sranan)', whose year of publication on both bibliographical and linguistic grounds may provisionally be set at 1740. In my talk I will concentrate on the linguistic features of this booklet, which characterize the variety represented on its pages as an intermediate stage between Herlein's (1718) early 18th century, pidginoid Sranan and Schumann's (1783) late 18th century, fully creolized version of the same language. Some of the features I will look at include epithetic vowels, clefting, copulas, comparatives and serialization. The fact that in all these areas Van Dyk's Sranan consistently occupies an intermediate position in terms of linguistic development, strengthens the plausibility of the 'gradualist model' of creolization (Carden & Stewart 1988; Arends 1989).

Dwijen Bhattacharjya (City University of New York-Graduate Center)  
Nagamese: Pidgin, Creole or Creoloid?  
(FRI MORN: 6)

Sreednar (1974) claims that Nagamese (N), a lingua franca for over half a million people belonging to some twenty indigenous Tibeto-Burman linguistic groups and seven other immigrant language groups living in the hilly state of Nagaland in eastern India, is a stable pidgin. He has also claimed that N is a creole for the Kacharis of Dimapur as well as for many children of mixed marriages all over Nagaland.

Ferguson (1983) however has suggested that the language might be a creoloid. It has also been suggested that N is imperfectly learned Assamese or Bengali.

The present paper analyzes a corpus of N data and examines the socio-historical background of its speakers to demonstrate that N is actually an expanded pidgin which has started to creolize in most parts of the state. The variety of N spoken by the Kacharls of Dimapur and its surroundings is a creole rather than a creoloid.

As Sreednar (p.c) rightly speculates, due to the centuries old hostility between the Assamese and the Kacharls N is unlikely to ever creolize. For the same exact reason it is implausible that the Kacharis ever attempted to shift over to Assamese thereby creating a creoloid.

Kenneth Bilby (Smithsonian Institution)  
Further Observations on the Jamaican Maroon Spirit Language  
(SAT AFT: 7)

In the Windward Maroon communities of eastern Jamaica, some members of the older generation retain partial competence in a conservative creole found in no other parts of the island. This archaic creole is spoken nowadays only in ceremonial contexts, when Maroons are possessed by the spirits of their ancestors, and thus has come to be known as "Maroon Spirit Language" (MSL). This paper will update previous research on MSL, and will present new lexical and phonological data that helps to shed further light on the relationship between it and the other English-lexicon Atlantic creoles (particularly those of Suriname). The paper will also discuss a number of broader questions about the origins and historical development of the Atlantic creoles raised by this new data.
Rodolfo Cels (University of Georgia)
Towards a Definition of Ship English

An empirical definition of Ship English (ShE) must be approached through an historical method in which its phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics are not only systematically discussed, but compared with the corresponding aspects of other contemporary varieties of nonstandard Early Modern English (EMoDE). In this paper I will make a comparative study of the morpho-syntax of the putative ShE and the nonstandard EMoDE dialects in order to answer the following questions: Is ShE a "common denominator" variety skewed toward one of the dialects as its target language? If so, to what extent did restructuring take place? Because of the typological similarity of all the dialects in the ShE contact situation, any restructuring present will not be as extreme as in contact situations which have a typologically unrelated lexifier.

An effort towards an empirical definition of ShE contributes to the overall goal of rendering more concrete and verifiable the nature of Guinea Coast Creole English (GCCCE). If it proves to be a full-fledged variety, ShE may be considered an additional nonstandard EMoDE dialect available for input in the initial stages of GCCCE. Consequently, the complexity of the acquisition process leading to the formation of GCCCE may then be articulated more explicitly by weighing the influence of principles of context-relative markedness.

G. Tucker Childs (University of the Witwatersrand)
The Expressive Function in Pidgin Languages: The Case of African Ideophones

Typically not the focus of linguistic analysis, the expressive function nonetheless represents a core linguistic behavior. Throughout Africa, ideophones robustly manifest that function. When adult speakers learn and begin to use a second language, particularly in contact situations with limited Li input, they often draw on structures and resources from Li. These facts suggest that when languages with ideophones serve as the substrate for a contact language, ideophones will be found in that new language, as in the case for Creole (Kuna Biseau), Krio (Sierra Leone), and Liberian English. Yet not all African contact languages possess ideophones. This paper surveys and characterizes the distribution of ideophones in a number of African language varieties used by speakers of languages with ideophones. The explanation for why there are no ideophones in Fanakalo (Southern Africa), for example, is clear (the limited functions of Fanakalo, but why are there none, for example, in Teksteela (South Africa)? A full answer must draw on data-free urbanization varieties of African languages, e.g., Bangho (CAM) Iscaesho (South Africa), in which ideophones are also absent or reduced in number despite their presence in the matrix language. Central to an explanation is the loss of local identity (e.g., Labov 1978) that often occurs with urbanization.

J. Clancy Clements (Indiana University)
Language Shift and Language Borrowing Effects in Korlai Portuguese

Recently Thomason and Kaufman (1988) have argued that the process of abrupt creolization is an instance of language shift. In a two-language contact situation in which a creole has emerged and developed over a longer period of time, as in the case of the Indo-Portuguese (IP) creoles, it becomes difficult to sort out which features of the creoles are products of the initial language shift and which are the result of subsequent borrowing within the language contact situation. Using data from Korlai Portuguese (KP), various phonetic and phonological features, which are indicators of Marathi influence on KP, will be examined. (Marathi is the contact language.) What is revealed from this examination is that Marathi distinctive features such as retroflexity and aspiration were only incorporated into KP long after KP had become a creole, while different realizations of Portuguese (Ptg.) phonemes and the resulting creation of new phoneme pairs arguably have been in KP since its inception. This claim is substantiated by data from other language contact situations. Finally, there are developments in KP that are entirely novel: e.g. Ptg. /z/ is realized as [x] in KP. Word-externally, however, KP [r] loses its aspiration and the aspiration floats to word-initial position: Ptg. barriga 'belly' --> KP bharig, Ptg. arroz 'rice' --> KP haro.

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Beth Craig (City University of New York-Graduate Center)  
American Indian English

This paper provides an overview of linguistic research on American Indian English. Possible influences on American Indian English will be discussed, and evidence from linguistic analyses will be presented. Three proposed theories of origin for American Indian English will also be discussed, including Malancon and Malancon’s (1977) boarding school theory of origin and Leechman and Hall’s (1955) theory of origin from a pidgin. In the final section, Leechman and Hall’s origin theory will be extended, with evidence of contact and migration, to account for the expanded variety of American Indian English spoken in the “Indian Territory” of Oklahoma in the 19th century. It will be shown that sufficient contact existed among the tribes in this area to allow for stabilization of an expanded pidgin variety. The role of boarding schools in the spread of Indian English will also be re-examined, and the suggestion made that the boarding school environments could have served to spread Indian English varieties to tribes that would have had little language contact with whites before the last decade of the 19th century. This preliminary historical and linguistic study supports the conclusion that continuity from the earliest pidgin stages was not only possible but likely, and that subsequent diffusion of expanded varieties could explain some of the similarities found in the American Indian English varieties that have been studied.

Charles E. DeBose (California State University-Hayward)  
Closely-Related Language Varieties in Contact

Students of language contact generally consider the coexistence of two different linguistic systems bilingualism regardless of the degree of proficiency between them. The language situation in the African-American (AA) speech community may be considered a case of two closely-related varieties, standard English (SE) and African-American Vernacular (AAV) English, in contact. Recent findings of codeswitching between AAV and SE by middle-class AAAs conflict with the belief that only poor AAs speak AAV and underscore the need for studies of AAV from a languages-in-contact perspective. Recent progress in the description of AAV as an autonomous linguistic system facilitates the analysis of AA speech data in terms of the interaction of two different autonomous grammars. The alternation between the negative markers ain’t and didn’t is one of many features of AA speech that are adequately accounted for with a hybrid systemic model. The paper includes a discussion of the problem of code identification in the analysis of codeswitching between closely-related varieties.

Michel F. DeGraff (University of Pennsylvania)  
The Syntax of Predication in Haitian

In simple declarative sentences that are unmarked for tense, AP, PP and bare NP predicates are string-adjacent to their subjects. But nominalia occurring in predicate position with a determiner require the morpheme se to occur between the subject and the predicate. This distinction between AP/PP/NP and DP predicates disappears either when the predicate is negated or when the predicate is preceded by a tense morpheme or when the subject is wh-moved, with the morpheme ki preceding the predicate. This paper analyses the syntactic patterns of predication in HA, focusing on the mechanisms that regulate the (non-)appearance of se. Before describing our proposal, we briefly examine three previous analyses related to HA predicate constructions, Lumiden (1990), Deprez & Vinet (1991) and Fauchois (1982), and explain why they need to be improved upon. We base our analysis on structural differences between AP/PP/NP and DP Small Clauses. These differences are motivated by the distinct semantic properties of these maximal projections. We are mainly inspired by, although not completely abiding to, Stowell’s (1983, 1989) insights about Small Clauses. We present the advantages of our analysis in terms of its naturalness and its predictions. Our analysis of predication in HA also sheds light on broader linguistic issues. It supports the distinction between NP and DP (Abney 1987, Stowell 1989), and shows that this distinction has repercussions in the syntax of Small Clauses and of predication.
Viviane Deprez (Rutgers University)

Is Haitian Creole Really a Pro-Drop Language?

It has been proposed (DeGraff 91) that Haitian Creole (HC) is a pro-drop language (PDL). In this paper, I raise serious problems for this analysis and propose in contrast that HC is a non PDL with phonological clitics. HC has a number of properties unknown to more familiar PDLs: 1) Some (but not all) overt expletives are obligatory: *(11) difisil pou Jan pati (Deprez 89; Vinet 90; 2) there is an overt equivalent of the that-t effect (Koopen 82) 3) referential subjects are never empty: *vini. To account for 3) DeGraff analyses subject clitics (scls) as agreement markers in INFL required to license an empty pro. Under this view, HC should be similar to the Northern Italian dialects (NID) analyzed by Rizzi (86). But HC contrasts with NID in NOT allowing a) the occurrence of quantified or non-dialected NPs with scls *(12a) Person li pa vini, *(12b) Jan li vini, b) subject inversion, c) object clitics: no known PDL where pro is "identified" by AGR manifests c. 5) Independently of INFL, HC clitics appear in the NP system: fre'm (my brother); 6) HC scls are more pronominal (wrt coordination) than those of French for which an AGR analysis is already controversial (Kayne 83, Rizzi 86). These properties are expected if HC clitics are phonological, not syntactic.

Hildo H. do Couto (University of Brasilia)

Formation and Transformation of Kriol Phonology

We do not have any texts of the period of formation of Kriol. Thus it is impossible to reconstruct its syntax and morphology. But if we proceed like the Wörter und Sachen school, we can recuperate something of its phonology. We can select some lexical areas that were certainly of crucial importance at that time -- christianization, ship language, etc -- and compare them to some isolated words recorded by Almada (1594) and others. In the framework of Stampe's Natural Phonology it is possible to show some trends of the formation/ transformation of Kriol phonology. It will be also shown that Jakobson's dephonologization/phonologization/ rephonologization theory -- a phonological equivalent of the pidginization/creolization/decroolization cycle -- is useful for the understanding of this process.

Genevieve Escure (University of Minnesota-Minneapolis)

Creolity and Reduplication

Cross-referential mechanisms are examined in creoles in order to determine whether they are formally different from those occurring in non-creoles. The reduplication of lexical units, especially of nouns and verbs, is a widespread phenomenon in creole syntax, often combining with erasure and ellipsis. All three types of cross-reference will be investigated in two contact languages: Belizean Creole with English lexical base, and Michif, a variety with French and Cree lexicon spoken in North Minnesota and North Dakota. The theoretical issue to be addressed involves the relative predominance of pragmatic and syntactic mechanisms in cross-reference, especially in reduplication. It has been claimed that the pragmatic mode is preferred over the syntactic mode in the colloquial varieties of any language, as well as in second language acquisition processes (Givon 1982). If creoles, being predominantly oral varieties are found to favor the pragmatic mode over the syntactic mode, then the validity of a concept of creolity differentiating creoles from non-creoles is seriously weakened.

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In many instances, the reconstruction of pidgin and creole developments (e.g. Melanesian Pidgin English, Palenquero, Papiamentu, Tok Pisin), as well as the analysis of historical change (e.g. Greek, PIE), and child language processes (e.g. English, Hebrew, Portuguese, Spanish) is based on records which are approximations of real speech facts. This paper formulates a method to constrain the reconstruction of such varied linguistic systems. The method relies on the concept of naturalness, characterized in terms of universals of markedness. Naturalness criteria and language universals are used in certain whether reconstructed systems represent genuine linguistic developments.

I. Fodor

Purism in Some Creole Languages

In the spontaneous and unplanned development of vocabulary two processes prevail: borrowing and word-formation. The latter method is determined by internal (structural) and external (sociolinguistic) factors, i.e. mainly by puristic tendencies. Surprisingly, in the evolution of creole languages there was, or course, no room for purism, however, recent modernizing and standardizing efforts bring about the appearance of two kinds of purism: 1) purism directed to loanwords of certain languages, like in Janglo (Central African Republic) where French loans are to be substituted for words of the neighboring African languages, and 2) protective purism, as in Haitian Creole in which assimilated elements (of French origin) are to be preferred rather than alternately used similar French forms; or in Papiamentu in which the Papiamentu Standardization Committee (Comision Standardizacion di Papiamentu) chooses rather assimilated inherent forms for Dutch or Spanish ones.

Charles Gilman (Rainbow Bridge Consulting)

North American Native Pidgin: The Original Pidgin English?

Documentary evidence shows that an English pidgin was used by Natives of North America as early as 1605, and had achieved a definite form by 1675. This pidgin had lexical, syntactic, and phonological features which are widespread in later English creoles and pidgins of Africa, the Caribbean, the Far East, and Oceania. Pidgin English may have originated in North America and been diffused to the other regions.
Eugeni Golovko (Institute of Linguistics, Leningrad)  
Formation of Grammatical Categories in Copper Island Aleut

It seems indisputable that any language that was formed as a result of language interference deviates from the source languages. It may be of interest to dismantle Copper Island Aleut (a "hybrid language" that has come into life as a result of the interference of Aleut and Russian) and analyse the formation of grammatical categories.

The original Aleut analytical future is substituted for the analytical future with the auxiliary bud- taken from Russian, plus the infinitive form in -t, also Russian. Of the two possible ways to express the future tense, Copper Island Aleut has chosen the least ambiguous and the most "habitual" one (the second Russian future tense is synthetic and connected with the aspectual meaning; it is expressed by a prefix), it has ignored the aspectual load of the "chosen" future.

Kate Green (City University of New York-Graduate Center)  
On Substratal Influences in Non-Standard Caribbean Spanish

This paper provides evidence that Non-Standard Caribbean Spanish (NSCS) owes its dialectal distinctiveness to African substratal influences. Pertinent socio-historical and linguistic aspects of two Spanish colonies will be examined: Cuba and Puerto Rico. It will be seen that the colonial policies of the Spaniards resulted in the slaves and freedmen learning Spanish, and not in the creation of a Spanish Creole. There was, however, a pidgin-like restructured Spanish often referred to as Bozal Spanish; both the morpho-syntactic and phonological features of this language will be examined, and compared to those of Non-Standard Caribbean Spanish. It is the hypothesis of this paper that the contact of Spanish with this Afro-Spanish variety made NSCS a semi-creole.

Maureen Healy (City University of New York-Graduate Center)  
Surinamese Dutch: A Semi-Creole?

Surinamese Dutch (SD) is a variety of Dutch spoken in Suriname which has been heavily influenced by an English based creole, Sranan. SD lects form a continuum with more Dutch features at one extremity and more Sranan features at the other. By analyzing transcripts of a number of SD lects and using my intuitions as a native speaker of both SD and Sranan, I will provide the first overview of the structure of SD. To determine to what extent SD is like a semi-creole, the paper compares its social history and linguistic structure to that of Afrikaans, a language also based on Dutch that many consider a semi-creole. (den Besten 1989)
Maurice Holder (St. Thomas University)
Towards an Integrated Model of Pitch and Stress in Guyanese

Previous studies on this subject have been fragmentary, and an overall picture of the system has yet to emerge. The purpose of this paper is to attempt a start in that direction. Information needed in dictionary entries, rules for accent placement, and surface manifestations of pitch and stress will be examined within the theoretical framework of autosegmental and metrical phonology.

It is claimed here that the suprasegmentals in question are not to large extent lexically nondistinctive in Guyanese, as they are in most varieties of English. Accent placement can be predicted from syllabic and grammatical structures, with the help of metrical analysis. In turn, surface pitches can be predicted from accent marks, making Guyanese a pitch-accent language, as observed in previous studies. In the process of accent location, gradations of syllable strength are established, corresponding to degrees of stress in Standard English, and monosyllables enter into this relationship, again as in Standard English. Notwithstanding the predictable nature of accent placement, a few hundred lexical items in Guyanese have distinctive high pitch (= tone) on the second syllable, which must be marked as underlying level (water, hospital, etc.).

In sum, Guyanese is seen as consisting of tone on two levels, mediated by a central accentual component. Certain lexical items are premarked for tone in the deep phonology, but the bulk of the vocabulary remains unmarked. Accen
tual rules then apply, and surface tonal patterns are derived according to the position of the main accent.

John Holm (City University of New York-Graduate Center)
Atlantic Input in Pacific Pidgins and Creoles

Comparing the results of lexicographical studies of English-based creoles in the Atlantic (mainly Jamaican, Bahamian and Krio) with recent work on pidgins and creoles in the Pacific (mainly Vanuatu's Bislama and Australia's Torres Strait Broken), this paper examines the common core of lexical items and grammatical markers that cannot be traced to current standard English to see what this reveals about the historical relationship between the two groups of restructured languages. There is unambiguous evidence that the lexical base of the Pacific varieties was not only English (including archais and regional usages), but also the English-based creoles of the Atlantic, distinguishable through the influence of the African substrate. The most likely scenario for this diffusion is that Atlantic creole usages served as a model for a register which nineteenth-century seamen and others thought appropriate for contact with non-white foreigners in general, including the inhabitants of the Pacific area.

George L. Huttar (Summer Institute of Linguistics/University of Texas-Arlington)
Reduplication in Ndjuka: Phonology, Syntax, and Semantics

Reduplication in Ndjuka is used to derive nouns from verbs as well as for a variety of syntactic functions (e.g., adjectival object-complements of certain transitive verbs, such as 'find' and 'leave', in which reduplication is obligatory for only some complements) and semantic functions (some of which, such as intensive and approximative, conflict with one another). The paper describes the phonology of partial and complete reduplication, including the use of pitch in this tone language to differentiate some otherwise ambiguous constructions. The semantic and syntactic functions of reduplication are discussed, and implications drawn for the verbal vs. adjectival status of forms such as dade 'die/dead', bea 'wide' and siki 'sick', and for the notion of passive in Ndjuka and many other creoles. Some comparisons are made with similar phenomena in other creoles of Suriname.
Andre Mwamba Kapanga (University of Nebraska-Lincoln)
Developing an Eclectic Approach to the Study of Language Change

This paper provides an analysis of Shaba Swahili (ShS) that combines an historical, a sociolinguistic and a socio-psychological approach to the study of language change. It is based on the assumption that a sociolinguistic analysis of synchronic data in Shaba today, together with the study of both the history of Shaba and the socio-psychological notion of ethnolinguistic vitality in a linguistic community may be used to determine the earliest form of Swahili introduced in Shaba as well as the factors that induced the changes reflected in ShS today. This objective will be reached by showing that the socio-cultural variables likely to motivate linguistic change have each a certain hierarchical value attached to them depending on their ethnolinguistic vitality index. The variables with the highest vitality will effect change. Each historical period will index its socio-cultural variables, in such a way that the most potent of them are assigned the highest indexes, and change is constrained by such variables. By isolating linguistic variables pertaining to each historical period, this study expects to provide the variety of Swahili that served as the backbone for ShS.

Roger M. Keesing (McGill University)
Prepositional Verbs in Pidgin and Eastern Oceanic: The Case for Occam’s Razor in Melanesia

Keesing argues (in Melanesian Pidgin and the Oceanic Substrate) that so-called prepositional verbs (forms with the morphology of transitive verbs that act prepositionally), common in Solomons Pijin (weit-em, agensem, raenem) and in Vanuatu Bislama, constitute evidence for historical calquing of Melanesian Pidgin on Eastern Oceanic Austro-Oceanic languages that constitute the primary historical substrate for nineteenth century Pidgin. Crowley (in Beach-la-Mar to Bislama) challenges this argument, proposing an independent development of these forms from serial verbs. The match between the semantics and syntax of prepositional verbs in the Pidgin dialects and the substrate languages is shown to be so exact that Crowley’s counter-hypothesis is highly improbable and unnecessary.

Alain Kihm (CNRS, Paris)
Strange Argument Structures in Kriyol (Guiné-Bissau)

Transitive and ditransitive verb phrases in Kriyol exhibit remarkable interpretive flexibility. On the one hand, we find VPs whose complement is not selected by the head verb, so that it seems that some meaningful element must be "mentally supplied" in order to guarantee proper interpretation. On the other hand, there are ditransitive VPs the first complement of which may be diversely interpreted as a Goal, or a Theme, or an Instrument, without any of these roles being explicitly indicated on the complement or on the verb. I will argue that this array of facts supports (i) a lexical theory of grammar in which the lexicon is organized in terms of neural networks (or pseudo-perceptromes); (ii) a notion of covert interference, since Kriyol, for all the scarcity of its morphological component, appears to function like morphologically complex languages, such as the surrounding West Atlantic languages (Manjak, Balanta, Wolof, etc.)

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Satoshi Stanley Koke (City University of New York-Graduate Center)  
Naturalistic Discourse Transfer in Japanese Hawaiian Pidgin English

This paper examines various word orders found in Japanese Hawaiian Pidgin English (JHPE) with regard to discourse transfer in a naturalistic learning situation, which is becoming a critical issue in second language acquisition research. It argues that the transfer of word orders from Japanese to JHPE should not be discussed in terms of the canonical (basic) word order of SOV to SVO only but rather in terms of a universal default word order (topic-comment) and other language-specific colloquial word orders, which include existential constructions and right dislocation. The last section of the paper discusses whether this transfer is indeed a case of discourse transfer or not.

Claire Lefebvre (University of Quebec-Montreal)  
John S. Lumsden (University of Quebec-Montreal)  
Word Order in Relexification

This paper will compare Haitian creole with Fon and (one of the principle substratum sources of Haitian) and French, the superstratum source language. We shall provide an account of the similarities and differences in the linear order of words in these languages and an account of certain gaps in the one-to-one correspondence of words in otherwise parallel constructions. We argue that these phenomena have a direct explanation in the hypothesis that creole genesis is the result of relexification. Several factors may influence the word order resulting from relexification. These include the distinction between lexical information and derivational processes, the distinction between lexical categories and functional categories and the distinction between information common to classes of lexical items and information specific to particular lexical entries. Since grammars and lexicons are not simple lists of paired phonological and semantic forms, the surface strings of the creole differ in several ways from the surface strings of either of the source languages. But these differences are predictable.

Julianne Maher (Loyola University-New Orleans)  
Future Marking in French Antillean Patois and Creole

Chaudenson (1981), following Faine (1939), claims that French creoles constitute no more than a "systematized and radicalized" version of 17th century spoken French. The relic Patois of St. Barthelemy provides an opportunity to study the relationship between such a spoken variety and its associated creole. Focusing on verbal systems, this paper explores the possible sources of Antillean creole TMA markers in St. Bart Patois, with particular attention to predicates indicating future tense/mode. The forms and functions underlying Antillean Creole ki and kiall are compared to St. Bart Patois -ra, ya and la ki ya. The paper seeks to examine whether periphrastic forms extant in St. Bart French Patois can explain future marking in lexically-French creoles.
Charles C. Mann (University of Edinburgh)
Towards a Standard Orthography for Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin

One of the greatest obstacles to the development and propagation of pidgin and creole languages is the absence of a regular and systematic way of visually representing them, i.e., an orthography. Most of the various attempts at writing Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin, from the days of the famous Antera Duke diary (1786), Captain Owen’s record of Jaja of Opobo’s speech, through the “Lagos Week-end”’s comical character: ’Wakabout’, to the more recent inclusions in literary works: Saro-Wiwa (1985), Fatunde (1989, 1990) and Obafemi (1990), can best be described as haphazard, unscientific and idiosyncratic. While some linguists have made more studied attempts at writing A.N.P., divergences are rife and none has been proposed and promoted as a standard.

This paper attempts precisely to propose a standard orthography for A.N.P. as a further drive for standardization and facilitating literature in the language. All the more-well-known models are categorized and reviewed; previous phonological studies of A.N.P. are discussed and a working model proposed. Problems raised by the specific nature of pidgins and creoles (e.g., heavy word-borrowing) and general ones related to the graphization of African languages, are also discussed.

John W. McWhorter (Stanford University)
Lost in Transmission: A Case for the Independent Emergence of the Copula in Atlantic Creoles

Various creolists have attributed the distribution and behavior of the copula in Atlantic creoles to their substrate languages. Historical and typological evidence suggest that actually, independent diachronic change created the creole copulas and that the substrate was of marginal importance at best in this area. Historical documents suggest that the Anglophone creoles’ equative copula *do* is a reanalysis of a deictic preposed to comment structures for pragmatic emphasis, a common source of equative copulas cross-linguistically. The Anglophone creole locative copula *de* is not a calque on similar West African copulas, but is a reanalysis of the continuous aspect marker *de*. An advantage of this analysis is that it explains the typologically unusual recruitment of the word for “there” as a copula. Crucially, in neither case does there seem to have been a copula in the original stage of the creoles. In response to the objection that persistence of native languages over time led to the creole copulas, it is shown that Haitian Creole has no regularly expressed true copula, despite the misleading impression given by most studies. This is important because its sociohistory designates it as a creole likely to display heavy substrate influence both at the time of formation and afterwards. The conclusion is that the copula is not transferred in cases of deep creolization, and that there are apparently limits to substrate attributions in models of creole genesis.

Heliana Mello (City University of New York-Graduate Center)
Gerardo A. Lorenzino (City University of New York-Graduate Center)
On the Semi-Creole Status of Popular Brazilian Portuguese

Building on earlier studies of Popular Brazilian Portuguese (PBP) from a creolist perspective, this paper provides new data (both phonological and, especially, morphosyntactic) and theoretical arguments to refine current understanding of PBP and semi-creole languages in general. Linguistic features are examined in the context of demographic and sociohistorical factors (e.g., the slave trade, race relations) that conditioned the development of PBP, aided by one of the author’s intuitions as a native speaker of the semi-creole.
Maurer (1988) treats the Papiamentu preverbal marker *ta* as a tense marker of the PRESENTE, while Andersen (1989) states that *ta* marks an aspect similar to Bickerton’s durative (or nonpunctual) and not a tense. The results of this study support Maurer’s conclusions regarding the use of the preverbal markers *ta, tabata, a,* and *lo.* However, as a native speaker analyzing tapes recordings of the spontaneous speech of other Papiamentu speakers, I discerned a different use of the preverbal marker *ta,* which explains Andersen’s interpretation of *ta* as tense-neutral aspectual marker and provides a more plausible analysis: like *tabata,* from which it is historically derived, it marks imperfective aspect, and is distinguished from *ta* by its high tone.

Peter L. Patrick (Georgetown University)

*Past-Marking and Decreolization in Urban Jamaican Creole*

Decreolization postulates historical processes linking distinct synchronic grammars (basi-, meso- and acro-lect) within a creole speech community. Variationists explore differing distributions of equivalent alternants, often correlating them with speakers’ social characteristics. This study of 10 mesolectal Jamaican Creole (JC) speakers in Kingston sketches the different use, function, evaluation and sociolinguistic correlates of 3 elements indicating Past in JC: pre-V markers /ben/, negative /neva/ & /did/. The combination of recorded natural & test data, speakers’ own reflections, and quantitative analysis illuminates specific paths of decreolization through the Jamaican continuum. Basilectal /ben/ is entirely absent from conversational data (14 hrs) but easy to elicit by asking for rural speech. Negative Past /neva/ behaves syntactically like Eng. Never only for upper-mesolect speakers; the majority use /neva/ as an invariant pre-verbal Past/Neg marker on the basilectal pattern (no inflection on the following V). This holds too for pre-verbal /did/ which is used only by speakers over 45 -- though even teenagers volunteer it as urban counterpart of /ben/. Grammatical constraints on /did/ use (anteriority, stativity) are also explored.

Making sense of these apparent discrepancies between knowledge and use requires a broad notion of creole speakers’ competence, multi-pronged data-collection, and acceptance of the centrality of variation/variability to a complex creole speech community.

Pierre Pica (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

*Some General Questions about the Continuity Paradox from a GB Viewpoint*

In the first part of this paper, we argue that a subclass of infinitival constructions of modern French exhibit, somewhat surprisingly, very similar properties to those of Old French.

We argue that these types of properties (which vanish when the main subject is interpreted as an Agent) follows from the fact that the grammar of French encapsulates different grammars, corresponding to different diachronic layers.

We claim in particular that the drastic change that the French complementation and aspectual system underwent, somewhere between the XV and the XVI centuries (leading to what is assumed to be middle French) never led (contrary to what is assumed in the literature) to a complete disappearance of previous constructions of French, also contrary to what is assumed in the literature.

In the second part of this paper, where consequences of the proposed analysis for the GB framework, are discussed in details, we want to relate our analysis of diachronic change to Bickerton’s general hypothesis, according to which language is the result of a continuity of processes, from pidginization to creolization.

We investigate in particular whether the evolution from a system where coordination and paratactic constructions are the main devices, such as observed in pidgins, to a system where complementation and serialization emerge (such as the one of creoles) can be reduced to the very same general principles which explain the diachronic changes observed in Indo-European.
Shana Poplack (University of Ottawa)  
Sali Tagliamonte (University of Ottawa)  
*Linguistic Characteristics of Nova Scotian Black English Isolates*

Partially as a response to the problems characterizing earlier records of Vernacular Black English (VBE), researchers have recently begun focusing on synchronic recordings of transplanted varieties of American Black English as a means of shedding light on the diachronic status of VBE. Two of the most widely exploited data sets are on varieties spoken in Liberia and Samaná — destinations to which escaped slaves and freedmen migrated by the thousands in the early 1820's. This type of data can furnish much-needed historical insight into the current structure of BE, providing we can establish their relationship to (1) the language spoken by the original input settlers of these regions, and (2) varieties spoken by blacks in the U.S. over a century and a half ago. In this paper we report on a new research project on a transplanted variety of Black English in a contact situation partially similar to and partially different from those already studied. Though it is widely accepted that during and just after the period of slavery thousands of slaves left the U.S., it is not common knowledge that the majority of them immigrated to Canada, settling in remote, rural enclaves and remaining generally isolated from surrounding populations. In sharp contrast to the situation in the U.S., the existence of “native-line” blacks has been basically ignored by the wider Canadian population; to this day virtually nothing is known of their language. We describe our ongoing research in two such enclaves in Nova Scotia, and provide the first empirical analysis of the behavior of a number of diagnostic morphosyntactic features (e.g. copula variability, plural marking, past-tense marking, subject-verb agreement), and their relation to varieties of “early” Black English, contemporary VBE and local white English vernaculars.

John R. Rickford (Stanford University)  
*The Creole Residue in Barbados*

In this paper, I examine the evidence for a creole residue in Barbados based on written texts from earlier periods, the informal observations and intuitions of native speakers (Burrowes 1983), and recent fieldwork by myself and my students in various parishes of the island. The most telling contemporary evidence is from two octogenarians recorded in St. Lucy, in March 1991, who use many of the classic basilectal and lower mesolectal creole features, including the preverbal tense-aspect markers *binn*, *did*, *da*, and *does*, locative *de*, and other aspects of the creole copula system.

This evidence suggests that Cassidy (1980) was right about there being more of a creole residue in Barbados than normally acknowledged, and also about an earlier creole having decreolized more rapidly and completely here than elsewhere. (By contrast, Hancock 1988 suggests that rapid metropolitanization forestalled the development of a creole in Barbados). Methodologically, the paper underscores the need for new fieldwork and for quantitative analyses of creole data as means of resolving long-standing synchronic and diachronic controversies in creole studies.

John D. Roy (Brooklyn College)  
*Past Marking in Decreolizing Jamaican English Creole*

This paper is an examination of the patterns of decreolization in the marking of verbs with past reference in Jamaican English Creole phone conversations. The paper examines the marking of all verbs of past reference and analyzes the data along the parameters of the static/dynamic question, the strong/weak split and the compensation strategies for the avoidance of stigmatized markers. The data is naturalistic phone speech collected between Jamaicans, and between Jamaicans and African-Americans. The differences in Jamaican English Creole use by the same speaker as used in the Jamaica/Jamaican conversations, and in Jamaican/African-American conversations are preserved and contrasted in the analysis.
Robin Sabino (Auburn University)
A Point of Detail: Serial Verbs in Negerhollands

In recent years, serial verbs have received considerable attention from researchers. An early paper, Jansen et al. (1978) remains seminal to the discussion; however, the authors acknowledge a need to amend their findings on "many points of detail" (126). One such point is their claim that Negerhollands had only three serial verb types: go, give, and come. Revision of their claim is important for three reasons. First, since Jansen et al. use the presence of take serials as a diagnostic of substratum influence, the presumed absence of take serials in Negerhollands is inconsistent with historical and linguistic evidence that its primary substrates were Akan, Ewe, and Ga. Second, descriptions based on their account give the impression that Negerhollands is a mesolectal variety. In contrast, the presence of ten serial verb types is consistent with other linguistic evidence that Negerhollands is a conservative creole. Third, demonstrating the robustness of serial verb constructions in Negerhollands establishes its relevance to the nature of TMA marking in serial verbs—a line of inquiry recently reopened by Byrne (1989, 1990, in press). In fact, examination of TMA marking in Negerhollands serial constructions reveals it to be a second creole in which multiple marking is possible.

W. J. Samarin (University of Toronto)
Sango Phonology of Urban Young People

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

Gillian Sankoff (University of Pennsylvania)
Variation and Change in Tok Pisin Grammar: The Case of i:

The status of i-, formerly known in Tok Pisin studies as a ‘predicate marker’, has been called into question by Reesing, who sees it as the relexification of a subject referencing clitic common to the grammars of Eastern Oceanic languages. In this paper, I examine a number of properties that may or may not discriminate between these two interpretations, in particular the set of properties usually useful in distinguishing finite from non-finite verbs. Some of the properties that have been associated with finite verbs in general are that they: (i) take subjects (or person-referring the clitics); (ii) can be negated; (iii) can be marked for tense, aspect, modality and voice; (iv) coordinate with other verbs; (v) take verbal agreement. If by ‘predicate-marker’ it is meant that i- precedes finite verbs or other finite predicates, an analysis of the distribution of i- according to the above properties should help to resolve the question of the correct interpretation of i-, in addition to clarifying whether there is a formal distinction between finite and non-finite in Tok Pisin.

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Although discourse analysis has substantially advanced knowledge of the extent to which linguistic structure is constrained by its sociocultural functions, it has not been applied very frequently to creole languages. In this paper a functionalist analysis primarily influenced by interactional sociolinguistics is applied to conversational interview data from adolescent and adult speakers of Hawai‘i Creole English to yield a preliminary description of aspects of information structure in HCE discourse. The analysis focuses on how logical and temporal relationships among propositions are expressed via prosody, utterance sequencing and morphosyntax, including logical connectors such as *aswal*. Patterns revealed by the analysis are discussed with respect to HCE conversational style and to cultural schemata — culturally based thematic preferences — hypothesized to underly this style. The paper concludes with a brief discussion of the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of the broader research program in which this study was conducted, one that will examine the acquisition of standard academic English by HCE speakers.

Armin Schwegler (University of California-Irvine)
Subject Pronouns and Person/Number in Palenquero

While scholars agree that the Palenquero pronominal paradigm strongly resembles that of other creoles in that preverbal, morphemically separable subject pronouns mark person/number (cf. *i kalá-lo ‘I want it’), there is considerable disagreement over specific features of this paradigm. This paper examines the validity of the various claims made with respect to the Palenquero pronominal system, and suggests that none of the currently available descriptions, singly or together, offers a satisfactory explanation. This study will address especially the question whether forms like *yo* or *úte* are indeed Spanish borrowings (Friedemann & Pattno 1983), or whether they are not intricate native components of a complex pronominal paradigm that features free as well as bound forms. These findings will then help to illustrate that the person/number markers of Palenquero — and those of several other creoles — are far less analytical than generally assumed.

Dingxu Shi (University of Southern California)
How Much Phonology Is Available?

There are two generalizations about the sound change in English words adopted by Chinese Pidgin English (CPE). One is that if the English word has a sound not found in Cantonese (Chinese), it is replaced by a related Cantonese sound in the CPE word. The other is that in these CPE words some sounds shared by English and Cantonese, noticeably diphthongs, are replaced by other Cantonese sounds in clearly defined environment. The latter is comparable to the elimination of some syllable-final unreleased plosives. Although these sounds are possible in both English and Cantonese, in CPE words borrowed from English they are turned to the initial of extra syllables by vowel insertion under certain conditions. The hypothesis here is that these changes are due to influence of Cantonese phonology. The determining factor is not the difference in phoneme inventory between the superstrate and substrate languages. It is the distribution of phonemes, in terms of possible syllables, that necessitated the changes.
A. K. Sinha (University of Delhi)
Rakesh Ranjan (University of Delhi)

Creolization and Koinéization in Mauritian Creole and Mauritian Bhojpuri

The en masse immigration of different speech communities from various socio-cultural backgrounds of Africa and India brought about two significant linguistic developments in Mauritius: the emergence of Mauritian Creole (MC) and Mauritian Bhojpuri (MB). While MC developed out of French and Malagasy, Mozambik and Senegalese, mutually unintelligible regional dialects of western Bihar and eastern UP in India such as Bhojpuri, Maithili, Nagari and Awadhi.

Though creolization and koinéization are two different processes, they have some common features. The two acquire unmarked features but through reverse processes. For example, there is no gender agreement between an adjective and a noun in MC and MB. While MC did not acquire this feature in the process of the expansion of its grammatical categories, MB lost it during the process of simplification.

The proposed paper intends to compare some such unmarked features at phonological and morphological levels in MC and MB with a view to examining the theoretical claims made about the process of creolization and koinéization.

Arthur K. Spears (City University of New York-Graduate Center)

Subjunctivity and the Haitian Creole Subjunctive

Even though the subjunctive mood in various languages has been much studied, surprisingly little attention has been paid to this notion in recent TMA typology literature (Palmer 1986, Chung & Timberlake 1985, Bybee 1985). In Spears (1990), it is claimed that Haitian has an emergent subjunctive, marked by the until recently putative "irreals" marker va. In this paper, that claim is considered within a (cross-linguistic) typological context. Evidence is presented showing that future markers do evolve into subjunctives and that markers having a more referential function often take on meanings that are expressive. Secondly, although va as a future (or irreals) marker, like the TMA markers of other languages, is a primarily main clause phenomenon, it has begun to appear in subordinate clauses, as one would expect of subjunctives, and in so doing allows us an especially valuable opportunity to observe language change in progress.

William A. Stewart (City University of New York-Graduate Center)

Re-Evaluating the Evidence against Ongoing Decreolization in Gullah

Mille (1990) proffers what she claims is evidence of "stable variation" in Gullah over at least the past century and a quarter, from which she concludes that the language has not been decreolizing, as commonly assumed, but has retained a similar mix of creole and non-creole (or shared) grammatical features (illustrated by her study of TMA markers) as far back as the historical evidence goes. As historical evidence, Mille uses the literary Gullah dialect of a plantation-bred white born in 1857, and compares this with modern material collected on Johns and Wadmalaw Islands in the 1970's and 1980's. A study of the literary dialect material revealed two structurally-distinct varieties, a basilectal creole variety and a less creole one, the latter resembling the mix of the modern samples. Mille concluded that the more creole literary Gullah was an exaggerated literary stereotype, and that the more mix variety was closest to the writer's original Gullah as well as to the modern samples, hence no decreolization.

Many methodological errors are apparent in the Mille study, however, and a careful re-evaluation of her data shows clear evidence of decreolization over time, and indeed historically prior to 1857, since both of the literary varieties behave statistically as genuine ones differing in degree of decreolization, and hence must have co-existed. More surprising is that some of the creoleness of the modern samples appears to be due to structural mimicry of creole structural shibboleths by the informants.

-95-
Marbles games, or pitch, perhaps the most widely played of all traditional boys’ games in Trinidad and Tobago, have declined precipitously in the last two decades. First, this paper documents close to 200 marbles terms found in Trinidad and Tobago English/Creole. Although most are British in origin, there are East Indian, French Creole, and possible African influences on this lexicon. Second, a sociolinguistic discourse analysis of marble talk shows that it exhibits strong gender-linked enculturating features of “masculine” games and linguistic discourse, including elaboration of rules and strategies, and highly competitive and confrontational use of language.

Donald Winford (Ohio State University)
Francis Byrne (Shawnee State University)
Towards a More Adequate Account of give-Type Serials in Carribean Creoles

'Give' serial verb constructions (SVCs) have been typified as introducing Dative and Benefactive arguments in the literature, an analysis often rests on the basis of whether 'give' may be translated by to (Dative) or for (Benefactive). This paper questions such a distinction, arguing that a more accurate rendition in at least some Caribbean English Creoles (CECs) and Saramaccan (SA) of Suriname is that of a Recipient/Benefactive dichotomy.

After describing and discussing characteristics of the Benefactive/Recipient dichotomy, some syntactic features of the two roles will be examined. In dealing first with CEC, the different readings contrast sharply. With movement phenomena, for example, we find that Recipient 'give' exhibits more evidence of a fully verbal categorical status in CEC, while Benefactive 'give' seems more open to change and reanalysis to prepositional status. Moreover, Benefactives also manifest a developing tendency for fu 'for' to replace gi 'give', particularly in those cases where no feasible object for gi is present.

SA does not delineate the two roles as clearly as CEC. For one, movement of object complements of da 'give' (whether Recipient or Benefactive) is always possible, but 'precipitate cleft' is not. However, there is evidence that, like CEC, fu is replacing da in selected Benefactive contexts.

Belinda Young-Day (University of Oregon)
Polyfunctional Prepositions in Rama Cay Creole

The presence of a polyfunctional locative morpheme, is a common feature of the preposition inventories of many Atlantic Creoles (Escuré 1983, Hellinger 1972, Holm 1988a). This paper presents a discussion of a similar phenomenon in Rama Cay Creole, the English-oriented creole of the Rama Indians of Nicaragua. In RCC, however, this polyfunctionalism extends beyond a single preposition. Instead we find a group of prepositions which exhibit not only a wide range of individual syntactic functions including general locative, dative marker and complementizer, but also exhibit a large amount of semantic overlap; which I will argue is the result of multiple layers of linguistic influence on RCC. In my analysis, I propose two sets of polyfunctional prepositions: one which I will argue is derived from the African substrate influence of neighboring Balck creoles, while the other is derived from an English (and to a lesser extent German) superstrate.
Flore Zéphir (University of Missouri-Columbia)

Syntactic and Semantic Functions of the Determiner "la" in Haitian Creole

The present paper seeks to offer an in-depth analysis of the determiner "la" in Haitian Creole. Evidence shows that "la" appears not only with simple nominals, but also with complex phrases throughout various syntactic categories. The paper examines the syntactic distribution of this grammatical element by paying particular attention to the contexts that allow or restrict its occurrence, and attempts to demonstrate that there exists a certain symmetry with regard to its realization across various syntactic environments. Moreover, the paper proposes an expansion of the semantic scope of "la." In addition to having a deictic and referential function (as it has been suggested in earlier works), "la" has, in many instances, a "phatic" function.
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