ROOTS OF LINGUISTICS

A Life for Language: A biographical memoir of Leonard Bloomfield
ROBERT H. HALL JR.

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Cloth ISBN 1-55619-350-5 $ 24.00

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ARNE JUUL and HANS F. NIELSEN (eds)

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A timely and fascinating reevaluation and reaffirmation of the significance of the Grimm brothers’ pioneering work in Germanic comparative and historical linguistics, lexicography, philology and medieval studies.
Studies in the History of the Language Sciences, 54
Cloth ISBN 90 272 4539 8 $ 29.00

TWO RELATED TITLES

An Introduction to the Study of Language
LEONARD BLOOMFIELD (1887-1949)

New edition of the 1914 text, with an introduction by Joseph F. Kess.
Classics in Psycholinguistics, 3
Amsterdam, 1983. xxviii, x, 335 pp.
Cloth ISBN 90 272 1891 9 $ 58.00
Paper ISBN 90 272 1892 7 $ 32.95

Edward Sapir: Appraisals of his life and work
KONRAD KOERNER (ed.)

Studies in the History of the Language Sciences, 36
Cloth ISBN 90 272 4518 5 $ 44.00
Paper ISBN 90 272 4519 3 $ 27.95

JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY
MEETING HANDBOOK

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

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

WASHINGTON, DC
7–30 DECEMBER, 1989
INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The LSA Secretariat has prepared this Meeting Handbook to serve as the official program for the 64th Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America (LSA). In addition, this handbook is the official program for the 12th Annual Meeting of the American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL), 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 (Byron Bender, Chair; David Dowty; Jay Jasonoff; Ann Peters; Roger Shuy; Donca Steriade; and Deborah Tannen) and the AAAL Program Committee (Leslie Beebe, Chair; Miriam Eisenstein, Associate Chair; Nathalie Bailey; and Peter Lowenberg). We also are 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 Washington, DC, Local Arrangements Committee (Roger Shuy, Chair; Stephen Anderson; Naomi Baron; Robert Johnson; Dee Holisky; John Joseph; and Walt Wolfram).

We hope this Meeting Handbook is a useful guide for those attending, as well as a permanent record of the 1989 Annual Meeting in Washington, DC.

November 1989
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GENERAL MEETING INFORMATION

- **Book Exhibit**

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

- **Thurs**, 28 December 10:00 AM – 2:00 PM
- 3:00 PM – 6:00 PM
- **Fri**, 29 December 10:00 AM – 2:00 PM
- 3:30 PM – 6:00 PM
- **Sat**, 30 December 8:30 AM – 11:30 AM

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

- **Paper Copy Service**

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

- **Thurs**, 28 December 8:00 AM – 4:00 PM
- **Fri**, 29 December 8:00 AM – 4:00 PM

The Service will remain open on Saturday until 11:00 AM to allow members to pick up orders placed earlier.

- **Job Placement Center**

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

- **S.N.A.P.**

The Redwood Room on the Upper Level 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 28 and 29 December, 9:00 AM–6:00 PM and in the morning on 30 December until 11:30 AM.

- **LANGUAGE Editor**

Sarah Thomason, Editor of LANGUAGE, will be in the Grand Canyon Room at the following times:

- **Thurs**, 28 December 11:00 AM – 12:00 PM
- **Fri**, 29 December 12:30 PM – 1:30 PM

Members, and especially students, who are interested in discussing publishing in LANGUAGE or publishing in general may meet with her there.

- **National Science Foundation**

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

- **Thurs**, 28 December 10:00 – 11:00 AM
- 3:30 – 4:30 PM
- **Fri**, 29 December 10:00 – 11:00 AM
- 3:30 – 4:30 PM
- **Sat**, 30 December 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 Association for Applied Linguistics** (program, pages xviii–xix; abstracts, pages 79–89).

**American Dialect Society** (program, page xx; abstracts, pages 93–94).

**North American Association for the History**
HIGHLIGHTS

Wednesday, 27 December

Executive Committee Meeting

The Officers and Executive Committee (William Bright, President; Robert Austerlitz, Vice President – President-Elect; Calvert Watkins, Past President; Frederick J. Newmeyer, Secretary-Treasurer; Sarah Thomason, Editor; Chris Barker; A.L. Becker; Byron Bender; Joan Bybee; Wallace Chafe; Ann Farmer; John Goldsmith; Robert King; and G. Richard Tucker) will meet beginning at 9:30 AM.

NSF Graduate Fellow Lecture

In March 1989, the National Science Foundation awarded its 25,000th Graduate Fellowship. To commemorate this milestone award, NSF has endowed a series of lectures by former NSF Graduate Fellows. The Executive Committee selected Barbara H. Partee as the lecturer for the LSA meeting in Washington. Dr. Partee, a professor of linguistics at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst and a past president of the Society, was the first linguist to receive an NSF graduate fellowship.

Dr. Partee will present the NSF lecture at 7:00 PM in the Regency Ballroom of the Hyatt Regency Washington. The title of the lecture is: "Quantification and Some Questions for Semantic Theory."

Thursday, 28 December

Special MLA Session

The MLA will sponsor a session entitled "Language Policy: The Consequences of the English-Only Movement" in the International West Room of the Washington Hilton, 12 noon-1:15 PM. This session, chaired by James Alatis, will include presentations by Geneva Smitherman, Einar Haugen, and Ana Celia Zentella. Members attending the LSA meeting are welcome to attend this special session at no charge.

LSA Business Meeting

The Business Meeting has been scheduled in the Regency Ballroom, 5:00-7:00 PM on 28 December. This meeting will be chaired by William Bright, LSA President. The Program Committee has requested that time be allotted during this meeting for discussion of abstract deadlines and procedures. The members of the Resolutions Committee include Francis Dinneen, S.J., Chair; Joan Bybee; and Robert King. The rules for motions and resolutions appear on p. xiii.

Friday, 29 December

Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics

This year, the Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics will sponsor two events. In the morning, 7:30-9:00 AM, COSWL will host a continental breakfast in Hugo's on the 11th floor. Advance reservations are required.

In the afternoon, 12:30-2:00 PM, in the Regency Ballroom, COSWL will sponsor a panel discussion on "Caring for Jobs and Children." Panelists will be Eloise Jelinek (U AZ), Chair; Ann Farmer (SUNY-Albany); David Lebeaux (U MD-College Park); Joan Maling (Brandeis U); Keren Rice (U Toronto); Catherine Ringen (U IA); and Wendy Wilkins (AZ SU).

1989 Presidential Address

William Bright, the 1989 LSA President, will deliver his Presidential Address at 2:00 PM on 29 December in the Regency Ballroom. The address is entitled, "'With One Lip, With Two Lips': Parallelism in Nahuatl."
Exhibit Hall Floor Plan

Exhibitors

Booth 13  Ablex Publishing Corp.
Booth 23  Academic Press, Inc.
Booth 16  Association of American University Presses
Booth 1   Basil Blackwell, Inc.
Booth 17-19  Cambridge University Press
Booth 21  University of Chicago Press
Booth 14  Foris Publications Holland/USA
Booth 10  Gunter Narr Verlag
Booth 15  John Benjamins Publishing Co.
Booth 2   Kluwer Academic Publishers
Booth 6   Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
Booth 7-9  Linguistic Society of America
Booth 4   Longman, Inc.
Booth 3   MIT Press
Booth 18  Mouton de Gruyter
Booth 11  Newbury House Publishers, Inc.
Booth 5   Oxford University Press
Booth 12  Prentice Hall Regents
Booth 8   Routledge
Booth 18  Walter de Gruyter
# Meeting at a Glance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regency Ballroom</td>
<td>Yorktown</td>
<td>Ticonderoga</td>
<td>Capital Room</td>
<td>Lexington Concord</td>
<td>Valley Forge</td>
<td>Conference Theatre</td>
<td>Bunker Hill</td>
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<td>Columbia Foyer</td>
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<td>27 December 7 PM</td>
<td>Partee Lecture</td>
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<td>AAAL Long Range Planning</td>
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<td>28 December</td>
<td>Syntax I Phonology</td>
<td>Syntax II Psychology</td>
<td>Socioling</td>
<td>Historical Ling</td>
<td>NAAHLS I</td>
<td></td>
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<td>AAAL</td>
<td>SPCL I</td>
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<tr>
<td>MORNING</td>
<td>Syntax III Phonology</td>
<td>Syntax IV Pragmatics</td>
<td>Neuroling</td>
<td>Lang Contact</td>
<td>NAAHLS II</td>
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<td>AAAL</td>
<td>SPCL II</td>
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<td>AFTERNOON</td>
<td>LSA Business Meeting</td>
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<td>SPCL Business Meeting</td>
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<td>29 December</td>
<td>Syntax V Exp. Phonetics</td>
<td>Discourse Analysis I Semantics I</td>
<td>Template Morphology</td>
<td>Phonology ASL</td>
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<td>AAAL</td>
<td>SPCL III</td>
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<tr>
<td>MORNING</td>
<td>COSWL Panel Presidential Address</td>
<td>Morphology Typology Semantics II Discourse Analysis II Celtic Syntax</td>
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<td>SPCL IV</td>
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<td>12:30-2 PM</td>
<td>Phonetics</td>
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<td>AAAL Plenary Lecture &amp; Business Meeting</td>
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<td>2-3:30 PM</td>
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<tr>
<td>30 December</td>
<td>Syntax VI Phonology 2nd &amp; 1st Lang Acq Semantics III Discourse Analysis III Comp Ling</td>
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**LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA**

**WEDNESDAY, 27 DECEMBER**

**EVENTING**

Room: Regency Ballroom
7:00-9:00 PM

**NSF Graduate Fellow Lecture**
"Quantification and Some Questions for Semantic Typology"
Barbara H. Partee (U MA-Amherst)

* = 30-minute paper

**THURSDAY, 28 DECEMBER**

**MORNING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYNTAX I</th>
<th>PROSODIC PHONOLOGY: STRESS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chair: Ivan Sag (Stanford U)</td>
<td>Chair: Irene Vogel (U DE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Room: Regency Ballroom</td>
<td>Room: Yorktown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00 Lyda Boyter (Macalaster C): Incorporation and Double Subjects in Bahasa Indonesia</td>
<td>9:00 Kristin Hanson (Stanford U): Territorial Stress Foot in Carifone (Central American Island Carib)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20 *Sandra Chung (U CA-Santa Cruz): Against Verb Movement in Chamorro</td>
<td>9:20 Carl Spring (U AZ): The Territorial Foot in Stress and Morphology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:05 Judith Alsen (U CA-Santa Cruz) &amp; Jeffrey Runner (U MA): Spanish Left Conjunct Agreement</td>
<td>9:40 Baum Bates (AZ SU) &amp; Barry P. Carlsen (U Victoria): Morphological Stress and Phonological Theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:25 Ileana Comorozan (UT-Austin): Verb Movement and Feature Extraction in French</td>
<td>10:00 S.J. Hannema (U DE): High Vowel Laxing in Quebec French</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:45 Hilary Sachs (Pomona C/Cornell U): Are There Two ß in French?</td>
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<td>11:05 Lisa Rees (U Oregon): Biclausality, Barriers and the French Causative Construction</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYNTAX II</th>
<th>PSYCHOLINGUISTICS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chair: Alice Harris (Yale U)</td>
<td>Chair: Douglas Saddy (U AZ)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Room: Ticonderoga</td>
<td>Room: Capitol Room</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:00 James Tai (OH SU): Verb-Copying in Chinese: Syntactic and Semantic Typicality Conditions in Interaction</td>
<td>9:00 Karen Emmorey (Salk Inst): Processing Differences in Aspect and Agreement Morphology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20 Thomas Ernst (U DE): Chinese Adjuncts and Phrase Structure Theory</td>
<td>9:20 Mei-Jia Yi (U CT) &amp; Stephen Crain (U CT): The Use of Contextual Information in Resolving Structural Ambiguities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00 Hiroko Y. Butler (OH SU): Subjacency in LF: Evidence from Japanese</td>
<td>10:00 Clifford Pye (U KS): The Acquisition of x0 Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:20 Shoko Hamano (U CA-Santa Cruz): On Japanese Quantifier Floating</td>
<td>10:20 Linda Lombardi (U MA) &amp; Jaya Sarmad (U CT): Against the Bound Variable Hypothesis of the Acquisition of Principle B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:40 Carrie Cameron (Rice U): The Interaction of Grammatical and Semantic Voice: Data from Japanese</td>
<td>10:40 Rosalind Thornton (U CT) &amp; Stephen Crain (U CT): Children's Use of Pronouns as Bound Variables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00 John Whitman (Cornell U): String Vacuous INFL to COMP in Topic Prominent Languages</td>
<td>11:00 *Cecil Lynn Huyler (OK SU): Productivity, Rule, and the Lexicon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:20 James N. Yoon (U IL-Urbana): Korean Nominalizations, Lexicalism, and Morphosyntax Interface</td>
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* x
### Sociolinguistics

**Chair:** Ralph Pasold (Georgetown U)  
**Room:** Lexington-Concord

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Name and Affiliation</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>S. Paul Verhuyten (U Antwerp)</td>
<td>Vowel Neutralization in French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Cynthia McLemore (U TX)</td>
<td>Intonational Style across Speech Activity Types</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Birch Hoonmonowon (U CA-Berkeley)</td>
<td>Vowel Centralization in San Francisco English</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Niloufar Haeri (U PA)</td>
<td>Synchronic Variation in Persian Arabic: The Case of Palatalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>Susan Berk-Seligson (U Pittsburgh)</td>
<td>The Social/Psychological Impact of Pragmatics in a Bilingual Discourse Setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Keith Walters (OH SU)</td>
<td>The Interviewer as Variable in Quantitative Sociolinguistic Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Malcom Yaez-Torres (Ben Gurion U)</td>
<td>Statistical Analysis of Social and Linguistic Variation</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>Otto Santos Ana (U PA)</td>
<td>Developing Internal Constraints for a Sociolinguistic Variable</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:40</td>
<td>Richard D. Janda (U PA) &amp; Julie Auger (U PA)</td>
<td>Hypercorrection without Correction? On Resolving a Sociolinguistic ‘headache’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Historical Linguistics

**Chair:** Mark Hale (Harvard U)  
**Room:** Valley Forge

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Name and Affiliation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>*Gregory R. Guy (Stanford U)</td>
<td>The Sociolinguistic Types of Language Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:25</td>
<td>Dorothy Disterheft (U SC)</td>
<td>The Transition Problem, Catastrophic Change, and Adaptive Rules</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>Brian D. Joseph (OH SU) &amp; Rex E. Wallace (U MA)</td>
<td>Problematic /f/h Variation in Faliscan</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:05</td>
<td>Stephen A. Wilson (U CA-Berkeley)</td>
<td>A Reanalysis of Oscan-Umbrian Syncopation</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:25</td>
<td>Grin D. Gensler (U CA-Berkeley)</td>
<td>From Proto-Semitic to Gezu: The Mechanism of Word Order Shift in Ethiopic Semitic</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:45</td>
<td>Andrew Garrett (Harvard U/TX Austin)</td>
<td>The Grammaticalization of a Topical Position</td>
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### Syntax III

**Chair:** Walter Cook, S.J. (Georgetown U)  
**Room:** Regency Ballroom

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Name and Affiliation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Holly Diesing (U MA)</td>
<td>Bare Plural Subjects, Inflection, and the Mapping to LF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:20</td>
<td>Jack Martin (U NY)</td>
<td>A Verb Movement Approach to Active Phenomena</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:40</td>
<td>James K. Watters (SIL)</td>
<td>The Syntax of Applicatives in Tepehua (Tonotican)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Paul D. Kroeber (U Chicago)</td>
<td>Relative Clauses and Related Constructions in Thompson Salish</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:20</td>
<td>David M. Perlmutter (U CA-San Diego)</td>
<td>Does Southern Towa Grammar Need Initial-Stratum Reference?</td>
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<td>4:05</td>
<td>Lynn Gordon (Simon Fraser U/WA SU)</td>
<td>Nez Perce Relative Clauses</td>
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### Prosodic Phonology: Syllables

**Chair:** Charles Kreidler (Georgetown U)  
**Room:** Yorktown

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Diana Archangeu (U AZ)</td>
<td>The CVCC Syllable in Yowlmani</td>
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<td>2:20</td>
<td>Christine K. Kamprath (Elem Comm Systems)</td>
<td>Race Theory and Syllable-Internal Structure</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:40</td>
<td>Harjorie K.M. Chan (OH SU)</td>
<td>Fuzhou Glottal Stop: Floating Segment or Correlation of Close Contact?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>*John Goldsmith (U Chicago)</td>
<td>A Connectionist Model Underlying Phonological Representations</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:45</td>
<td>Anna Bosch (U Chicago)</td>
<td>Autosegmental Licensing and VC Syllable Structure in Scottish Gaelic</td>
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### Prosodic Phonology: Extra-Prosodicity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Name and Affiliation</th>
<th>Title</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4:05</td>
<td>Gregory K. Iversen (U IA)</td>
<td>Extrapersodicity in Segmental Phonology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:25</td>
<td>Marlys A. Macken (U TX-Austin)</td>
<td>Syllable Theory and Extra Metricality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:45</td>
<td>Karen Carlyle (U Toronto)</td>
<td>Extrapersodicity and the Syllabification of Final Consonants in Breton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:05</td>
<td>Don Weeda (U TX-Austin)</td>
<td>Foot Extrapersodicity in Central Alaskan Yupik Eskimo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Syntax IV
Chair: Germán Westphal (U MD-Baltimore County)  
Room: Ticonderoga

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Presenter and Affiliation</th>
<th>Title</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Alice Davison (Cornell U/IA)</td>
<td>The Structure of CP, Finiteness and Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:20</td>
<td>Patrick Ewing (UCSD)</td>
<td>Null Noun Complements in English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:40</td>
<td>Nedzad Leko</td>
<td>Restrictive and Appositive Forms of Descriptive Adjectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Joseph Emonds (U WA)</td>
<td>Nominalic Objects in Pinish and Old Russian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:20</td>
<td>John U. Harkness (Harvard U)</td>
<td>AUX-Criticization as a Motivation for V2-Vindicated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:40</td>
<td>Rm A. Sprouse (Harvard U)</td>
<td>The Structure of Noun Phrases in Swedish and German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
<td>Arild Heimdal (Norway)</td>
<td>Norwegian Anti-Subject Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:20</td>
<td>Susan Rustick (U WI-Madison)</td>
<td>Word Order as Caused by Lexical Qualities and Parameters</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Pragmatics
Chair: Klemen Spivey (U PA)  
Room: Capitol Room

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Presenter and Affiliation</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Susan C. Herring (CA-San Bernardino)</td>
<td>1a Sentence-Final &quot;Focus&quot; Position Universal?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:20</td>
<td>Gregory L. Ward (Northwestern U)</td>
<td>A Functional Analysis of VP Preposing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:40</td>
<td>Betty J. Birner (Northwestern U) &amp; Gregory L. Ward (Northwestern U)</td>
<td>A Semantically-Pragmatic Taxonomy of English Inversion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Randy J. LaPolla (CA-Berkeley)</td>
<td>On the Grammaticalization of Information Structure in Mandarin Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:20</td>
<td>Helene Krauthamer</td>
<td>A Linguistic Approach to Readability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:40</td>
<td>Yo Matsumoto (Stanford U)</td>
<td>On the Indirect Relationship between Horn Scales and Suspension Frames</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
<td>Jonathan Ginzburg (Stanford U)</td>
<td>Informativeness Measures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:45</td>
<td>Robert Chametzky (U IA)</td>
<td>Pragmatics and Prediction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Neurolinguistics
Chair: Lisa Menn (U CO)  
Room: Lexington-Concord

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Presenter and Affiliation</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Mary Jane Hurst (Texas Tech U) &amp; Daniel L. Hurst (Texas Tech U)</td>
<td>Brain Electrical Activity Mapping during Language Processing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:20</td>
<td>Douglas Saddy (U AZ)</td>
<td>Interpretation of Quantificational Ambiguities in an Aphasic Individual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:05</td>
<td>Thomas Rindfleisch (U MN), Jennifer Reeves (U MN), &amp; Michael B. Kac (U NH)</td>
<td>Theoretical Implications of Disordered Syntactic Comprehension</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Language Contact
Chair: John Staszek (Georgetown U)  
Room: Valley Forge

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Presenter and Affiliation</th>
<th>Title</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>June Zimmer (Georgetown U)</td>
<td>English Influenced Semantic Change in American Sign Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:20</td>
<td>Stefan P. Pugh (Buda U)</td>
<td>The Use of the Suffix -z in the Adaptation of Russian Verbs to the Karelian System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:40</td>
<td>Guy Carden (U BC)</td>
<td>Corps Reflexives in French Creoles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Neil G. Jacobs (OH SU)</td>
<td>The Prosodic Phonology of the Hebrew Component in Yiddish</td>
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</table>

## Friday, 29 December

### Morning

#### Syntax V
Chair: David Lightfoot (U MD-College Park)  
Room: Regency Ballroom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Presenter and Affiliation</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Haruo Sato (U CT) &amp; Keiko Horasugi (U CT)</td>
<td>N*-Deletion and the DP Hypothesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Yanghee Shin Joo (U WI-Madison)</td>
<td>On the Minimality Condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Margaret Speas (U MA)</td>
<td>Thematic Grids and Generalized Transformations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:25</td>
<td>Merta Lujoan (U TX-Austin)</td>
<td>Functional Features and the Nature of Spec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>Sherri Condon (U SW LA) &amp; Andrew Kohler (ERA Corp)</td>
<td>An X-Bar Account of Noun-Noun Modification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:05</td>
<td>M.A. Mohammad (USC)</td>
<td>The C-Command Domain of Clitics and Condition C of the Binding Theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:50</td>
<td>Ann Taylor (U PA)</td>
<td>Second Position Clitics and Free Word Order</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Experimental Phonology and Phonetics
Chair: Leigh Lisker (U PA)  
Room: Yorktown

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Presenter and Affiliation</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Kena A. Krakow (Temple U/Haskins Labs)</td>
<td>Inter-Articulator Timing and Syllable Structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Frederica Bell-Berti (St. John's U/Haskins Labs) &amp; Kena Krakow (Temple U/Haskins Labs)</td>
<td>Velar Lowering Gestures in Short and Long Sequences: Evidence for Temporal Stability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Manjari Ghata (San Jose SU) &amp; John J. Ohala (U CA-Berkeley)</td>
<td>A Phonetic Account of Intrasentential Nasals before Voiced Stops in Hindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Patrice Speeter Beddor (U MI) &amp; Handan Kopkallil (U MI)</td>
<td>Temporal Differences between Voiceless and Voiced Final Stops in Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>Alice Faber (Haskins Labs)</td>
<td>The Difference between [s] and [z]: Read My Lips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Marianna DiPaolo (U UT), Alice Faber (Haskins Labs) &amp; Gerald McRoberts (U CT/Haskins Labs)</td>
<td>Phoneme Differences and Sound Change in Utah Vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:25</td>
<td>Michel T.C. Jackson (OH SU)</td>
<td>Testing Phonological Representations with Articulatory Models</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:45</td>
<td>Thomas C. Veatch (U PA)</td>
<td>Word-Final Devoicing of Fricatives in English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THURSDAY, 28 DECEMBER
AFTERNOON
Regency Ballroom

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

RULES FOR MOTIONS AND RESOLUTIONS

1. DEFINITIONS.

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

2. PROCEDURE REGARDING MOTIONS.

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

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

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

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

3. PROCEDURE REGARDING RESOLUTIONS.

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

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

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

3d. If at least ten members present at the meeting so desire, a resolution may be broadened to express 'the sense of the majority of the membership,' regardless of whether or not it has passed the procedure in 3c above, by the following steps: the resolution is forwarded to the Executive Committee for submission to the membership by mail ballot (in the next issue of the LSA BULLETIN). Passage of such a 'sense of the majority of the membership,' resolution requires the affirmative vote (more than 50%) of the membership responding.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Chair/Institution</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Kyong-Hook Song (Georgetown U): Honoforic Speech of Korean-English Bilingual Children in the USA</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Kate Moore (Columbia U/ U Helsinki): Analysis Of Pauses in Finnish and English Spontaneous Narrations</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Justine Cassell (U Chicago): Gesture and the Development of Metanarrative Ability</td>
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<td>10:00</td>
<td>Neal R. Norrick (U IL J): Joking Repair and the Organization of Repair in Conversation</td>
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<td>10:20</td>
<td>Christina Kakava (Georgetown U): Argumentative Conversation in a Greek Family</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Susan C. Shepherd (IN IN 4-Indianapolis): Oral and Written Traditions in Spontaneous and Elicited Narratives</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Minako Ishikawa (Georgetown U): Iconicity in Discourse: A Case of Repetitions in Japanese</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>Kathleen Furena (Texas A&amp;M U): Cataphor in Conversation: Looking Forward to Discourse</td>
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<td>11:40</td>
<td>Herbert W. Luchtin (U CA-Berkeley): Male/ Female Speech in Yane-Visited</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Carole E. Chasek (U SC) &amp; Kenneth Andrews (U SC): A Metrical Analysis of Papago Noun Pluralsizations</td>
<td>Lexington-Concord University of Kentucky</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Wen-yu Chiang (U DE): The Interactions of Morphology and Phonology in Taiwanese</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Marlys A. Macken (U TX-Austin) &amp; Charles A. Ferguson (Stanford U): Lexical Templates</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Mary Dalympple (Stanford U/SRI Intl), Stuart W. Shieber (Harvard U), &amp; Fernando C.N. Pereira (AT&amp;T Bell Labs): Ellipsis and Higher-Order Matching</td>
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<td>9:40</td>
<td>Stephen Berman (U MA): Wh-Movement as a Determinant of Wh-Phrase Quantifiability</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Paul Saka (U AZ): The Ambiguity of Proper Names</td>
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<td>10:20</td>
<td>Laura A. Michaelis (U CA-Berkeley): On the Polysemy of Adverbal Stills</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Enric Vallduví (U PA): Only and Focus</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Geoffrey J. Huck &amp; Younghae Na (U Toronto): Extrapolation from Definite NPs and the Theory of Focus</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:40</td>
<td>Hein-I Heieh (U HI-Manoa): How Compositional Is Semantics?</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>David Odden (OH SU): Adjacency Parameters in Phonology</td>
<td>Valley Forge University of Arizona</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Donald G. Chature (SUNY-Buffalo): Eusas Intonation and the OCP</td>
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<td>9:40</td>
<td>Philip S. LeSourd: Syncope between Identical Consonants in Pasamquoddy</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Scott Myers (SOAS): Structure Preservation and the Phonology of Complex Segments in Shona</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>Joyce McDonough (U MA): Clottedized Nasals in the Athabaskan (Navajo) O-Effects</td>
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**DISCOURSE ANALYSIS I**
Chair: A.L. Becker (U MI)
Room: Ticonderoga

**SEMANICS I**
Chair: Norbert Hornstein (U MD-College Park)
Room: Capitol Room

**TEMPLATE MORPHOLOGY**
Chair: Ann Farmer (SUNY-Albany)
Room: Lexington-Concord

**CONDITIONS ON PHONOLOGICAL RULES AND REPRESENTATIONS**
Chair: William Poser (Stanford U)
Room: Valley Forge

**AMERICAN SIGN LANGUAGE**
Chair: Robert Johnson (Gallaudet U)
Room: Conference Theatre

**Wymke D. Janis (SUNY-Buffalo/HTID): Expressing Shifts in Perspective within a Narrative, and ASL Morphosyntax**

**Clayton Valli (Gallaudet U) & Gay Lucas (Gallaudet U): Black Deaf Signers in Language Contact Situations**

**Karen van Hoek (U CA-San Diego/Salk Inst): Serial Clause Constructions in American Sign Language**

**Susan Fischer (RIT/URochester) & Diane Lillo-Martin (U CT): UNDERSTANDING Conjunctions**

**Diane Brentari (U Chicago): Evidence for Autosegmental Licensing: 2-Handed Signs in American Sign Language**

**David P. Corina (Salk Inst/U CA-San Diego): Compensatory Lengthening in American Sign Language**
### FRIDAY, 29 DECEMBER

#### AFTERNOON

**12:30-2:00 PM: COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN LINGUISTICS**  
Panel: Caring for Jobs and Children  
Eliseo Jeliniok (U AZ), Chair; Ana Farmer (SUNY-Albany); David Lebesou (U MD-College Park); Joan Halling (Brandeis U); Keren Rice (U Toronto); Catherine Ringen (U IA); Wendy Wilkins (U AZ)

**2:00-3:30 PM: LSA Presidential Address**  
"With One Lip, With Two Lips": Parallels in Nahua  
William Bright (U CO)

### PROSPECTICS

**Chair:** John Ohala (U CA-Berkeley)  
**Room:** Regency Ballroom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Richard Sproat (AT&amp;T Bell Labs) &amp; Osamu Fujimura (OH SU): Articulatory Evidence for the Non-Categorialness of English /I/ Allophones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:50</td>
<td>Arthur S. Abramson (UC/UC-Haskins Labs): Duration vs. Amplitude in Patani Malay Consonant Length</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:10</td>
<td>Margot Feet (MITRE Corp): Durations of Palatalized Allophones: Some Implications for Speech Recognition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:30</td>
<td>Christiane Laufer (OH SU): Acquisition of the English ptk/bdg Contrast by French Speakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:50</td>
<td>Yoko Hasigawa (U CA-Berkeley) &amp; Kazue Hata (Speech Tech Lab): The HL and LM Tonal Perceptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:10</td>
<td>Hector R. Javkin (Speech Tech Lab/UC CA-Santa Barbara), Brian A. Tanzon (Speech Tech Lab), &amp; Abigail Kaun (U CA-los Angeles): Breathiness and Intelligibility--Are They Mutually Exclusive?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:50</td>
<td>Margarette Fournier (Ctrl Inst for the Deaf): An Acoustic Study of the Effects of Changes in Tempo and Stress on Vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:10</td>
<td>Diane Ringer Uber (: Woober): Stress-Timing, Spanish Rhythm, and Particle Phonology</td>
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### MORPHOLOGY

**Chair:** Joan Bybee (U WA)  
**Room:** Yorktown

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Harry Bocheiner (Harvard U): Level Ordering: Historical Relics vs. Productive Patterns</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:50</td>
<td>Uma Subramaniam (OH SU): Phrasal Affixes and Their Lexical &quot;Doubles&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:10</td>
<td>Sharon Inkelas (U MD): Focused Reanalysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:30</td>
<td>Aaron Halpern (Stanford U): Divorcing Morphological and Phonological Subcategorization</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:50</td>
<td>&quot;Susan F. Schmerling: On Nominal Gender and Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:35</td>
<td>Brian D. Joseph (OH SU) &amp; Joel A. Neville (OH SU): Mackenzie's Law in Morphology: The Lithuanian Reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:55</td>
<td>Sandra L. Pulzer (U AZ): Dual-Position Affixes: An Argument for Morphological Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:15</td>
<td>John Stonham (Stanford U): Metathesis as a MORPHEME: The Straits Salish Case</td>
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<tr>
<td>6:35</td>
<td>Joyce Powers (OH SU): Inflection and Grammatical Relations in Cree</td>
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### TYPOLOGY

**Chair:** Marianne Mithun (U CA-Santa Barbara)  
**Room:** Ticonderoga

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Ronald P. Schaefer (U IL U-Edwardsville): Property Concepts and Adjectives in Smai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:50</td>
<td>Matthew S. Dryer (SUNY-Buffalo): Languages in which Articles and Demonstratives Are Categorically Distinct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:30</td>
<td>Pete Onish (Addis Ababa U/SIIL): A Cluster of Typological Surprises in Hajng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:50</td>
<td>David Strecker: Non Prefixes in Haoyngic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:10</td>
<td>Johanne Nicksig (U CA-Berkeley): Distributional Evidence for the Rise and Development of Ergativity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SEMANTICS II

**Chair:** Dee Hollisky (George Mason U)  
**Room:** Capitol Room

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Toshiyuki Ogihara (U Stuttgart): Temporal Interpretation of Nouns and Tense Morphemes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:10</td>
<td>Toshiko Matsumoto (OH SU): Pragmatic Control of Relative Clauses in Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:50</td>
<td>Shigeko Okamoto (CA SU-Fresno): Idiomaticity and Regularity in Japanese Reduplication Constructions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:10</td>
<td>Claudia Brugman (U CA-Davis/U CA-Berkeley): An Unusual Interpretation of Modified Noun Phrases</td>
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<tr>
<td>5:30</td>
<td>Jane Amanda Kepenson (U CA-Berkeley): Causation Metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:50</td>
<td>Johan Rooyck (PA SU): Control Variations in Transfer Verbs</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Jane Frank (Georgetown U): On the Representation of Prosody in Print: How Messages Are &quot;Packaged&quot; in Direct Sales Letters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:50</td>
<td>Heidi E. Hamilton: Inappropriateness of Response: Longitudinal Case Study of One Alzheimer's Patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:10</td>
<td>Haru Yamada (Georgetown U): Topic Shifts in American and Japanese Business Conversations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:30</td>
<td>Margaret Thomas (Harvard U) &amp; Aklo Kanlo (Dokkyo U): Referential Properties of English IT and THAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:50</td>
<td>Talbot J. Taylor (C William &amp; Mary): Rules and Explanation in Conversation Analysis</td>
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**LANGUAGE AND LAW**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Roger Shuy (Georgetown U): Conference Theatre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:50</td>
<td>Lawrence Solan (Orans, Eileen &amp; Lupert): Ambiguity and the Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
<td>Anita K. Barry (U Mi-Plint): Narrative Style and Witness Testimony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
<td>Nora C. Leibold (J. Benet Johnston, U.S. Senate): Defensive Rhetoric: Brendan Sullivan and the Iran Contra Hearings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SPECIAL SESSIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Laurie Zaring (IN U): Welsh NP Predicates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:50</td>
<td>James McCluskey (U CA-Santa Cruz/U College-Dublin): Clause Structure and Proper Government in Irish and English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:50</td>
<td>Karl A. Swingle (U NEn-Minneapolis): Another Look at the Progressive Construction in Irish</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Luigi Barzio (Johns Hopkins U): Wanna Contraction as Restructuring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Thomas Stroik (Morehead SU): Middles and Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Claudia Leacock (CUNY/IBR) &amp; Ray C. Dougherty (NYU): The Lexical Entry for ASK in a Principles and Parameters Grammar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Paul D. Deane (U Ctrl FL): What Can We Ignore the CSC and Extract from Anyway?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>Masayuki Ike-Uchi (MIT/Joetsu U): An Alternative Analysis of Anger of a Girl Type NP's in English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:05</td>
<td>Christopher Culy (Stamford U): Relative Clauses in Bambara: Internally Headed or Correlative?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:25</td>
<td>Ellen Contini-Norava (U VA): Agreeing to Disagree: Semantic Functions of Agreement in Swahili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:45</td>
<td>Leo A. Connolly (Memphis SU): Case Grammar, Subjecthood, and Ergativity</td>
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</table>

**SPECIAL SESSIONS**

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Mire Nf Chiosentin (U MA/U College-Dublin): Palatalization in Feature Geometry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Alicja Gorecka (Purdue U): Are Front Vowels Coronal?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:25</td>
<td>Carol Genetti (U OR): The Feature Front in Sumerian Phonology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>Ian Maddison (U CA-Los Angeles): Shona Velarization: Complex Consonants or Complex Onsets?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:05</td>
<td>Susan Rees (U CA-Los Angeles): Pharyngeal Articulations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:25</td>
<td>Eugene Buckley (U CA-Berkeley): Radical Underspecification and Tigrinya Vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:45</td>
<td>James Myers (U AZ): Spirantization in Moore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:05</td>
<td>Curtis C. Rice (UT Austin): Underspecification Theory and Representation of Affricates</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Celtic Syntax**

| Chair: Eric Hamp (U Chicago) |
| Room: Valley Forge           |
| 3:30 Laurie Zaring (IN U): Welsh NP Predicates |
| 3:50 James McCluskey (U CA-Santa Cruz/U College-Dublin): Clause Structure and Proper Government in Irish and English |
| 4:35 Karl A. Swingle (U NEn-Minneapolis): Another Look at the Progressive Construction in Irish |

**Syntax VI**

| Chair: Luigi Barzio (Johns Hopkins U) |
| Room: Regency Ballroom               |
| 9:00 Grant Goodall (U TX-El Paso): Wanna Contraction as Restructuring |
| 9:20 Thomas Stroik (Morehead SU): Middles and Movement |
| 9:40 Claudia Leacock (CUNY/IBR) & Ray C. Dougherty (NYU): The Lexical Entry for ASK in a Principles and Parameters Grammar |
| 10:00 Paul D. Deane (U Ctrl FL): What Can We Ignore the CSC and Extract from Anyway? |
| 10:45 Masayuki Ike-Uchi (MIT/Joetsu U): An Alternative Analysis of Anger of a Girl Type NP's in English |
| 11:05 Christopher Culy (Stamford U): Relative Clauses in Bambara: Internally Headed or Correlative? |
| 11:25 Ellen Contini-Norava (U VA): Agreeing to Disagree: Semantic Functions of Agreement in Swahili |
| 11:45 Leo A. Connolly (Memphis SU): Case Grammar, Subjecthood, and Ergativity |

**Phonology: Feature Theory**

<p>| Chair: Catherine Ringen (U IA) |
| Room: Yorktown                  |
| 9:00 Mire Nf Chiosentin (U MA/U College-Dublin): Palatalization in Feature Geometry |
| 9:40 Alicja Gorecka (Purdue U): Are Front Vowels Coronal? |
| 10:25 Carol Genetti (U OR): The Feature Front in Sumerian Phonology |
| 10:45 Ian Maddison (U CA-Los Angeles): Shona Velarization: Complex Consonants or Complex Onsets? |
| 11:05 Susan Rees (U CA-Los Angeles): Pharyngeal Articulations |
| 11:25 Eugene Buckley (U CA-Berkeley): Radical Underspecification and Tigrinya Vowels |
| 11:45 James Myers (U AZ): Spirantization in Moore |
| 12:05 Curtis C. Rice (UT Austin): Underspecification Theory and Representation of Affricates |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Second and First Language Acquisition</td>
<td>Marcia Babbitt Gonsalves (Kingsborough CC)</td>
<td>A Distance Metric for Second Language Lexical Errors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td></td>
<td>Charlotte Webb (San Diego SU) &amp; Hiroko Takagi (San Diego SU)</td>
<td>Perceptual Abilities of Japanese Learning English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td></td>
<td>Elena Gorokhova (Rutgers U)</td>
<td>Acquisition of English Articles by Native Speakers of Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td></td>
<td>Susan French (Georgetown U) &amp; Theresa A. Waldspurger (Georgetown U)</td>
<td>A Case for the Practical: Procedures and Assumptions in Testing L2 Phonology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cheney Crow (U TX-Austin)</td>
<td>Phonological Organization in Bilinguals: Effects of L2 on L1 in Speech Error Data</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td></td>
<td>Roy C. Major (WA SU)</td>
<td>First Language Loss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kimberly Janma (U OR)</td>
<td>Task Effects on Input Processing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td></td>
<td>Robyne Tiedeman (Princeton U) &amp; Jaya Sarma (U CT)</td>
<td>Methodological and Theoretical Issues Regarding the Acquisition of Wh-Questions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:40</td>
<td></td>
<td>Elizabeth W. Goodell (U CT/Haskins Labs) &amp; Jacqueline Secha (U CT)</td>
<td>Reported Speech in English-Speaking Children</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Discourse Analysis III</th>
<th>Chair: Wallace Chafe (U CA-Santa Barbara)</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td></td>
<td>Frances Trit (U MI)</td>
<td>Non-Topical Bracketing of Episodes in Oral Interaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td></td>
<td>Livia Polanyi (Rice U)</td>
<td>Clause Permutation and Discourse Coherence</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ingrid Pufahl (Georgetown U)</td>
<td>Tense Variation in indirect Speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td></td>
<td>Livia Polanyi (Rice U) &amp; Laura Martin (Cleveland SU)</td>
<td>Lá and -À in Mayan: A Formal Approach to Discourse Particles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mary J. Schleppegrell (CAL)</td>
<td>Paratactic Because</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td></td>
<td>Beth Ann Hickey (U PA)</td>
<td>The Function of 'Okay' as a Cue Phrase in Discourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td></td>
<td>Noriko Onodera (Georgetown U)</td>
<td>Multi-Placed Functions of the Japanese Discourse Connective 'Demo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td></td>
<td>Victoria L. Bergwall (MI Tech U)</td>
<td>Resolving Underspecified First and Second Person Pronouns in Discourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:40</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jeff Connor-Linton (Georgetown U)</td>
<td>CrossTalk and the Contextualizing Function of Segmental Features</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Computational Linguistics</th>
<th>Chair: Karen Jensen (IBM)</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td></td>
<td>Andreas Kornai (Stanford U)</td>
<td>Implementing Feature Geometry in Markov Models</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mary L. Hale (U CA-San Diego)</td>
<td>Conditions on Vowel Assimilation in a Connectionist Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td></td>
<td>Richard Wojcik (Boeing Adv Tech Ctr.), James E. Hoard (Boeing) &amp; Lisbeth E. Duncan-LaCoste (Boeing)</td>
<td>Lexical and Phrasal Issues in the Disambiguation of Noun Phrases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td></td>
<td>Peter J. Binkert (Oakland U)</td>
<td>Syntax, Short Term Memory, and Parsing: The English NP Constraint</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS**  
**WEDNESDAY, 27 DECEMBER**  
**EVENING**

**Room:** Columbia C  
8:00-9:00 PM

**New Directions for AAAL: Report and Discussion of Task Force Deliberations on the Future of AAAL**  
**Chair:** Susan Gass

---

**THURSDAY, 28 DECEMBER**

**MORNING**

**DISCOURSE AND PRAGMATICS**  
**Chair:** Peter Lowenberg (Georgetown U)  
**Room:** Columbia C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Dwight Atkinson (USC)</td>
<td>Toward a Multifunctional Model of Written Discourse Conventions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>Jessica Williams (U IL-Chicago)</td>
<td>The Elaboration of Discourse Marking and Intelligibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Betsy K. Barnes (U MN-Minneapolis)</td>
<td>Discourse Structure of IL of American Learners of French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>Holly Wieland (U MN-Minneapolis)</td>
<td>Narrative Production in French/American Cross-Cultural Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Susan Berk-Seligson (U Pittsburgh)</td>
<td>The Social/Semantic Aspects of Pragmatics in a Bilingual Discourse Setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>Diane Boxer (U PA)</td>
<td>Indirect Complaints and Sequential Interaction: Increasing Opportunities for Negotiated Interaction</td>
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**AFTERNOON**

**SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE LEARNING AND USE**  
**Chair:** Donna Christian (CAL)  
**Room:** Columbia C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Topic</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Peter W. Lowenberg (Georgetown U)</td>
<td>Nonnative Varieties of English: Nativization vs. Interlanguage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:30</td>
<td>Cheryl A. Roberts (U N IA) &amp; Stephen J. Gales (U N IA)</td>
<td>Ethnolinguistic Dimensions of the Amish Community in Northeast Iowa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Cheri Micheau (U PA)</td>
<td>Ethnic Identity Development: Personal Perspectives from a Puerto Rican Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Timothy J. Ebsworth (U PR)</td>
<td>Cross-Cultural Interpretations in the English Interaction of Puerto Rican and American Adults</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
<td>Joyce Blanchette (CUNY Grad Ctr)</td>
<td>Bilingual Education in Practice: The Value of Messy Data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:30</td>
<td>Tamara M. Valentine (U SC)</td>
<td>Women's Ways with Words: A Non-Western Perspective</td>
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</tbody>
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**FRIDAY, 29 DECEMBER**

**MORNING**

**PSYCHO-SOCIAL VARIABLES IN LANGUAGE ACQUISITION**  
**Chair:** Leslie Bebe (Teachers C)  
**Room:** Columbia C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Topic</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Timothy J. Riney (U N IA)</td>
<td>Epithesis and Age in Second Language Phonology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>Madeline E. Ehrman (For Service Inst)</td>
<td>Personality Factors in Second Language Acquisition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Alan Schell (Boston U) &amp; Jean Berko Gleason (Boston U)</td>
<td>Gender Differences in the Acquisition of the Vocabulary of Emotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>Miriam R. Eisenstein (NYU)</td>
<td>Mood and Mode in ESL: Topic Investment in L2 Oral and Written Production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Jacqueline Landau (U PA)</td>
<td>Sociolinguistic Aspects of Text and the L2 Reader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>Dennis R. Prestoi (E MI U)</td>
<td>Variable Rules, Markedness, and Interlanguage</td>
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**AFTERNOON**

**Room:** Columbia C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Plessey</td>
<td>Variation and Acquisition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elaine Tarone (U MN-Minneapolis)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:30</td>
<td>Business Meeting</td>
<td>Chair: Lyle Bachman (U CA-Los Angeles)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>LANGUAGE TEACHING, LEARNING, AND EVALUATION</th>
<th>Research on Theoretical Linguistic Issues</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Kristine Billeter (U PA): The Effect of Formal Instruction on the Development of Socio-linguistic Competence</td>
<td>9:00 Gerald P. Berman (NTID/RIT) &amp; Vincent J. Samar (NTID/RIT): The Psychological Reality of the Subset Principle: Evidence from Deaf Learners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Teresa Pica (U PA), Ruth Kanagy (U PA), &amp; Joseph Falodun (U PA): Choosing and Using Communication Tasks for Second Language Research and Instruction</td>
<td>10:00 William D. Davies (U IA): Morphological Uniformity, Null Subjects in English, and SLA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>John Hedgecock (USC): The Impact of Reading Genre on L1 Writing Performance</td>
<td>10:30 Margaret Thomas (Harvard U): Parameters and the Acquisition of Japanese しるし by English Speakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Lyle F. Bachman (U CA-Los Angeles) &amp; Fred Davidson: The Cambridge-TOEFL Comparability Study</td>
<td>11:00 Mary Schleppegrell (CAL): Subordination and Linguistic Complexity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>Donald Loritz (Georgetown U): Why Neurons only Learn Language at the L1 Level</td>
<td>11:30 Violeta Ramsey (U OR/Willamette U): Early and Late Stages in the Acquisition of Aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Craig Chaudron (U HI-Hanaa): Units of Analysis in Classroom Interaction: The Source of Valid Observation</td>
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</table>
### AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY

**FRIDAY 29 DECEMBER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>John Baugh (U TX-Austin): American Dialectology and the Pursuit of Social Equality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>Pekka Hirvonen (U Joensuu): Finnish to Finglish to English: That's How the Morphology Crumbles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Walt Wolfram (U DC/CAL): The Linguistic Variable in Dialect Studies: Fact and Fantasy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>Timothy Habick (ETS): Consonantal and Vocalic Loci in Spectrographic Dialectology</td>
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</table>
**NORTH AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGE SCIENCES**

**THURSDAY, 28 DECEMBER**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>MORNING</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SESSION 1</strong></td>
<td><strong>SESSION 2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chair: Francis Dinneen, S.J. (Georgetown U)</td>
<td>Chair: Douglas Kibbee (U IL-Urbana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Room: Bunker Hill</td>
<td>Room: Bunker Hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9:00</strong> Karin Ryding (Georgetown U): Medieval Arabic Morphological Theory</td>
<td><strong>2:00</strong> Julie Andresen (Duke U): Chomsky and Skinner 30 Years Later</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9:30</strong> Lucia Binotti (U CA-Santa Barbara): A XVth Century Spanish Version of Guarino Veronese’s Epistle on Latin</td>
<td><strong>2:30</strong> Konrad Koerner (U Ottawa): Linguistic Historiography—In Search of a Method</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>10:00</strong> Maria Taispera (U NC-Chapel Hill) &amp; Caron Wheeler (U NC-Chapel Hill): Aristotle and the Grammaire Générale</td>
<td><strong>3:00</strong> Break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>10:30</strong> Break</td>
<td><strong>3:15</strong> Business Meeting Chair: Aldo Scaglione (NYU)</td>
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## SOCIETY FOR PIDGIN AND CREOLE LINGUISTICS

### THURSDAY, 28 DECEMBER

#### MORNING

**SESSION 1**
Chair: Francis Byrne (Shawnee SU)
Room: Columbia Foyer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker and Location</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Carol Blackshire-Belay (OH SU)</td>
<td>Foreign Workers' German: Is It a Pidgin?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>J. Glancy Clements (IN U)</td>
<td>Foreigner Talk and the Origin and Development of the Indo-Portuguese Creoles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>John Holme (CNY) &amp; Christopher Kapou (U Papua New Guinea)</td>
<td>Tok Pisin I Kaneb Plain Gen? Is Tok Pisin Repigdating?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Vladimir Belikov (Inst Oriental Studies-Moscow)</td>
<td>The Hypocases of Russian-Chinese Pidgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>Jacques Arends (Dutch State Sch Trans)</td>
<td>Towards a Gradualist Model of Creolization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Christine Jourdan (McGill U)</td>
<td>Nationization or Creolization?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Charlene J. Sato (U Hi-Manoa)</td>
<td>Decreolization: A Longitudinal Study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>Charles E. DeBose (New C CA)</td>
<td>Re-Creolization: The Case of Papuanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:40</td>
<td>Marie-Joeeer Ceral (U TX-Austin)</td>
<td>The Bantu Lexical and Semantic Component of Guadeloupian Creole</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Session 2**
Chair: Albert Valdman (IN U)
Room: Columbia Foyer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Mary C. Black &amp; Glenn G. Gilbert (S IL U-Carbondale)</td>
<td>A Reexamination of Bickerton’s Language Phylogenesis Hypothesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:20</td>
<td>Salikoko S. Nufiwe (U GA)</td>
<td>Do Atlantic Creoles Have Possessive Pronouns?</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:40</td>
<td>Donald Wisford (U Colo)</td>
<td>A Reexamination of Auxiliary Ordering in Guianese (and Jamaican) Creoles</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Dick Thomas, Kenneth Sumbuk &amp; Nick Paracela (U Papua New Guinea)</td>
<td>Adjectives, Statives, and Noun-Noun Structures in Tok Pisin and Its Substrate</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:20</td>
<td>John Victor Singler (NYU)</td>
<td>Word-Final Consonants in Liberian English</td>
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<td>3:40</td>
<td>Helma Pasch (U Köln)</td>
<td>Pidginization and Creolization Processes in Sango</td>
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<td>4:00</td>
<td>Kenneth Bilby (Johns Hopkins U)</td>
<td>Latent Intervocalic Liquids in Alouki: Links to the Phonological Past of a Maroon Creole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:20</td>
<td>Ronald Kephart (U N FL)</td>
<td>Of Sheep and Sheep: Vowels in Carraccou Creole English</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:40</td>
<td>Cheungwook Lee</td>
<td>On Korean Pidgin English in Hawaii</td>
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### EVENING

Room: Columbia Foyer
8:00-9:00 PM

**Business Meeting**
Chair: Francis Byrne (Shawnee SU)

### FRIDAY, 29 DECEMBER

#### MORNING

**SESSION 3**
Chair: Charlene Sato (U Hi-Manoa)
Room: Columbia Foyer

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Stephen J. Mathews (USC)</td>
<td>Creole Aspect and Morphological Typology</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Anand Sye (Univ., England)</td>
<td>Null Subject in Mauritian Creole and the Pro-Drop Parameter</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Armim Schwegerl (U CA-Irvine)</td>
<td>&quot;Irrealis&quot; in the Colombian Creole Palenquero: How Real?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>George L. Hunter (U TX-Arlington) &amp; Robert D. Keanding (SIL)</td>
<td>Majiuk Expressions of Comparison and Equality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>Suzanne Romans (Oxford U)</td>
<td>The Decline of Predicate Marking in Tok Pisin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Alexander P. Caseley (U Chicago) &amp; Francis Byrne (Shawnee SU)</td>
<td>Theta-Marking, Subjects, and Finiteness in Creole Languages</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Arthur Speare (CUNY)</td>
<td>Haitian Creole pou</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>John M. Lipakpi (U FL)</td>
<td>Creole Verbs and the Particle La: An Extended Perspective</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:40</td>
<td>Philippe Maurer</td>
<td>Subjunctive Mood in Papuanu</td>
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#### AFTERNOON

**SESSION 4**
Chair: Morris Goodman (Northwestern U)
Room: Columbia Foyer

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker and Location</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Dinggu Shi (USC)</td>
<td>Unique Pidgin Transmission and Its Possible Influence on Chinese Pidgin English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Alexander Nix (Uoke U)</td>
<td>The Transmission of Creole Languages</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:50</td>
<td>Julianne Hohe (UCLA)</td>
<td>Antillean Creole on St. Barthelemy</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:10</td>
<td>Stephen H. Peck, Jr. (U CA-Tor Angeles)</td>
<td>Western Mande and West Atlantic Influences on Guinean-Cameroonian</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:30</td>
<td>Anthony R. Lewis (U West Indies-Barbados)</td>
<td>Sociolinguistic Variation in a Final Stage Post-Creole Speech Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:50</td>
<td>Jeffrey P. Williams (U Syd)</td>
<td>The Varieties of Pidginized Yimas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:10</td>
<td>Kate Howe (HW L. ResCtr)</td>
<td>Haitian Creole as the Medium of Education in Haiti</td>
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<tr>
<td>5:30</td>
<td>Robert B. Allen, Jr. (Hunter C)</td>
<td>Betawi, Saba Malay and Balinese: The Recriollization of Malay</td>
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<tr>
<td>5:50</td>
<td>Jeff Siegel (U New England, Australia)</td>
<td>Pidgins and Creoles in Education in Australia and the Southwest Pacific</td>
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ABSTRACTS

of the Linguistic Society of America

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.
Duration vs. Amplitude in Pattani Malay Consonant Length

All Pattani Malay consonants appear word-initially, and thus also utterance-initially, as distinctively short or long. Earlier work has shown that the closures or constrictions of the "long" consonants are significantly longer than those of the "short" consonants. Experiments have shown that duration is a sufficient cue for perception. In voiceless plosives, however, the duration as such of a silent utterance-initial closure is not audible, yet listeners identify the words well and so must use other cues. Since the peak amplitudes of the first syllables of disyllabic words are greater for words with long plosives, this might be the relevant cue. Increments of closure duration and amplitude were pitted against each other for short plosives and decrements for long plosives. For voiceless stops in isolated words, just amplitude was varied. In native speakers' responses, duration was the far more powerful cue, although amplitude did affect the category boundary. By itself, peak amplitude separates the categories weakly. Further work is planned on the possible role of the shaping of the amplitude contour.

JUDITH AISSEN, University of California-Santa Cruz
JEFFREY RUNNER, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

Spanish Left Conjo int Agreement

Normal verb agreement in Spanish is with the subject, but when the subject is postverbal and coordinate, the verb can agree with the left conjunct alone: (i) Se quemó (sg) la casa y los edificios. The house and the buildings burned. We propose that Spanish left conjunct agreement (LCA) is an obligatory feature of impersonal clauses when the agreement trigger is coordinate. Hence (i) is impersonal, and its subject is not la casa y los edificios, but an expletive pronoun which is silent, like other non-emphatic pronouns in Spanish. Plural agreement is possible, in (i) too, but that sentence is personal. We present two kinds of argument that (i) is impersonal. First, in obligatorily impersonal clauses, LCA is also obligatory. Second, LCA triggers are poor antecedents for several kinds of anaphor, a fact shown to follow if LCA triggers are not subjects. Three points of theoretical interest emerge: first is the restriction of LCA to impersonal clauses. Second, in contrast to analyses of Italian (Perlmutter 1983, Burzio 1986), we conclude that not all Spanish constructions with postverbal "subjects" are impersonal. Third, contrary to claims of Safir (1986) and Belletti (1988), we find that "definiteness effects" in Spanish impersonals are limited to human-referring NPs.

DIANA ARCHANGELI, University of Arizona

The CVVC Syllable in Yawelmani

Yawelmani has prototypical syllabification: typical surface syllables are CV, CVC, and CVV; triconsonantal clusters are resolved by epenthesis; long vowels in closed syllables are shortened (Kuroda 1967, Kisseberth 1970). Despite this simplicity, Y offers an argument for the moraic approach to syllable weight (Hyman 1985, McCarthy & Prince 1986, 1987, 1983) and specifically for Hayes' (1989) rule of Weight-by-Position. I show that separating Y syllabification into two parts, basic syllabification (effecting epenthesis) and Weight-by-Position (hence shortening), provides an account for the interaction of syllabification with (a) Compensatory Lengthening (CL replaces /w/ of -lws- in coda position: CL in /lool/istlisa 'inheritance-BBJ' from /lool/-lst-lgw-a/ vs. no CL in /yoyowx-lws 'one who plittles self-SBJ' from /yoyowx/-lws/), (b) Retardative Lengthening (the final syllable of 'wily' preverbs is lengthened to indicate slowed activity: pawly- 'overspread quickly' but pawly- 'overspread slowly'; bidlinwy- 'tumble from a high place' but bidlinuwu'- 'walk over a high place', *bidlinwu}', and (c) the templatic morphology (templates distinguish between long and short vowels but not between open and closed syllables), as well as (d) the well-known rules of Harmony & Lowering (they intervene between epenthesis & shortening). These results argue against Ito's (1986, 1989) claim that syllabification is a single algorithm and in favor of Steriade's (1982) rule-oriented approach.
Nivkh Lexical Ablaut: Nature and Origin

The six Nivkh vowels (three low, a a o, and three high, i y [i] u) alternate along the dimension of height: e/l, a/y, o/u. Some of these alternations are completely productive (vowel harmony), some are fairly predictable (Amur dialect dyf 'house' / South-Sakhalin daf), and some can be intuited but not always accurately predicted (sound symbolism: ply-/pia- 'shine'). In this paper the focus will be on lexical alternations. These are even less tractable. Within the So-Sakhl dialect: cfa/çyf 'chain/rope', moq/muk 'var. of bear/var. of dog', wog / 'egg of the gadfly' / wug 'hornet'. Also interdental and tabu-conditioned: So-Sakhl. ya 'animal, fur' / Amur gy 'land otter'. Hypotheses/conclusions: Some of these alternations were conditioned segmentally (Umlaut). Others are related to the consonantism (-og-/uk- above). The present 6-vowel system may have developed from a 5-vowel one.

ANITA K. BARRY, University of Michigan-Flint

Narrative Style and Witness Testimony

It has been suggested (O'Barr 1982) that witnesses in court are judged to be more credible when lawyers allow them to deliver their testimony in a narrative rather than a fragmented style. This paper suggests, however, that some witnesses may have narrative styles that engender frustration in the lawyer-witness interaction and produce just the opposite effect. Specifically, some witnesses use elements of Bernstein's "restricted code," failing to adequately identify antecedents of pronouns and proper nouns when telling their stories. The argument is illustrated through a comparison of the "elaborated" testimony of an expert witness and the "restricted" testimony of a non-expert witness, each being examined by the same lawyer. Data is drawn from a partial transcript of a circuit court murder trial.

DAWN BATES, Arizona State University
BARRY F. CARLSON, University of Victoria

Morphological Stress and Phonological Theory

Carlson's (1989) analysis of Spokane is typical of Interior Salishanist analyses of morphologically-determined stress; he assigns inherent stress values to 2 kinds of roots and 3 kinds of suffixes. Predicting stress in a morphologically complex word is simply a matter of determining which morpheme has the highest inherent stress value. Employing numbers 1-5 in descending order of inherent stress:

\[ K'ulntex \rightarrow K'ultex \]

Two aspects of this analysis are relevant to current phonological theory. First, no morphological cycle is employed; the inherent stress values can be read after all morphemes in a word are assembled. Second, no phonological projections (e.g., grids) are required, since primary stress location is morphological and there is no secondary stress in Spokane.

We argue that these two conclusions are misleading, and the best analysis of Spokane requires reference to cyclic derivation and to grid projections. We cite evidence motivating a Stress Shift rule which operates cyclically on phonological structure without reference to cycle-internal morphology. The present theory reduces the number of inherent stress features and accounts for data problematic to Carlson's account - forms in which 2 morphemes bear identical inherent stress features.

\[ 4 \ 5 \ 3 \]

Stress shifts off the root onto the next vowel to the right: \( \$1ntsi-en \rightarrow \$1ntsfen \)
Temporal Differences between Voiceless and Devoiced Final Stops in Turkish

The phonological process of final obstruent devoicing has been argued to be phonetically non-neutralizing in German (Port & O’Dell 1985), Polish (Słowiacki & Dimmsem 1985), and Catalan (Charles-Luce & Dimmsem 1987). This claim is based on acoustic evidence that devoiced (=underlying voiced) obstruents differ from (underlying) voiceless obstruents in one or more temporal measures. However, others (Fourakis & Iverson 1984, Mascaro 1987), have suggested that the temporal differences might be explained by non-phonological factors such as orthography. To address some of these concerns, this study investigates final stops in Turkish, which devoices final non-continuants, seems an unlikely candidate for preservation of underlying voice distinctions: the distinction between final voiceless and devoiced stops is not preserved in orthography, and no common pairs of words differ only in terms of whether a stem-final stop is voiceless or devoiced. Yet, despite the apparent lack of orthographic or semantic motivation, preliminary acoustic data from three Turkish speakers suggest that underlying voice differences are preserved. 30 near-minimal pairs of Turkish words differing in underlying voicing of the final stop were recorded in isolation and in sentential context, and were measured for four temporal parameters: closure duration of the final stop, duration of voicing into closure, aspiration duration, and duration of the vowel preceding the final stop. Two parameters were found to be significant: closure duration was shorter, and voicing into closure was longer, for devoiced than for voiceless stops. Differences specific to individual speakers and particular places of articulation are discussed, but the general conclusion is that final devoicing in Turkish is non-neutralizing.

FREDERICKA BELL-BERTI, St. John’s University/Haskins Labs
RENA A. KRACOW, Temple University/Haskins Labs

Velar Lowering Gestures in Short and Long Sequences: Evidence for Temporal Stability

Some studies of anticipatory coarticulation support look-ahead models and others support coproduction models. In the former, the possibility of long-distance spread is built in, barring a conflict with the articulatory requirements of a preceding segment. In the latter, coarticulatory influences bear a close temporal relation to the acoustic or primary articulatory realization of the influencing segment, regardless of context.

Our work examines anticipatory velar lowering in American English. We increased the duration of a vocalic string in CVnN sequences (n = some number; N = a nasal consonant) by adding segments and/or slowing the speech rate. Consistent with the look-ahead model, we observed earlier velar lowering onset (in relation to the nasal murmur) as we lengthened the vocalic string. But inclusion of a control condition (matched CVnC sequences; C = an oral consonant) showed that early lowering in the CVnN sequences was associated with the vocalic string. Lowering occurred at the same time in the CVnC sequences. Lowering for the nasal consonant itself was closely timed to the nasal murmur. In short strings with nasal consonants, the vocalic and consonantal gestures overlapped and only a single lowering movement was evident, but in the longer strings, we saw two distinct lowering movements, a shallow one for the vowels, and a deep one for the nasal consonant. Our results strongly support the coproduction account.

VICTORIA L. BERGVALL, Michigan Tech University

Resolving Underspecified First and Second Person Pronouns in Discourse

Despite the proposal of numerous models for resolving pronouns (e.g., from syntax: Chomsky 1980, 1981, Ingrai and Stollard 1989; from discourse analysis: Grimes 1975; and particularly from computational accounts: Hobbs 1978, First 1981, Brennan, Friedman and Pollard 1987, Allen 1987), very little attention has been paid to the resolution of first and second person pronouns in multi-person discourse. Though overtly simple ("you" = hearer, "I" = speaker), ambiguities arise when different levels of corporate involvement are evoked: when the speaker shifts from "I" to "we" to encompass other members of a debate or the audience. Likewise, the pronoun "you" may refer to one person, the opposing panel, the audience, or even the impersonal "you" (= "one").

Using data from a debate before a citizen’s advisory committee, this paper accounts for the many referential shifts of first and second person pronouns in multi-person discourse by linking them to the rhetorical intentions of the speaker. By revising and expanding the rhetorical relation defined in Mann and Thompson (1988) and Moore and Paris (1989) (MOTIVATION, RECOMMEND, INFORM, ELABORATE) (in order to account for the effects that speakers attempt to achieve on hearers’ beliefs), and by integrating the resulting model with other syntactic and focus-centering models, the seemingly random shifts in first and second person pronouns are explained.
SUSAN BERK-SELIGSON, University of Pittsburgh (THURS MORN: E)

The Social/Psychological Impact of Pragmatics in a Bilingual Discourse Setting

In an experimentally designed study of subjective reactions, pragmatic features such as hedges (sort of, kind of, somewhat), interruptions, and mimicry of paralinguistic utterances (ehm, uhuh), are shown to have an impact on listeners. A total of 551 listeners, 40% of whom were bilingual Hispanics and the remainder non-Hispanic, participated in a verbal guise type of study, acting as jurors as they listened to audio-recordings of witnesses testifying in Spanish, a lawyer asking questions in English, and a court interpreter interpreting for witnesses and lawyer alike. The study finds that hedges in the interpreted testimony of a witness makes him seem less competent, intelligent, and trustworthy than he seems when his interpreted answers are devoid of hedges. Hispanic listeners, however, are not affected by the presence of hedges in interpreted testimony. Interruptions of the attorney by the interpreter make the attorney seem less competent to Hispanic and non-Hispanic listeners alike. In addition, Hispanics find the attorney less intelligent when he is interrupted by the interpreter. Interpreter mimicry of paralinguistic utterances makes the witness appear less intelligent, and the lawyer less competent and persuasive. However, bilinguals are not affected in any way by the mimicry of a witness’s paralinguistic responses.

STEPHEN BERNER, University of Massachusetts-Amherst (FRI MORN: D)

Wh-Movement as a Determinant of Wh-Phrase Quantifiability

A semantic analysis of wh-clauses is presented that recognizes the role of wh-movement in logical form. I argue, paralleling the Lewis/Kamp/Heim analysis of indefinites, that the logical form of wh-phrases contains an essential free variable, enabling adverbs of quantification to bind them: The maître d' mostly knows which customers tip big [most knows of most customers who tip big that they tip big]. However, while an indefinite can be bound from within its clause: The maître d' knows that rich customers mostly tip big [most rich customers], a wh-phrase cannot: The maître d' knows which customers mostly tip big [most customers]; I argue this follows from wh-movement which puts the wh-phrase outside the scope of the quantifier in its clause. I further argue that wh-movement precludes default binding of the wh-phrase by an existential quantifier, which Kamp and Heim showed applies to indefinites: Rich customers tipped big today [there are rich customers] vs. Which customers tipped big today? [there are customers]. Instead, I propose the wh-phrase here is bound by a nonquantifying binder that is semantically a set-forming operator. The analysis thus contributes both to quantification theory and to the logical theory of interrogatives.

PETER J. BINKERT, Oakland University (SAT MORN: F)

Syntax, Short Term Memory and Parsing: The English NP Constraint

This paper relates a theory of X-Bar Syntax to findings in computational linguistics, psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics. An analysis of English syntax is presented which reduces the structure of all phrases and clauses to recursive sets of five units, the lower end of human short term memory capacity. The focus of the paper is the English NP Constraint (NPC), a set of four major conditions on NP well-formedness, whose function is to help locate the head of an NP in parsing. I introduce the concept "residence," a specific syntactic position associated with a particular semantic function. In noun phrases, the N' level contains determiners, possessives, and number markers; the N'' level contains descriptive modifiers; the N'' level contains elements of compounds and complements. Residency requirements and the NPC are generalized to other languages, particularly Newari and Japanese, where the NP head is final, Thai, where the NP head is initial, Quechua and Latin. With generalization, it is shown that residency requirements increase in a language when inflectional contrasts decrease. Finally, I show how the NPC offers an explanation for widely divergent data involving human STM limitations, computer parsing, and the breakdown of NP structure in agrammatism.
A Semantico-Pragmatic Taxonomy of English Inversion

Prince (1966) identifies a set of syntactically-defined constructions which mark an 'open proposition' (OP) in the prior discourse as salient shared knowledge. These constructions all contain either a trace dominated by VP or one coindexed with the constituent bearing nuclear accent. Given this correlation, we can predict the existence of a salient OP for any sentence containing a VP-dominated trace, and given the absence of such an OP, we can predict the absence of such a trace. An examination of naturally-occurring data reveals that certain inversions do not involve a salient OP:

(1a) I really love the New Yorker. In my bathroom is [an entire STACK of back issues].

b. X-i is ∈ {locations-j}. (roughly, 'Something is somewhere')

It seems unlikely that the utterance 'I really love the New Yorker' is sufficient to render the OP in (1b) salient. Our corpus reveals that whenever an inversion involves no clearly salient OP, its initial constituent is semantically locative or directional; all other types require a prior salient OP. Based upon this and other evidence, we posit two classes of inversion, with distinct discourse functions. Only non-locative inversion marks an OP as salient; moreover, following Prince, the fact that locative inversion does not suggest what is also syntactically distinct, and does not involve a VP-dominated trace.

HARRY BOCHNER, Harvard University

Level Ordering: Historical Relics vs. Productive Patterns

The patterns we see in a language ultimately have historical sources. Some of these patterns are significant generalizations that must be stated in the synchronic grammar; others involve only historical relics, and may be contradicted by novel formations. For instance, we know from the history of Germanic that the pattern represented by sting/stung was originally limited to stems containing nasals, and it is still true in English that the majority of stems exhibiting this alternation contain nasals. The extension of this pattern to dig/dug and stick/stuck demonstrates, however, that at some point the restriction to nasals ceased to be a significant synchronic generalization in English. This illustrates the crucial importance of novel formations: they provide the only unambiguous criterion for determining whether observable generalizations are synchronically significant, or merely historical relics.

Leveling Ordering (LO) and Lexical Phonology are based on a set of generalizations about affix ordering in English. These generalizations hold for a vast number of cases. For instance, in never attaches to adjectives in -ful or -ish. But in- has never been productive in English; it is found only on loan words from Latin and French. So the argument is weak at best: it must be shown that the absence of *innocent is more significant than that of *insensitive, allowed by LO. A valid argument for LO requires an otherwise productive affix with gaps in its distribution exactly where LO predicts them. No such cases have been brought forth. A few crucial test cases, where a Level 1 affix has become productive in some limited environment, do exist, and in these cases LO is regularly violated: the familiar types are analyzability and unpopularity. Attempts have been made to reconcile these examples with LO, but they miss the point: a theory that fails in its only crucial test cases does not justify special mechanisms to save it.

ANNA BOSCH, University of Chicago

Autosegmental Licensing and VC Syllable Structure in Scottish Gaelic

In a detailed description of the dialect of Barra in the Outer Hebrides, C.H. Borgaas was the first to describe a vowel-consonant (VC) syllable structure for Scottish Gaelic (SD). This paper will argue for a reversal of the constituent structure of the syllable in SG, focusing on (a) recent proposals concerning autosegmental licensing (Goldsmith, 1989), (b) the distribution of distinctive features in SG, and (c) word-level processes such as vowel epenthesis which function as repair mechanisms for proper syllabification. Autosegmental licensing offers specific arguments for differentiating between onset and coda within the syllable. Each occurrence of an autosegment must be licensed, by its position in the syllable. Licensing restrictions account for the range of languages which allow only a limited subset of distinctive features in syllable-final (coda) position. SG however is notable for permitting obstructed-sonorant clusters as in [eGlI] 'church', while non-homorganic sonorant-obstruent sequences are separated by a regular vowel epenthesis rule (see Clements, 1986) whereby /aLo/ corresponds to [aLoa] 'Scotland'. We propose that the position following the syllabic peak in SG licenses the entire set of distinctive features while the position before the peak licenses a restricted subset of these features. Autosegmental licensing also argues then for a reversal of the constituent structure of the syllable for SG.
Evidence for Autosegmental Licensing: Two-Handed Signs in American Sign Language

This paper compares two analyses of 2-handed signs in ASL—a feature geometry analysis and one employing autosegmental licensing—and concludes that the former, alone, can not adequately handle the second hand (H2) in ASL phonological structure. Sandler (1987), has analyzed H2 as a location in ‘H2-place’ signs (H2 in such signs functions as a kind of location: e.g. HELP, APPLY, UOTE), or as a group of predicatable features in ‘double dez’ signs (H2 in such signs mirrors or copies H1: e.g. MAVY, IMPORTANT, STRONG). Autosegmental licensing (Goldsmith 1989) offers a unified analysis of both types of signs. Evidence from historical change in signs such as WHISKEY, phonological processes such as Weak Drop (Padden and Perlmutter 1987), inflections such as [multiply/exhaustive], plus autosegmental licensing, is used to argue that the distinction between ‘double dez’ and ‘H2-place’ signs should be collapsed.

CHRIS BROCKETT, Cornell University

Topic and Modality: Discourse Representation Semantics of Wa-Marking in Japanese

The Japanese “topic” marker wa exhibits numerous properties that defy ready explanation in standard discourse models: these include universal and generic construals, iterative and conditional readings with the -te form gerund, and contrastive interpretations. Moreover, generative quantificational treatments of topics (esp. Huang (1982, 1984)) do not assign any semantic function to the abstract syntactic operator that must be posited to bind a topic construction. I propose that these two sets of problems can be resolved by representing wa-marked constituents as having a structural condition at logical form, using the model of Heim (1982, 1983), who treats conditional clauses as discourse quantifiers, restricting an adverb of quantification or a modal operator— an overt necessity operator in the case of bare conditionals. Wa-marking likewise introduces an invisible necessity operator that licenses the “aboutness” between topic and nuclear predicate and from whose formal properties iterative, universal and generic properties of wa-marking can be derived. This account can presumably be extended to topics in general. The notion that topics are conditionals has antecedents in the work of Mikami (1963) and Kuroda (1965) on wa-marking, as well as Dahl (1969) and Haiman (1978) on topicalization in general; an account based on Heim obviates the difficulties posed by these proposals.

CLAUDIA BRUGMAN, University of California-Davis/University of California-Berkeley

An Unusual Interpretation of Modified Noun Phrases

Sentences like (1 - 2) pose a number of interesting questions for semantics and syntax.

1. With the level of housing starts that existed during the Carter administration, we could eliminate homeless people.

2. With Epilady Ultra, your smooth and silky legs will last for weeks.

The intended sense of (1), e.g., is that people’s homelessness, rather than the people-themselves, could be eliminated: the logical argument of the verb is some condition of the object referred to (that condition expressed by the modifier), rather than the object itself. The paper will discuss the formal properties of the noun phrases which allow this interpretation (e.g. the fact that it is often less readily available for nonminals with postnominal modifiers as opposed to those with prenominal modifiers; the effect of determiners and quantifiers on the availability of the reading) and the semantic properties of the possible predicates whose argument position can be so filled. It will also explore possible formalizations of this phenomenon, including a purely semantic solution in terms of metonymy, a Cognitive Grammar approach in terms of shift in profile determinants, and a Construction Grammar approach which invokes a distinct rule of composition in conjunction with a set of syntactic conditions on the rule.
Radical Underspecification and Tigrinya Vowels

A point of debate in recent literature has been the degree to which phonological representations should be underspecified. Some argue that both positive and negative values of a feature are at least sometimes necessary in the underlying representation ('contrastive specification': Clements 1987, Steriade 1987, Mester and Itô 1989), while others claim that only one feature value is present underylingly ('radical underspecification': Archangeli 1984, Pulleyblank 1986). This paper presents evidence from the Tigrinya vowel system in support of radical underspecification. The seven vowels [i u e ø a a] are specified using the features [-high], [-low], [-back], [-round], with [i] completely underspecified and the remaining vowels given the feature values which differentiate them from [i]. Several benefits follow from this analysis. First, all instances of vowel coalescence can be analyzed as the simple combination of features: e.g. in the merger of [i] and [a] to form [e], the features [-back] for [i] and [-high] for [a] combine to yield [-back, -high], which is precisely [e]. Such an analysis is impossible if contrastive features must be specified (e.g. Clements 1987); since [i] contrasts with [e], it would have to be underlyingly [-high] as well as [-back], but then the [-high] of [i] will conflict with the [-high] of [a]. Second, the operation of [i] as well as its limited distribution follow from its having no underlying features; this also allows resolution of an ordering paradox between two suffixes. Finally, several unusual properties of verbs characterized by an [a] before the second radical (e.g. type C verbs) can be given a unified explanation.

Hiroko Y. Butler, Ohio State University

Subjacency at LF: Evidence from Japanese

This paper presents evidence that subjacency applies at LF, which is contrary to Huang (1981) and Saito (1985). The evidence comes from bridge and nonbridge sentences ((1), (2)) in a western dialect of Japanese.

(1) Tom-va (e=Kima Tokyo-e itta te) juta (Tom said that Kim went to Tokyo.)
(2) Tom-va (e=Kima Tokyo-e itta te) ssasyaita (Tom whispered that Kim went to Tokyo.)

Saito (1983) shows that the complementizer deletion is possible only with bridge verbs. Fukui (1988) gives an ECP account for the impossibility of LF extraction of adjunct WH-phrase naze 'why' from the embedded CP of nonbridge sentences. These differences indicate that bridge verbs L-mark the embedded CP while nonbridge verbs do not.

The LF extraction of argument WH-phrase in nonbridge sentences serves as new evidence that subjacency must apply at LF.

(3) ?Tom-va (e=Kima gura-ga hitta te) ssasyaita n? (Who did Tom whisper Kim dumped L?)

ECP is irrelevant because the WH-phrase is an argument. The awkwardness in (3) can be accounted for only if the lower CP is a barrier in nonbridge sentences and crossing it results in a mild subjacency violation. This conforms Nishiguchi (1986) and Pesetsky (1987) that LF movement is constrained by subjacency.

Carrie Cameron, Rice University

The Interaction of Grammatical and Semantic Voice: Data from Japanese

Voice constructions such as the affective passive in Japanese exemplify principles of both semantic voice (participant-to-event relations) and syntactic voice (subject-to-verb relations). The sentence

[Tarō we Mary ni himate o teak-are-ta
Taro TOP Mary IO secret DO tell-(R)-ARE-past 'Taro was told the secret by Mary' is syntactically passivized while being semantically distinguished from a 'plain' passive by an increase of semantic transitivity, (that Taro was surprised by the event). Previous explanations of passives and affective passives similar to 'affectiveness of subject' (Barber 1975, Kleinman 1982b) and 'demotion of agent' (Shibatani 1985) are inadequate to account for the semantic differences between plain and affective passives on one hand and to show the commonalities between honorific and potential constructions using the 'passive' morpheme (R)-are on the other hand since they do not recognize the various constructions as parts of an overarching voice system. In this paper I propose to treat voice as a dual system, with semantic voice expressing participant-to-event relations and syntactic voice expressing subject-to-verb relations. Furthermore, I will claim that by avoiding the association of either type of voice with any one morphosyntactic shape (cf. Davis and Huang 1988), confusion between the two will be eliminated and a wider range of constructions can be explained.

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GUY CARDEN, University of British Columbia

CORPS Reflexives in French Creoles

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

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

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

KATHLEEN CAREY, University of California-San Diego

Tense as a Marker of Modal Distance in Eastern Neo-Aramaic

It has been widely observed that many Indo-European languages use tense categories to encode not only temporal distance but also distance along other cognitive axes, such as modality (Fleischman, 1989). The past tense marker frequently encodes distance from reality, as in English and French counterfactual statements where past tense morphology in the protasis clause expresses improbability: 'If I HAD a car [but I don't], I would drive you to the airport.' While the past tense marks improbability, the future tense often expresses probability or possibility: 'He'll be arriving home around now.'

The present paper shows that tense encodes modal distance in Eastern Neo-Aramaic, a Semitic language. In Neo-Aramaic, the past tense marker -wa appears in the protasis of counterfactual conditional clauses. The future tense marker b- encodes probability in propositions about present time situations. Most interestingly, the b- and -wa morphemes appear together on the verb in the adposis of counterfactual conditional clauses; this co-occurrence is possible only if the morphemes are markers of modal rather than temporal distance:

FUT-eat-1P-PAST pvsra idha la-wen-wa Hindu
'I would eat if I wasn't a Hindu.'

KAREN CARLYLE, University of Toronto

Extraprosodically and the Syllabification of Final Consonants in Breton

Within prosodic phonology (Ito 1986, 1989) the syllabification of word-edge segments may differ from that of word-internal segments largely because of extraprosodicity. Edge segments are universally extraprosodic lexically, but cannot be post-lexically. Thus, edge segments may be invisible to lexical syllabification unlike internal segments. In this paper I present evidence from Breton which confirms that edge segments may need to be syllabified differently. I show that by assuming word-final segments which constitute a well-formed onset to be extraprosodic, one can account for a curious fact about Breton: post-lexical open-syllable vowel lengthening which appears to occur in closed syllables, i.e., before final single consonants and obstruent-initial sequences. By assuming final possible onsets to be extraprosodic, one can maintain a uniform analysis of vowel lengthening since a possible onset in Breton consists of a single consonant or obstruent-initial sequence. However, while Ito's basic claim regarding extraprosodicity is confirmed by the proposed analysis, certain revisions to her proposals must be made. Extraprosodicity must be available post-lexically. Secondly, one must allow language-specific restrictions on lexical extraprosodicity not just on the type of segments allowed, but also on the kinds of units which may be extraprosodic.
Gesture and the Development of Metanarrative Ability

Although recently there has been increased interest in the development of narrative skills, and in the ability of children to structure the metanarrative dimension of the stories they tell, only speech has been investigated. This study examines the interaction between non-referential gesture and discourse-structuring linguistic devices in the development of metanarrative ability. Adults move between narrative levels to structure storytelling; between talk about the 'storyline' ("then he climbed up the pipe") and talk about how the story is presented ("that's the end of the first part"). Beat gestures accompany these metanarrative clauses in adults. Adults also use temporal connectives and adverbs ("next", "one day") to convey the structure of the story they are telling, but these latter devices have been little investigated for their metanarrative function. We looked at the development of the interaction between beat gestures and both kinds of structuring devices, in children aged 5, 8, 11 and adults, who told the story of a cartoon that they had just seen. The number of metanarrative statements increased with age. A U-shaped curve was found, however, for the production of beat gestures. This is due to the large number of five year old children who used beats in conjunction with temporal structuring devices. Thus children's gesture reveals a metanarrative level which exists, however, at a lower level of structure -- the level of links between clauses as opposed to links between events.

ROBERT CHAMETZKY, University of Iowa

Pragmatics and Prediction

Grecoean linguistic pragmatics is sometimes faulted for not being predictive (e.g. Sperber & Wilson 1986: 37). We argue that while the indictment is technically accurate, no crime has actually been committed--contrary to popular opinion, it is an error to want prediction.

Defusing the objection involves arguments from the philosophy of science. We follow Bhaskar's (1975, 1979) and Putnam's (1987) realist arguments against (the legacy of) logical positivist theorizing. Bhaskar shows that the "symmetry between explanation and prediction" of positivism cannot be maintained and that explanations, but not predictions, are the norm in science. We adapt his argument to linguistic pragmatics.

We go beyond Bhaskar in arguing that within pragmatics there can be a place for prediction, once we distinguish "formal" from "applied" aspects of the inquiry; this is analogous to grammar, wherein competence theories do not predict facts of performance, but do allow for "formal" predictions within grammar. We examine Sperber & Wilson (1986: 94-96) as a case in point. We argue that, their statements to the contrary notwithstanding, they do not outline an analogue to a generative grammar; rather than representations, they model processes; they conflate the realms of prediction and explanation. However, we show how our Bhaskarian realism eliminates these problems.

MARJORIE K.M. CHAN, Ohio State University

Fuzhou Glottal Stop: Floating Segment or Correlation of Close Contact?

The glottal stop in Fuzhou Chinese is a merger of earlier *-k with *-ʔ. In preterminal, unstressed position, the glottal stop from *-ʔ is systematically deleted, while that from *-k is retained in slow, careful speech. Also, unstressed syllables with *ʔ from earlier *-ʔ behave like open syllables in the lenition of the onset in the following syllable. At least two theories exist for analyzing the glottal stops in Fuzhou: the auto-segmental theory and the metrical structure theory. In the auto-segmental theory, the glottal stop from earlier *-ʔ could be analyzed as a floating segment that only docks in stressed positions, and in the metrical treatment, the glottal stop could be analyzed as a segment that is in close contact with the nuclear vowel, thus forming a complex nucleus with no coda in the syllable. A floating glottal stop was proposed in Chan's (1985) dissertation on the Fuzhou dialect, while a metrical approach has been adopted by others for related phenomena in other languages involving stress. Tihalutlab, for example, is studied by Anderson (1974, 1984), where an underlying glottal stop counts as a vowel for determining stress. And Safrir (1979) examines Capanahua, where the glottal stop does not count as a consonant closing a syllable for stress purposes. In both cases, the glottal stop is treated as part of the nucleus and not a coda in their metrical representation. Given the possibility of these two treatments, the paper compares them in their ability to account for the stable glottal stop (< *-k) and the disappearing one (< *-ʔ) in Fuzhou.
A Metrical Analysis of Papago Noun Pluralization

Up to this point, scholars investigating Papago (Saxton 1969; Mathiot 1973; Zepeca 1983; Kurath 1945) have treated pluralization of Papago nouns as idiosyncratic and lexically-marked. Previous approaches relied on two facts: (i) semantic distinctions (e.g. mass/count/aggregate (Mathiot 1973)) do not correlate with types of pluralization processes such as reduplication and zero-marking; and (ii) reduplication, the usual way to pluralize, is fraught with morphophonemic irregularities (see Andrews 1999). In this

WEN-YU CHIANG, University of Delaware

The Interactions of Morphology and Phonology in Taiwanese

The distinction between the phonological word and the morphological word proposed in prosodic theories (cf. McCarthy & Prince 1988; Nespor & Vogel 1986; Selkirk 1976) has been claimed crucial in accounting for data within the framework of lexical phonology (Booij & Rubach, 1987). Along the same line, this paper studies in detail the interactions of morphology and phonology in Taiwanese and suggests the existence of two types of words at the lexical level: the phonological word (serving as the domain for a-triggered phonological rules) and the morphological word derived by morphological processes (as the domain for regular tone sandhi at the lexical level). In (1), the suffix a and the linking morpheme (a) behave differently phonologically while the same phonologically: (1) i-sin-a-xuan''a''-i-sig''a''-xuan''

SANDRA CHUNG, University of California-Santa Cruz

Against Verb Movement in Chamorro

Most GB analyses of VSO languages have assumed that these languages have an SVO clause structure in which the surface order is derived by leftward movement of V—usually, movement of V to Infl (Emonds 1980, Koopman 1984, Travis 1984, Sprent 1985). Here I argue that there is another possible route to VSO-hood, and that it is instantiated by the VSO language Chamorro. I first show that the clause structure of this language has a VP constituent that precedes, rather than follows, the subject; in other words, Chamorro is fundamentally a VOS language. I then show that the surface order is produced not by V Movement, but by adjoining the subject to the right of V, essentially as proposed by Choe 1986 for the VSO language Berber. Evidence supporting these claims is drawn from proper government in WH-Movement constructions, from the syntax of nonverbal predicates, and from coordination.

Overall, the results fall squarely within a research program that aims to minimize the hierarchical differences between languages of different word order types. They also reveal that there is more than one way for a language to get to be VSO: V may move to Infl in an SVO structure, as in, e.g., Irish, or else the subject may right-adjoin to V in a VOS structure, as in Chamorro.
HAUSA INTONATION AND THE OCP

In recent work (e.g., Clague 1986, Pierrehusbert and Beckman 1986, Yip 1990), it has been found that tones that are part of an intonational melody appear to behave differently than lexical tones. One of these differences in behavior is the fact that apparently identical intonational tones and their lexical counterparts do not ‘covert’ as being identical for purposes of the OCP, and various explanations for this behavior have been offered, including putting intonational tonal melodies and lexical melodies on different levels (P&B) and supposing that the components of ‘unit’ contour tones are not visible for OCP purposes (Yip). In this paper, I will present evidence from a well-studied rule of Hausa intonation (cf. Wanger 1963, Myers 1976, and Inkelas, Leben, and Cobler 1987, among others) that the OCP must be violated in circumstances in which neither of the above proposals is viable, since both of the tones in question are lexical in nature. The rule, High Raising, raises the pitch of the second H in an intonation phrase-internal NNL sequence. Since only the second H has its pitch raised, then either it must be singly-linked (and so must the first) — an OCP violation — or at the level which is the input to this rule, or we must allow for complicated, and hitherto unencountered, rules of intonation which simultaneously split up multiply-linked tones and raise the pitch of one of the resulting sequence of tones.

ILEANA COMOROVSKI, University of Texas-Austin

VERB MOVEMENT AND OBJECT-EXTRACTION IN FRENCH

French shows an asymmetry in relativization out of finite indirect questions: direct objects and subjects cannot be extracted, whereas indirect objects and PPs can. In contrast, infinitival indirect questions do allow extraction of direct objects. This extraction pattern will be linked to Pollock’s (1989) analysis of the French finite clauses as involving raising of the verb to Tense. After finite verb raising, the direct object trace is governed by the verbal trace. Following Torrego (1984), I regard traces as incapable of lexical government. With Chung and McCloskey (1987), I take proper government by an X₀ category to be lexical government and reject Chomsky’s (1986) θ-government requirement. Then, in the structure in (i), if there is no VP-adjunction to the lower VP, t₁ will not be properly governed. If the extracted direct object adjoints to VP, t₁ is antecedent-governed. However, t₂ is neither lexically governed nor antecedent-governed.

(i) [CP [TP-[TP-[VP-t₂]-[VP-[TP-t₁]-finite verb]]-AdvP-[VP-t₂]-t₁]-

Thus the ECP rules out (i) if the extracted wh is an NP. I take the ECP not to hold of PP traces in Romance, given that in Romance it is possible to relativize an adjunct PP out of a wh-complement. I bring evidence showing that, contrary to claims in Jaeckle (1982), French indirect objects are PPs. Given that the ECP does not hold of PP traces, the structure in (i) is well-formed if the extracted wh phrase is a PP.

SHERRI CONDON, University of Southwest Louisiana

ANDREW KEMLER, SRA Corporation

AN X-BAR ACCOUNT OF NOUN-NOUN MODIFICATION

Syntactic approaches to noun-noun modification have attempted to derive sequences like (i) from underlying clause structures (Lees 1970, Levi 1978), and they are notably absent from comprehensive analyses of English phrase structure, such as Jackendoff (1977) and McCawley (1988), presumably under the assumption that the sequences are complex lexical items, not syntactic structures. In this paper, it will be argued that, at least for the class of nominal compounds that Levi calls ‘nominalizations’, the syntactic structure predicted by X-bar theory is exhibited, if noun-noun modification is analyzed analogous to Horstein and Lightfoot’s (1981) analysis of adjective-noun modification in examples like ‘the English king’. The impossibility of (ii) is predicted by Jackendoff’s hypothesis that subcategorized arguments are daughters of X₁, while restrictive modifiers are daughters of X₂.

(i) a. New York stock purchases  b. stock New York purchases
   c. The New York stock purchases were higher than the Chicago ones.
   d. *The New York stock purchases were higher than the Chicago stock ones.

In (i,a), the noun ‘stock’ bears the theme relation to the verb ‘purchase’ from which the head noun is derived. In contrast, ‘New York’ has an adverbial, locative relation to the predicate ‘purchasing stock’. A similar explanation is then available for the ability to pronounize the nominal plus theme sequence in (ii,c), but not the nominal alone in (ii,d). Therefore, previously unobserved syntactic properties of this type of modification are already predicted by the more general theory of modification in X-bar theory.
Case Grammar, Subjecthood, and Ergativity

Most modern analyses of ergative languages call the ergative NP the subject, since it typically has more 'subject traits' (Keenan 1976) than the nominative (absolutive). Case grammar with its hierarchy of deep cases can do better. While accusative languages normally make the hierarchically highest ranking NP (HRNP) the morphologically distinguished subject, ergative languages select the patient NP (if present) as subject. However, many 'subject traits' then adhere to the HRNP: i.e., for most two-place 'transitive' verbs, to the agent (surface ergative) NP. Thus in Basque and most ergative languages, sentence coordination deletes the HRNP in the second sentence, regardless of whether the HRNPs are nominative, ergative, or one of each. Many accusative languages show similar behavior in sentences where the patient is the subject but not the HRNP. Thus Spanish gustar triggers OVS order: the experiencer-object as HRNP occupies the normal subject position (A Carlos no le gusta la música). In Japanese, only HRNP's control reflexivization and 'subject'-honorification regardless of surface case. Basque and Japanese are then 'HRNP-prominent': they have mandatory subjects, but most syntactic rules refer instead to the HRNP. Other languages - accusative (English, French) and ergative (Dyirbal) - are 'subject-prominent'; here sentence coordination deletes only morphological subjects. Failure to recognize the HRNP as a separate category is directly responsible for many confusing analyses of ergativity and much fruitless debate as to the 'true' subject in ergative and accusative languages.

Crosstalk and the Contextualizing Function of Segmental Features

Crosstalk, or crosscultural miscommunication, has been almost exclusively attributed to variation between speakers' conventional uses and meanings of non-segmental features (e.g. intonation). A multi-feature factor analysis of two 'interactive video exchanges', or 'spacebridge' meetings, demonstrates that Soviet and American speakers differed in their uses of two sets of cooccurring segmental features: one marking a more verb-al style (total verbs, infinitives, first and third person pronouns, etc.), the other marking a more nominal style (prepositions, attributive adjectives, total nouns, etc.). The two cooccurrence sets of features, or styles, functions as contextutilization cues, seeking to enact competing constructions of the speech activity, each of which promotes the interests of one group and disfavors those of the other. The process of crosstalk is thereby shown to include the contextualizing function of register variation among segmental features.

Agreeing to Disagree: Semantic Functions of Agreement in Swahili

Grammatical agreement in Bantu has traditionally been treated as a purely syntactic phenomenon, the choice of concordial marker being automatically determined by the gender class of the antecedent. However in actual discourse one may find inanimate concordial markers referring to human antecedents and vice versa, locative markers referring to non-locative antecedents and vice versa, and combinations of different locative markers referring to a single antecedent. Examples from Swahili will be discussed. It will be argued that "agreement" in Swahili is not a unitary phenomenon but rather involves a complex interaction between three semantically based systems of concordial markers (animate, inanimate, locative) and several distinct grammatical functions (deictic reference, participant role in verbal event, relativization and others). Change of grammatical role of a discourse referent may lead to change in its semantic categorization, hence failure of "agreement". Furthermore formal "disagreement" between concordial marker and antecedent is more common in some grammatical functions (subject/object of verb, relative pronoun) than others (adjective). Apparently tolerance for "disagreement" is greater in grammatical functions that convey other information besides mere coreferentiality (e.g. participant role, subordination).
Compensatory Lengthening in American Sign Language

Analyses of compensatory lengthening typically involve a deletion or change of segmental content resulting in the stranding of a skeletal slot. Subsequent spreading of an adjacent segment fills in the unspecified skeleton. Recent prosodic analyses have further elucidated the environments of this process and suggest the usefulness of syllabic or moraic well-formedness in analyses of compensatory lengthening (Hayes, 1989). These analyses receive support from the study of American Sign Language where it is argued that alternations between two types of movement constitute a unique form of compensatory lengthening. Signs with path movement (a single movement between two points) and single handshape change are in complementary distribution with semantically related forms which lack path movement but adopt a repeated articulation of handshape change (e.g., LISTEN vs. MONITOR-BY-EAR, EXPECT vs. HOPE). This alternation is argued to be a form of compensatory lengthening where the deletion of path movement features results in an ill-formed syllable in ASL. The prosodic requirements of the syllable are compensated by the rearticulation of handshape change in lieu of path movement. This rapid repetition of the handshape, or ‘“secondary movement”’, serves to fill a requirement for minimal perceptual saliency in the ASL syllable. The treatment of secondary movement as a result of a prosodic requirement resolves a longstanding problem in ASL phonology; the representation of uncountable repeated movement.

CHENNEY CROW, University of Texas-Austin

Phonological Organization in Bilinguals: Effects of L2 on L1 in Speech Error Data

Speech error data collected from 20 late French-English bilingual subjects (10 native speakers of each language) in both their first and second language indicate not only organizational effects of L1 on L2, but also, in native English speakers, an effect of L2 on L1. In the experiment, a task adapted from work by Shattuck-Hufnagel (1987) was used to elicit 844 speech errors, which were compared within and across groups for frequency and type. Analysis of consonant and vowel errors included: word position, segment type, stress, place of articulation and voicing. Word blends, word order errors and rates of speech production were also considered. The most unexpected result was that while English monolinguals typically make almost no word-final segmental errors on this task, both English-French and French-English bilinguals made relatively large numbers of word-final errors in both languages, especially the latter group. Ratios of final to initial errors were: English (L1) .58; French (L2) .36; and French (L1) .8; English (L2) 2.1. These results suggest that the word-final errors of the English speakers, even the errors in their native language occurred as a consequence of their acquisition and regular use of French. Elicited error data is currently being collected for monolingual French speakers.

CHRISTOPHER CULY, Stanford University

Relative Clauses in Bambara: Internally Headed or Correlative?

It has been widely claimed (e.g., Bird 1968, Givón 1984, Keenan 1985) that Bambara has internally headed relative clauses in which the noun being modified as well as the relative pronoun occur inside the relative clause at surface structure. This claim is based on sentences like the following.

će min be n’ ye so min ye jò, n’ b’ o dòn
{lso man wh- [C] lso sg [C] house wh- see} erect lsg [C] that know

The man who is building the house that I saw, I know him

However, these relative clauses differ from internally headed relative clauses in languages like Diguéno and Quechua by containing a relative pronoun. I will argue on the basis of further data and on the basis of the distribution of quantifiers, the plural marker, and demonstratives that Bambara relative clauses are an instance of a correlative construction, and not internally headed relative clauses, allowing us to maintain a sharp dichotomy between the two types.
Ellipsis and Higher-Order Matching

Previous analyses of ellipsis postulate ambiguity of interpretation or derivation in the antecedent (or source) clause of the ellipsis. For example, the strict/sloppy ambiguity in 'John, likes his, mother; and Bill does too' has been taken to show that the source 'John, likes his, mother' is ambiguous, making either one of two interpretations available for the target 'Bill does too'. We provide an analysis in which, crucially, no such ambiguity is posited. We take the ellipsis problem to be (1) determination of parallel elements in the source and target; (2) formation of a relation under certain constraints from the interpretation of the source; (3) use of that relation as the interpretation of the elided portion of the target. In the example above, the parallel elements are 'John' and 'Bill'; the required relation $P$ is constrained such that predicitng it of 'John' yields the interpretation of the source, i.e.,

$$P(\text{john}) = \text{like(\text{john}, \text{mother}, \text{of(\text{john})})}$$

Higher-order matching (Huet) provides a method for solving such equations, thereby simply characterizing the interpretive possibilities for ellipsis. Thus our analysis follows directly from an abstract statement of the ellipsis interpretation problem. It predicts correctly a wide range of interactions between ellipsis and other semantic phenomena such as quantifier scope and bound anaphora. Finally, although the analysis itself is stated nonprocedurally, it admits of a direct computational method for generating interpretations.

The Structure of CP, Finiteness, and Government

Finite embedded clauses in Hindi-Urdu, unlike non-finite clauses, never occur in governing positions. They may be left or right adjuncts, but to receive an argument interpretation, they must be coindexed with a nominal in an argument position. An explanation for this extreme 'case resistance' (cf. Stowell 1981) is proposed as (a) the structure of CP in a head-final language and (b) a lexical difference between Hindi-Urdu and other similar head-final languages.

The head of CP is the final element: \[ \text{Spec, IP, CP} \] and is the position where morphological features (affixes, case) appear which are imposed by a matrix governor of a non-finite clause. C is also a position indexed by +TNS I, creating an opaque domain which blocks anaphor-antecedent coindexing and verb agreement. But C cannot contain +TNS and also receive governed morphological features simultaneously. This is true of all the head-final languages of S. Asia.

Finite clauses do occur in argument as well as adjunct clauses in Dravidian as well as other S. Asian languages. But these finite clauses are followed by a 'quotative' particle or non-finite verb form, which is capable of receiving case and imposes no subcategorization or government features (Steever (1987)). Hindi-Urdu lacks lexical items with these properties.

Chinese Evidence for Spreading of an Abstract Tonal Node

In this paper new evidence from Chinese dialects is presented of autosegmental spreading of the abstract tonal node argued for in Yip 1980. Changshu, Shanzhi Province, Jin dialect (Hou 1985) is analysed as spreading a copy of the level or contour tone of the preceding syllable onto 'neutral tone (toneless) syllables' such as the subordinating suffix ʈɖ: /xʊn̥ʔ35təi35/ 'red', /ʃ@ʔ213+təi35/ 'deep', /p@ʔ54+təi54/ 'thin' (/Θ/ = schwa). In the single exceptional environment a preceding 44 high-mid tone is analyzed as an underlying tone, explaining why it is not spread. Rather, the suffix's underlying 535 high dipping tone contour surfaces on the suffix: /ʈəʔu44+i3535/ 'putrid'. A tonal reduplication analysis does not account for the surface occurrence of an underlying lexical tone in the exceptional environment. The cognate forms in Beijing Mandarin spread at most a single level rightward: /xʊn̥ʔ3535/ according to Yip 1980, Wright 1985, etc., analyses. Additional comparative dialectal evidence also supports a cross-dialectal characterization of neutral tone surface realization by autosegmental spreading or default fill-in of tone values, not templatic tone reduplication. Other examples of Chinese contour-tone spreading are also shown.
PAUL D. DIANE, University of Central Florida

What Can We Ignore the CSC and Extract from Anyway?

Recent literature on the Coordinate Structure Constraint, or CSC, (e.g., Goldsmith 1985, Lakoff 1986) has discovered the existence of semantically motivated exceptions. This paper will propose (i) a detailed taxonomy of the conjunct types which allow exceptions, and (ii) will argue that the observed patterns can be accounted for within a functional theory of extraction.

The paper isolates six conjunct types which allow exceptional extraction from coordinate structures: Preparatory Actions, scene-setting, internal causes, incidental events, violations of expectation, and results. The patterns of extraction these display can be predicted in terms of Ertehauk-Schir & Lawpin's functional theory of extraction.

SCOTT DELANCEY, University of Oregon

New vs. Assimilated Knowledge as a Semantic and Grammatical Category

Recent studies of evidential systems have brought to light a distinct epistemological category, which has been described as "old" vs. "new knowledge" (Delancey) or "prepared" vs. "unprepared mind" (Aksu-Koc and Slobin). This system treats as a natural category inference, hearsay, and directly perceived information which the speaker had no reason to anticipate. This entails a contrast between direct perception of expected and anticipated information, in contrast to evidentiality, which contrasts direct perception from other sources of knowledge. This paper will describe the semantics of this type of system and the relation of the category to and its interaction with evidentiality and modality, and argue that all three epistemological categories assume the same unmarked category of prototypical knowledge--certain knowledge based on direct personal experience, and assimilated into the speaker's overall model of reality--and mark different categories of deviation from this prototype.

YVES D'HULST, Belgian National Science Foundation
Johan Roodryk, Pennsylvania State University

An ECM Analysis of French Perception and Movement Verbs

Little attention has been paid to the construction of French perception and movement verbs that do not display clinic climbing of their infinitival arguments. This construction is exemplified in (1):

(1) Je/ vu/envoyé Théophraste leur en donner. 'I saw/sent Théophraste them of it give'  

This construction will be analyzed along the lines of English ECM verbs (Chomsky 1981, 1986). However, the French verbs under scrutiny exhibit some peculiar syntactic properties with respect to extraction. Unlike in English and Italian perception verbs, French infinitival complements cannot be A'-moved outside the embedded IP:

(2) a. *Voilà les cigarettes que Louis a vu/ envoyé Marie acheter.  
b. Queste sono le sigarette che Luigi ha visto/inse Maria comprare  
c. These are the cigarettes Louis saw/ sent Mary to buy

French movement verbs but not perception verbs allow passivization of the subject of the embedded IP. In Italian and English, this restriction does not apply:

(3) a. Louis a été envoyé/amène/*vu/*entendu/*laissez en chercher  
b. Luigi è stato visto/fasciato cercare  
c. Louis was seen/heard to look for cigarettes

We will show that a twofold structure of IP such as the one proposed by Pollock (1988) and the bisentential structure for passive adopted by Baker et al. (1989) readily offer an explanation for this interesting subject-object asymmetry of the embedded IP in French causatives. The differences between perception verbs, on one hand, and movement verbs on the other, is attributed to head movement of the first of two non-lexical maximal projections which IP stands for. This analysis also explains the differences between French, English and Italian.
MOLLY DIESING, University of Massachusetts- Amherst

Bare Plural Subjects, Inflection, and the Mapping to LF

Carlson (1977) notes a correlation between (1) the classification of predicates as stage-
vs. individual-level and (2) the interpretation of bare plural subjects as existential or
generic:

(1) a. Spiders have eight legs. (individual-level, generic)
   b. Firemen are available. (stage-level, exist/generic)

I introduce a further correlation with (3) the position of the lexical subject (VP-
internal vs. VP-external). In the German examples in (2) the particles "ja doch" signal
the VP-boundary:

(2) a. ...ja doch Kinder ja doch auf der Strasse spielen
   since children indeed in the street play (external-generative)
   b. ...ja doch Kinder auf der Strasse spielen (internal-exist.)

I explain this 3-way correlation in a theory of the mapping between S-str., and LF. I
relate the S-str. subject location to the two readings of bare plurals by a mapping
principle: Material outside the VP is mapped into the restrictive clause (cf. Heim) and
material within the VP is mapped into the nuclear scope. This mapping is related to the
properties of stage/ indiv. preds. by posing two varieties of Inf, with the result that
stage-level preds. are assimilated to raising, and indiv.-level preds. to control
structures, leading to differing LF-mapping properties for stage/ indiv. predicates...

MARIANNA DI PAOLO, University of Utah
ALICE FABER, Haskins Labs; GERALD W. McROBERTS, University of
Connecticut/Haskins Labs

Phonation Differences and Sound Change in Utah Vowels

We show, using Intermountain Language Survey data from Salt Lake Valley, Utah, that the tense-lax vowel con-
trast may persist in acoustic differences, after the usual F1/F2 contrast has been lost: younger speakers variably
neutralize tense-lax pairs before tautosyllabic dark [H] (Labov et al. 1972; Di Paolo 1988). We treat this contrast in
terms used for phonation contrasts in other languages: breathy vowels in Gujarati have higher amplitude H1 than
their non-breathy cognates (Bickley 1982); and creaky vowels in Mazatec have a larger difference between the
amplitudes of H1 and the strongest harmonic in F1 than their non-creaky cognates (Ladefoged 1983). Steevens
(1988) relates differences in relative amplitude and bandwidth of spectral prominences to the different modes of
glottal vibration underlying the contrasts. We measured the H1-F1 difference (VQI) for /i, e, a, u, o/ followed by /
or other consonants of 12 Utah teenagers and adults. We also analyzed 5 tokens of each vowel in 4 contexts (h_d,
h_l, p, p, p) for 1 teenager and 1 young adult. Adults preserve a VQI contrast in all contexts. Younger speakers
preserve a VQI contrast for some tense/ lax pairs that have merged in F1/F2. This suggests that tense and lax
vowels differ in phonation type. We hypothesize that the tongue raising gesture for velar [H] produces a laryngeal
configuration comparable to that required for lax vowels. We then explain the Utah mergers before [H] in terms of
the complex sequence of gestures required to specify vowel location and presence/absence of laxing followed by
dark [H]. The observed changes simplify this sequence: reducing the range of options for vowel location, eliminat-
ing laxness specification for vowels, or both. In addition to placing the tense/lax distinction in an appropriate pho-
netic context, our results show the necessity for complete phonetic analysis in accounting for sound change in
progress.

DOROTHY DIETERHEFT, University of South Carolina

The Transition Problem, Catastrophic Change, and Adaptive Rules

The transition problem is one of the five issues which Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog 1968
established that a theory of language change must solve. Labov 1982 surveyed quantitative
research inspired by the question, 'How can language change from one state to another
without interfering with communication among members of the speech community?", but never
answered it satisfactorily. The same dilemma has been voiced by Lightfoot 1979 who also
sought an answer to the lack of communicative breakdown produced by catastrophic change.
Here I argue that the mechanism by which language changes without interrupting intergen-
erational communication has not been incorporated into either sociolinguistic or generative
theories. The only model which accounts for lack of dysfunction is the abductive/deductive
model of Andersen 1973, specifically the operation of adaptive rules which mask the effect
of radical change by converting output of innovatory (and thus incorrectly abduced) rules
to match the output of previous generations. These rules operate on an ad hoc basis and
are applied inductively when young speakers are in late stages of acquisition or when
the process is already complete (Bybee and Slobin 1982), thus maintaining community norms.
I illustrate their effect in syntax and phonology where innovation would predictably be
the most disruptive: phonological deletion of morphemes (e.g. Eng. t/d deletion, Fasold
1972, Guy 1980) and radical reanalyses in syntax (e.g. the introduction of modals in
English (Lightfoot 1979).
MATTHEW S. DRAVER, State University of New York-Buffalo

Languages in which Articles and Demonstratives Are Categorically Distinct

It is widely believed (cf. Schacter 1985: 40) that in languages with articles, demonstrative words and articles usually belong to a single word class, often called determiners. Evidence is presented here, based on a study of over 300 languages, that it is in fact at least as common for the article and demonstrative to be categorically distinct, often occurring simultaneously and on opposite sides of the noun. The frequency of such languages indicates the danger of referring to a cross-linguistic category determiner. Because of the number of such languages, it is not clear how to interpret universal claims about the order of determiner and noun. It turns out, in fact, that articles and demonstratives exhibit rather different word order properties. It is shown here that while the order of article and noun correlates with the order of verb and object, the order of demonstrative and noun does not. Both OV and VO languages exhibit a 2-1 preference for DemN order. I discuss a number of possible explanations for these positional differences between articles and demonstratives. I propose that demonstratives do not constitute a well-defined cross-linguistic grammatical category, that they sometimes belong to a category determiner but that they are often just a type of adjective.

STANLEY DUBINSKY, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Appositives, Quantifiers, and the Treatment of Japanese Numeral Expressions

In Japanese, numeral quantifiers (NQs) may occur either within the NP or floated outside of it. A number of analyses attribute restrictions on the NP external appearance of NQs to various syntactic factors. Kamio (1972) and Dubinsky (1989) articulate constraints based on grammatical relations: Shibatani’s (1977) analysis formulates the restriction in terms of surface case; Miyagawa (1989) utilizes the argument/adjunct distinction; and Yatabe’s (1989) analysis relies on the thematic role hierarchy. However, Hamano (1989) presents counterexamples to all the previous analyses, and claims that NQ movement may occur “across the board, regardless of case or grammatical function”. In this paper, these inconsistent and sometimes contradictory findings are argued to result from a failure to adequately distinguish between two types of numeral expressions: appositives and quantifiers. Within the NP, appositive numeral phrases are shown to have the syntactic properties of noun modifiers, while numeral quantifiers are prasal heads. In addition, the NP external distribution of each is subject to different restrictions. An NQ external quantifier may be construed with a nominal regardless of case or grammatical function, but only if the nominal is definite. Appositives, on the other hand, are subject to no such definiteness restriction, but may only be moved from subjects and direct objects. Grammatical functions are thus found to play a part in the distribution of numeral expressions when appositives are clearly distinguished from quantifiers.

ELLEN K. EGGER, University of Washington

Temporal Anaphora and Degrees of Remoteness

Much insight into anaphoric dependencies in discourse has been gained from a semantic point of view (Kamp (1981), Heim (1982)). These insights show the necessity of meaning being represented by functions that constantly update the context of discourse. This paper studies temporal discourse structure in languages that grammaticalize degrees of remoteness from the moment of speech (S). Temporal degrees have traditionally (e.g., Corrie (1985)) been viewed as spatial phenomena, measuring linear distance from S. However, this view is not sufficient. It is necessary as well to examine the degrees of remoteness as they relate to one another. To this end, I adopt the Kamp/Heim Discourse Representation semantic model and enrich it with a system of construction rules and double indexing to show these complex temporal dependencies; one set of indices anchors the discourse in the time frame that becomes the antecedent for the remainder of the discourse; the other shows the dynamic progression of reference time. Specific examples are taken from Kirundi discourse, this being a Bantu language that grammaticalizes degrees of remoteness from S and sets the time of an entire continuous discourse only in the initial set of events. For example, a folk tale begins with a remote past tense, to set a "long ago" anchor (e.g., Hacarabva waumukercu ‘There was (remote past) an old woman’). Subsequent events use a tenseless verb form having already set the temporal frame.
KAREN EMORLEY, Salk Institute

Processing Differences in Aspect and Agreement Morphology

Repetition priming has been useful for investigating the lexical representation of morphologically related words. For English, regularly inflected words produce stronger priming effects compared to derived words. This finding suggests that derived words have separate representations in the lexicon. Differences in priming effects may be due to (a) the greater productivity of inflectional morphology, (b) greater phonological changes in the base form of derived words, or (c) greater semantic changes induced by derivational morphology. Like derivational morphology, aspect morphology has been hypothesized to modify the meaning of the base verb to a greater degree than agreement morphology (Bybee, 1986). This paper presents two experiments which investigate the representation of aspect and agreement morphology in ASL. Prime-target pairs (separated by 30 items) were presented to 52 deaf subjects for lexical decision. Primes were inflected for agreement (dual, reciprocal, multiple) or aspect (habitual, durational); targets were always the base form of the verb. The results of both experiments showed greater priming with aspect morphology than agreement morphology. Repetition priming was not observed for non-senses. The results indicate that strong morphological priming can occur even when the phonological form of the base verb is changed by affixation. We hypothesize that signs inflected with aspect morphology do not have separate representations in the lexicon, and because the number of verbs which can take agreement morphology is more limited in ASL, these verbs may be represented in a satellite structure with the citation form as the nucleus.

JOSEPH EMÖDS, University of Washington

Nominal Objects in Finnish and Old Russian

Abstract Case can be assigned by an X0 not only to NP sisters but also to NPs within sisters, contrary to most proposals. Motivation includes Borger's 'I Subjects', whereby some nominative must be assigned, even within VP; Morikawa's account of Japanese genitive subject in Noun Clauses as receiving Case from N; accusative objects of I-E directional P which are arguably within 'V-bar'; & Case assigned to NP-phrases in headless relatives from outside CP (Groos & vanRiemsdijk). VP, S, and CP are thus not barriers to Case-marking, though NP is.

In Timm's 'Nominaive Object in Slavic, Baltic, and West Finnic, object NPs are nominative in certain infinitives, imperatives, & impersonal passives. A necessary condition seems to be a clause's lack of inflected verb and of lexical subject; in Government Binding terms, I can't assign nominative case. Th is paradox in GB terms can be resolved, however.

I propose that morphological "accusative" in these languages results from Case being assigned jointly by V and I (I assigning through VP), across VP and S boundaries. (This can be universal, but "accusative" in most languages doesn't realize I.) The (unmarked) morphological "nominative" in these languages realizes abstract Case assigned by either V or I but not both. Hence, 'nominative objects' arise when only V is present as a case-assigner.

I argue in the same vein that accusative in most IE languages results from V or V & P marking an NP; hence, the accusatives after a directional P in V-bar, but outside it. The barrierhood of NP for Case now explains many of P's properties of nominative objects.

THOMAS ERNST, University of Delaware

Chinese Adjuncts and Phrase Structure Theory

It is often stated that the order of preverbal adjuncts in Mandarin Chinese is free (subject to semantic and pragmatic constraints); if there is evidence for theories in which V only projects as far as the one-bar level (Fukui 1986, Speas 1986). This paper presents evidence, however, that there are purely syntactic restrictions on preverbal adjunct order which must refer to distinct V′ and V″ levels in VP.

Taiwan Mandarin (TM) and Beijing Mandarin (BM) do allow greater freedom preverbally than many languages. But time expressions must precede (a) manner adverbials and (b) a specified set of PP's (other adverbials may float freely). For both dialects, given the inability of such devices as the Isomorphic Principle (Aoun and Li 1989) to account for linear order, it appears necessary to refer to bar level (possibly universally, e.g. if all manner adverbials are restricted to V′ at DS). Moreover, the specified PP set differs between TM and BM, in a way that defies generalization via O-roles, subcategorization, or (other) semantic dimensions; it appears that an individual P head must be specified for a given level. Chinese thus provides two arguments for a distinct V″ level in VP, and thus for theories where both lexical and functional categories project to X″.
Causation Metaphors

We can speak of starting to exist as coming here, saying that "his success came about slowly." We can talk about ceasing to exist as going away, as in "his former success was gone." Now suppose that we want to talk about the cause of the success; we can either speak of it as if it were the region from which the success came: "his success came from hard work," or as an agent that brought the success here: "his hard work brought about his success." The fact that we talk about causation in these terms is explained by two metaphors, one in which a cause is understood as a source and one in which it is understood as a physical force. These metaphors will also serve to explain why the expressions mean exactly what they do. For example, the metaphors can explain why it is that a cause is more readily understood as a source, not a physical force, when the result is understood to be natural and expected; an expected outcome is understood as not requiring any outside effort; any application of force. These metaphors are useful tools for getting at both our understanding of the concept of causation, and also at motivation for our ordinary ways of talking about causation, including choice of lexical items and syntax.

ALICE FABER, Haskins Laboratories

The Difference between [s] and [z]: Read My Lips

Current phonological theories differentiate [s] and [z] by place of articulation, usually reflected in the feature [ANTERIOR]. Despite anecdotal reports of lip rounding accompanying the production of sibilants, especially [s], the extent to which such pronunciation actually occurs in a variety of linguistic contexts has not been systematically studied. The current study explores the role of lip protrusion in sibilant production by simultaneously monitoring of lingual-palatal contact with Electropalatography and of lip position with a Selspot opto-electric tracking system. Speakers of English, Italian, and German produced 300-400 symmetrical /NVS/ utterances each, with V ranging over [ai u (i)] and S ranging over [s z]. As expected, the palatal constriction for [s] is anterior to that for [z]. For the Italian speaker, [z] involved significantly more lip protrusion than did [s], except when the flanking vowel was [a], in which case the contrast was neutralized. Furthermore, the palatal constriction for [us] was significantly anterior to that for [ils] or [asa]. Analysis of data collected from the other subjects will allow an assessment of the cross-linguistic generality of this effect. In particular, the contact patterns for German [jil] may reveal whether it is the lip protrusion or the tongue position for [us] that correlates with the anterior shift, that is, whether acoustic constraints (à la Stevens’ [1972, 1989] Quantal Theory) or biomechanical constraints on tongue shape are involved. An additional area addressed by this study is intra-utterance variability. In general, both inter- and intra-utterance acoustic variation (as reflected in the Centroid of the frication noise) are better predicted by a combination of constriction location and degree of lip protrusion than they are by either physiological parameter alone. These results suggest that [s] and [z] are not differentiated by absolute place of articulation but rather by place of articulation relative to the length of the vocal tract during their production.

PATRICK FARRELL, University of California-San Diego

Null Noun Complements in English

This paper is concerned with the status of the gap in the second version of paraphrases such as This car is being sold by its owner/the owner of. It is argued that this gap is syntactically present and that it is best analyzed as a null pronoun, i.e. pro in the typology of empty categories (ECs) of Chomsky (1982). Positing an EC accounts for the following: (A) such gaps must have a discourse referent, (B) they are subject to certain interpretive restrictions that hold for overt pronouns, (C) like overt pronouns they give rise to Weak Crossover effects, and (D) they can (modulo the general marginality of resumptive pronouns in English) occur as the unique bindee of the head of a relative clause. That this EC is neither PRO nor an implicit argument is clear from the fact that (C) and (D) are demonstrably properties that PRO and implicit arguments do not have. Moreover, unlike PRO, the EC in question need not be controlled. That it does not obey Condition C of the binding theory (as shown, e.g., by the example cited above) and can occur within coordinate structures argues that it is not an empty topic-bound variable in the sense of Huang (1984). The conclusion that pro may occur as a noun complement in English supports (i) a theory of pro such as that of Rizzi (1986), which separates formal licensing and feature recovery and keys the former to variation concerning which governors are licensors; (ii) the idea that N is a proper governor (Hornstein and Lightfoot 1987); and (iii) a theory of feature recovery that includes mechanisms beyond identification via agreement.
KATHLEEN FERRARA, Texas A&M University

Cataphor in Conversation: Looking Forward to Discourse

Cataphor, forward reference which links a referring expression to a postcendent rather than to an antecedent, is a term proposed by Bühler (1934) to account for special cases of cohesion where meaning is interpretative only by reference to entities in the preceding discourse, as in I came back home and started to work in this small town. It was Murphy City.

Cataphor is widely held to be characteristic of written rather than spoken discourse. Bosch (1983) questions the need for a distinction between cataphor and anaphor, claiming "no evidence for a linguistic difference." This study challenges both assumptions. Research shows that cataphor is 7 times more common in speech and identifies two major linguistic differences between cataphor and anaphor. The study expands on work by Prince (1981) and Yule (1981) by focusing on indefinite this NPs found in three large and varied corpuses: 30 hours each of a) typed interactive written messages on linked computer terminals, b) face-to-face conversations between therapists and clients, and c) telephone conversations between pollsters and random sample respondents.

Unlike anaphor, which can refer to entities evoked by another, cataphoric reference is always cis-located; both referent and cataphor are always provided by the same person. Also, cataphor shows even greater adherence to an adjacency constraint than does anaphor. Postcendent's occur in the same or next sentence 89% of the time for cataphor, whereas anaphor antecedents range further and are present in the same or prior sentence only 70% of the time. Speakers appear to take advantage of cataphor and the momentary inability of listeners to identify the intended referent. Cataphor focuses listeners' attention on subsequent utterances; it compels listeners to 'look forward to upcoming discourse in order to solve the referential puzzle. Implications for NLU are that referential success for cataphor is far less problematic than for anaphor.

HANA FILIP, University of California-Berkeley

Nominal Reference and Aspect: Aspectually Determined Sort-Shifting in Czech

There are not only parallels between the mass vs. count distinction in nominal systems and certain aspect-Aktionssort-pronouns of verbal expressions, but also nominal constituents (arguments and adjuncts) can be interpreted and reference properties of the whole verbal expression (e.g., John ran vs. John ran a mile). The aim of this talk is to comment on the much less discussed converse case in which the aspect type of the verb determines reference properties of nominal constituents. This interaction can be clearly shown in Slavic languages in which the grammatical category aspect, marked on the verb, partially compensates for the lack of articles as well as for the quantifier and measure expressions if they are not overtly expressed. For example, according to whether the verb is imperfective or perfective, the sentences may be interpreted as having either indefinite or definite singular reference, respectively. Thus, in the Czech sentence Chyba (pf) kávou - He drank/was drinking coffee, the DO-NP kávu 'coffee' follows an imperfective verb form and the whole sentence asserts that some coffee-drinking event took place in the past. Here, the quantity and specificity of coffee is not relevant for the purposes of communication. If the DO-NP kávu 'coffee' follows the perfective verb form, as in Vypil (perf.) kávou - He drank up all the coffee, it is understood as referring to a definite and specific quantity of coffee, even though it is not modified by any article, quantifier or measure expression. This is due to the fact that the perfective verb refers to a bounded event and has a scope over the whole complex verbal expression. This quantification effect of the perfective verb on its DO-NP is often lexically encoded by the prefix which serves to derive a perfective verb from an imperfective simplex. In this sense the perfective aspect, in general, and perfectivizing prefixes, in particular, can be thought of as sort-shifting (mass → count) operators: they impose definite singular interpretation on inherent mass terms.

SUSAN FISCHER, RIT/University of Rochester
DIANE LILLO-MARTIN, University of Connecticut

UNDERSTANDING Conjunctions

This study focuses on subordinating conjunctions derived from verbs in ASL. While in English many such conjunctions are derived from or are identical to prepositions (e.g., before, after), in languages such as French or ASL they appear to be derived frequently from predicates or participles (pourvu que, WRONG). There is in ASL a conjunction, UNDERSTAND, derived from UNDERSTAND, and meaning 'provided that' or 'contrary to expectations.' Although hitherto unnoticed, it indeed serves to introduce an adjacent clause. Like WRONG, UNDERSTAND has lost its verbal privileges of occurrence, in addition to undergoing both a semantic shift and a phonological modification from its origins. In particular, UNDERSTAND, unlike UNDERSTAND, cannot take a subject or a modal, and takes only sentences (or elliptical sentences), not referring NPs, as complements. The verb WANT appears in many cases to function similarly to UNDERSTAND both syntactically and semantically; however, WANT has not been syntactically bled to the same extent, in that even when appearing to function as a conjunction, it can take subjects and modals, as well as sentential complements, and therefore is still functioning as a verb. The derivation of UNDERSTAND from FROM UNDERSTAND is but one example of a more general linguistic process of deriving function words from content words.
SHARON FLANK, SRA Corporation
HATTE R. BLEJER, SRA Corporation

The Distribution of the Middle

The class of verbs which form middles has been characterized variously. Necessary but not sufficient conditions which have been identified include: agentivity, causativity, "affectedness" of the object, and change in the state or location of the theme (Haie and Keyser 1987 (H & K), Fagan 1988, Keyser and Roep 1984, Higginbotham 1989, Anderson 1977). This paper attempts to refine and narrow the characterization of this class. Problematic examples are:

(a) *This pizza eats well. (AGENTIVE)
(b) *Carols sing easily.
(c) *Sketches draw easily.
(2a) This book copies well.
(b) She photographs well.
(3a) *Junk mail delivers easily.
(b) Elephants Fed-Ex badly.
(c) Milk transports badly.

We propose that middles can be formed when (a) the verb is agentive, and (b) the object is the theme or central participant (H & K). They cannot be formed from activities (Vendler 1967), which occur with "for an hour" and have optional objects (She eats/sings/shouts) or from achievements (*Races win easily).

Among activities, the factitives (Chafe 1971) are judged to be worse. Clearly, change of state or location of the theme is inadequate (see 2a & b); however, that the theme undergoes a process may be the correct interpretation. One explanation for the acceptability of (3b) is the incorporated manner.

MARGARITIS FOURAKIS, Central Institute for the Deaf

An Acoustic Study of the Effects of Changes in Tempo and Stress on Vowels

The experiment reported here examined the durational and spectral effects of changes in stress and tempo on the nine monophthongal, nonretroflex vowels of Midwestern American English. Four male and four female native speakers produced four repetitions of a set of stimuli containing these vowels under two tempo conditions, slow and fast, and two stress conditions, stressed and unstressed. The stimuli were all of Syl1 - C1vc2 structure, where: Syl1 was a dummy syllable receiving main stress in the unstressed condition; C1 was either [h] or [b]; V was one of the nine vowels; and C2 was always [d]. All but one of the C1vc2 syllables were also real words of English. The stimuli were embedded in a carrier sentence. The productions were digitized and measurements of sentence, word, and vocalic nucleus durations were made on the waveforms displayed on a graphics terminal. In general, a change in stress influenced vocalic nucleus durations more than a change in tempo. This result agrees with Crystal and House (JASA 1988), but not with other published results, among others Gay (JASA 1978). The waveforms were analyzed using Linear Prediction Coding and formant information was extracted. The changes in tempo and stress did not influence formant values to the same extent as they did the durations of the vocalic nuclei. This would indicate, as Gay (JASA 1978) also argues, that different mechanisms may be involved in the implementation of changes in tempo and stress. (Work supported by NIH and AFOSR)

JANE FRANK, Georgetown University

On the Representation of Prosody in Print: How Messages Are "Packaged" in Direct Sales Letters

One of the most distinguishing aspects of spoken language is the use of stress, intonation, pace and other prosodic features to provide the extra, and sometimes crucial, information needed to understand a speaker's message. The transition to writing requires the development of alternate strategies for modulating and segmenting discourse, and conventional punctuation, to some extent, serves that end. There are numerous respects in which ordinary punctuation is inadequate, and in the case of persuasive discourse, the situation may compel the development of new, or unorthodox use of conventional strategies (Leech 1966, Lakoff 1982) for presenting or 'packaging' the message (Chafe 1986). Yet, little attention has been paid in general to how typography and punctuation can be used to mimic verbal and non-verbal 'contextualization cues' (Gumperz 1982), and the relationship between the 'punctuation units' of writing and the 'intonation units' of speaking awaits exploration (Chafe and Danielewicz 1987). This paper reports the partial results of a study to analyze some characteristic features of direct mail communications. A primary corpus of 100 representative sales letters are analysed to describe the use of fourteen different punctuating and other graphic devices, selected on the basis of their frequency of occurrence, their potential communicative effect, or their innovative appearance. Using examples, I argue that in texts which depend on capturing something of the richness, expressiveness and spontaneity of spoken language, visual devices may play a critical role in effecting persuasion because they create a context-bound framework within which readers are forced to participate in interpreting the text.
A Case for the Practical: Procedures and Assumptions in Testing L2 Phonology

The debate over the critical hypothesis has produced a variety of experimental procedures (Scovel 1988, Neufeld 1978). Due to the artificial nature of testing, methodological assumptions merit closer attention because they so directly influence results. Specifically, there seem to be two conflicting assumptions regarding what raters (Rs) need to know in order to rate: 1) explicit knowledge about native (N) and non-native (N-N) speaker identity does not bias Rs and 2) potentially misleading information about speaker identity to Rs does not invalidate results. To assess the effect of Rs’ knowledge about speaker identity prior to rating, we asked Rs to listen twice to a short text read by adult N and N-N speakers of English. In task 1 Rs were instructed to identify those speakers which would be/not be good public speakers solely on the basis of voice quality, and to explain briefly their assessment. The rationale was to draw Rs’ attention to accent without biasing or misleading them (i.e. without invoking assumptions 1 and 2) and to provide opportunity, without prompting, to identify N-Ns. In task 2 we informed Rs that there were Ns and N-Ns, and asked them to identify the speakers accordingly. The results indicate that manipulating information to Rs about Ns and N-Ns does not impede identification. However, such manipulation does introduce other factors, such as socio-cultural in task 1. Concerning assumptions about what Rs need to know, we argue for erring on the side of caution: while explicit information to Rs about speaker identity may seem an unwarranted bias, potentially misleading or even extraneous information further complicates assessment of test results.

SANDRA L. FULMER, University of Arizona

DUAL-POSITION AFFIXES: An Argument for Morphological Movement

In this paper I show that a theory of movement like Pesetsky (1985) must be incorporated into morphological theory. Afar (Bliese 1981), an East Cushitic language, has a number of verbal affixes with unusual distributional properties depending on the initial segment of the verb stem they attach to: (1) they appear as prefixes if the verb begins with [e, i, o, u] and as suffixes if the verb begins with a consonant or [a], (e.g. t-ekm- ‘2nd-eat-perf’ vs ab- ‘do-2nd-perf’), (2) the occurrence of a “dual-position” affix as a prefix in certain constructions accompanies another morphological process such as ablaut or templatic morphology. (e.g. g-gi ‘I broke’ becomes idd-gi ‘I broke for someone’). I show that a movement analysis accounts for the similarity in form of the dual position affixes and also their complementary distribution. There are two possibilities: either the dual-position affixes originate in prefix position or they originate in suffix position. If the dual position affixes originate in prefix position then movement must occur after the affix is added but before the templatic morphology is done, as verbs with dual-position affixes in suffix position exhibit no templatic morphology. This analysis requires that one of two unsatisfactory claims be made. Either (1) the occurrence of a dual position affix and the corresponding templatic morphology are two separate processes (even though neither occurs alone), or (2) the discontinuous process of prefixation and templatic morphology requires a global treatment. I argue that the correct analysis is one where the dual-position affixes originate in suffix position and are moved to prefix position in certain phonological environments, avoiding the problems discussed above.

ANDREW GARRETT, Harvard University/University of Texas-Austin

The Grammaticalization of a Topic Position

Following well-known related research on e.g. Bantu and Romance, this paper will illustrate the grammaticalization in Lycian (Anatolian) of an inherited left-dislocation structure. Elsewhere this structure is marginal and evidently characterized by resumption with stressed or unstressed pronominals; in Lycian it is common and requires unstressed resumption of definites and zero resumption of indefinites. The paper will show that its grammaticalization there is linked with the widespread Anatolian demotion of Indo-European (IE) *mò (Hittite mé, Lycian me) from structural topic to discourse topic marker, via mechanisms elucidated by M. Hale for e.g. IE *mò and Sanskrit evā. The resulting Lycian structure has the shape NP₁ me pro₁ S, with pro₁ phonetically unrealized if NP₁ is indefinite.
CAROL GENETTI, University of Oregon

The Feature Front in Sunwari Phonology

Edwin Pulleyblank (1989) argues for a redistribution of place features which removes the dorsal feature Back and replaces it with the coronal feature Front. In this paper, I will discuss evidence from the Tibeto-Burman language Sunwari which favors this proposal. In the Sunwari verb stem, there is a complex pattern of interaction between /t/, /n/ and front vowels. If a verb stem ends in /t/ or /n/ and has a back vowel, the stem final consonant alternates with voiceless or nasalized /l/ respectively (compare sat-o 'kill it!' and saj-tasku 'we two killed it', plun-o 'sprinkle it!' and plul-tasku 'we two sprinkled it'). However if the verb stem has a front vowel, the final is deleted, resulting either in gemination (ret-o 'draw!', ret-tasku 'we two drew', ma-res-si 'you two did not draw') or in lengthening of the stem vowel (nen-o 'listen!', nêe-tasku 'we two listened'). The analysis of this data using the standard set of distinctive features is problematic in several respects. In particular, the alternation of /t/ and /n/ with voiceless and nasalized /l/ is problematic within the current framework of feature geometry (Clements 1985, McCarthy 1988). The deletion rule required to account for alternation in front vowel stems is also awkward and unnatural. However, once a natural class relationship between coronal consonants and front vowels is acknowledged, simple and insightful analyses are possible. Two other arguments will be given, both from the phonology of nouns. Pulleyblank's redistribution of features is thus justified for Sunwari.

ORIN D. GENSLER, University of California-Berkeley

From Proto-Semitic to Geez: The Mechanism of Word Order Shift in Ethiopic Semitic

In his 1980 study of "Circumfixes," Greenberg traces the shift from VO to OV word-order type within Ethiopic Semitic. Starting from Classical Geez (oldest, most VO) and ranging to modern Harari (most OV), he proposes that clause-level word order changed first, followed by various NP-level changes. Greenberg, however, neglects the earliest and most crucial step: the transition from Proto-Semitic (PS) to Geez. At the clause-level, PS and Geez are similarly "flexible-VO" in type, allowing considerable stylistic freedom in word order. At the NP-level, however, PS is rigorously VO; but Geez (though predominantly VO) shows a strikingly un-Semitic openness to "recessive" OV options (Adj-N, Gen-N, RelCl-N).

As a telling illustration of this openness, we may consider the "periphrastic genitive" found in many Semitic languages and involving—in contrast to the pan-Semitic "Construct" genitive with its tight, quasi-compound N-Gen bond—a separable particle "of" (Aramaic di, Akkadian ʾaš, Geez za, late Hebrew šel, etc.). The standard Semitic periphrastic order is "N of Gen"; but Geez, remarkably, also allows (as a substantial minority type) "of Gen N", a very rare or impossible ordering in other Semitic languages (NB: even in SOV Akkadian!). Thus the VO-to-OV shift was already underway in Geez, and (pace Greenberg) precisely at the NP-level. Taking a broader-than-Ethiopic perspective enables us to recognize clearly in Geez the beginnings of the Ethiopic process even before a single OV feature had yet risen to dominance, by noting an unwonted flexibility in an unexpected part of the grammar.

JONATHAN GINZBURG, Stanford University

Informativeness Measured

Do propositions possess an intrinsic degree of informativeness? Following Grice, it has been widely assumed that the answer is affirmative (see e.g. Levinson 1987, Horn 1985). Informativeness has been identified with the semantic strength of a proposition, as measured by entailment. I challenge the validity of the initial assumption, and that of any attempt to treat Quantity separately from what Grice categorized as Relevance. I discuss two inherent problems for the entailment-based view: first, cases where although the semantic strength remains fixed, changing the context results in a shift in informativeness. In the second kind of case, informativeness rankings emerge even where no entailment relation exists between the propositions (see Hirschberg 1985). Consequently, I propose a new metric for informativeness. Utilising tools of Situation Theory, the metric evaluates the extent to which a proposition fulfills certain goals held by participants in a particular discourse, given their respective epistemic states. The metric provides a more rigorous and general formulation of the maxim of Quantity than has been available in the past, while obviating the need for a separate maxim of Relevance. The result is a unified treatment of particularised, generalised and relevance implicatures.
A Connectionist Model Underlying Phonological Representations

A number of independent lines of reasoning converge to suggest that we may find in connectionist models an architecture out of which the most important notions of phonological structure emerge, and which simultaneously provides an understanding of phonological properties that appear to be sharply in conflict with current phonological models; our goal is to show that the larger picture effectively eliminates that conflict. We propose, in particular, that onset, nucleus, and coda structure emerge out of activation levels that pass different threshold levels defining each of these three categories, and that the relevant activation level is defined on a contextual notion of sonority, one defined jointly on the inherent sonority of a segment less a constant fraction of the sonority of the segment to its right. We will illustrate the effects of this procedure with respect to syllabification in Berber, and the implementation of autosegmental licensing.

A Distance Metric for Second Language Lexical Errors

The results of a cloze test and an error recognition and correction test that focused on lexical items drawn from errors in compositions of ESL students at various levels suggest a distance metric for lexical error based on the degree of fix-up required to obtain a plausible interpretative. The responses of eighty students to these tasks, when weighted by this distance metric, provide a rich database to test various hypotheses concerning second language lexical acquisition, especially when combined with a taxonomy of these lexical errors. In particular, the hypothesis that lexical errors that are due to L1 interference predominate at the early stages of second language acquisition, while L2 errors that parallel those made by L1 learners--i.e. developmental errors--persist the longest, can be assessed against the relative contribution of these two types of errors to the degree of incoherence of ESL students' English sentences. While the work of Taylor and Selinker in syntax, and of Weinreich, Ringbom and Levenston in lexical acquisition offer indirect and direct support for such a hypothesis, the distance metric used in this study provides a way of measuring these errors from the point of view of the native speaker, thereby suggesting the L2 learner's distance from the TL.

WANNA Contraction as Restructuring

This paper argues (following Frantz (1977)) that the well-known phenomenon of wanna-contraction in English is the result of restructuring in the sense of Rizzi (1982). The primary evidence for this view comes from the fact that there are striking parallels between the structural conditions which restrict wanna-contraction and those which restrict re-structuring. Both phenomena are possible only when (i) they affect the complement clause of the verb, (ii) the matrix and embedded subjects are coreferential, (iii) the "trigger" (e.g., want) is a verb, and (iv) neither the verb nor the complement clause is part of a conjunct in a coordinate structure which does not include the other. These restrictions all follow from the analyses of Zubizarreta (1982) and Goodall (1987), in which restructuring comes about when a verb simultaneously subcategorizes for both a verb and a clause. Why should restructuring be necessary for wanna-contraction to occur? If we assume that such cliticization processes are subject to a government requirement (following Lobeck & Kaisse (1984)) and that a matrix verb (e.g., want) does not govern the INFL (e.g., to) inside a complement $s$ (as in Chomsky (1986)), then contraction will only be possible when restructuring has applied (since only then will want be able to govern to). The end result is an account of the restrictions on wanna-contraction which is both more empirically adequate and more principled than what has previously been available.
Reported Speech in English-Speaking Children

In order for children to become communicatively competent in English, they must learn how to retell the utterances of others using direct quotations as well as indirect discourse. This paper reports an investigation of children's use of indirect and direct reporting styles. Eighty subjects (ages 4, 6, 8 and adult) participated. Half of the subjects listened to a dialogue containing only direct quotations, while the remaining forty subjects listened to the same story, told by the main character without any direct quotations. Subjects' direct and indirect reported speech utterances, after each picture (immediate) and later while retelling the whole story (delayed), were scored according to the syntax of the reporting verb and reporting clause, the deictic changes in the reporting clause, and the logic of the conversationally conveyed meaning. For immediate reporting a u-shaped function emerged revealing that 4-year-olds, unlike 6-year-olds, perform similarly to 8-year-olds and adults. The analysis of delayed reporting revealed a linear age effect. Independent of the style of the original text, adults preferred to use indirect discourse while younger children showed no clear preference. The results are discussed in relation to (a) children's knowledge of complex syntactic structures, (b) their understanding of deixis, and (c) their ability to report the conversationally conveyed meaning of the discourse effectively.

LYNN GORDON, Simon Fraser University/Washington State University (THURS AFT: A)

Nez Perce Relative Clauses

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

(1) Shila-TSJ 3/3-burn-PRF REL=1 house-to go-PRF
Shila burned down the house I went to

(2) Shila-TSJ 3/3-burn-PRF REL=1 that-to go-PRF
Shila burned down the house I went to

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

ALICJA GORECKA, Purdue University (SAT MORN: B)

Are Front Vowels Coronal?

The coronality of front vowels has been first postulated by Clements (1976), as a means of capturing the assimilatory nature of palatalization phenomena. Recently Clements' idea has been translated into the feature representation framework of Sagae (1986) by Ito and Mester (1989).

This proposal raises a number of problems for vowel representation: since it represents front and back vowels in terms of distinct articulators (Coronal and Dorsal), it allows for feature combinations in vowels that are phonologically unattested (e.g., [+back, -back]). It raises questions about the location of height features, the representation of palatalized, non-palatalized contrast among the coronals (observed in Russian, Bulgarian), the behavior of palatal and palatalized consonants in vowel harmonies, etc.

I propose an analysis of palatalization which captures the assimilatory nature of the process without making front vowels coronal. This analysis capitalizes on the observation that both front vowels and palatal consonants (c, č) are articulated in the palatal region. Palatalization is viewed as an assimilation of a consonant to the palatal constriction site of a vowel.

Cases in which assimilation of a consonant to a front vowel yields an Anterior (ts, dz) rather than a Palatal segment are analyzed as involving assimilation to the alveolar constriction location. It is a known fact (Fast 1965), Wood (1979), Fischer-Jorgensen (1985) that in some languages front vowels are articulated in the alveolar region. Several phonetically documented cases (the so-called "second velar" palatalization in Polish, velarization in Thai) are shown to support this analysis.
ELENA GOROHOVA, Rutgers University

Acquisition of English Articles by Native Speakers of Spanish

Studies of second language acquisition have recently concentrated on the examination of the learner's linguistic output as an independent natural language called Interlangue (IL). ESL students acquire linguistic components of English, including articles, in stages, constantly revising their system with the acquisition of new data.

This study explores the acquisition of English articles (a, the, \( \emptyset \)) by native speakers of Spanish. It investigates the stages of the acquisition of articles tracing their evolving systemic values in the students' IL.

Investigation reveals five developmental stages of article acquisition in students':

1. The signals are acquired in the following order: the, a, \( \emptyset \). In Stage I speakers only have the signal, which is used with more salient referents and therefore carries the meaning "concentration of attention" on a particular referent. Stage II is marked by the addition of a new signal, a, which changes the speakers' strategies of use. Stage III is a transition stage where the speakers' strategies of use of the and a begin to resemble those of Standard English. Stage IV is marked by new systemic values for the and a which are entirely based on discourse and thus are closer to those in Standard English. In Stage V the last signal, \( \emptyset \), is acquired.

80 interviews were collected; a binomial test was employed to validate the hypotheses for each stage.

GREGORY R. GIY, Stanford University

The Sociolinguistic Types of Language Change

Many authors have distinguished various 'types' of linguistic change. For example, there is Labov's (1966) dichotomy between 'change from above' and 'change from below', Naro & Lemle's contrast between 'natural' and 'conscious imitative' changes, and Bickerton's (1980) distinction between 'spontaneous' and 'nonsupervisory' changes. These dichotomies all depend, among other criteria, whether or not language or dialect contact is involved in their genesis. More recent works by Thomason & Kaufman 1988 and Van Coesem 1988 provide richer 'typologies', drawing for example an important distinction between contact-induced changes that arise through borrowing and those that arise from the imposition of native language habits on a second language.

The present paper attempts to summarize and critique some of the major proposals concerning change types, and to provide a systematic synthesis that identifies three basic types (unintended contact, borrowing, and imposition). Each of these is associated with a distinctive set of social, psychological, and linguistic characteristics, such as the social class distribution and social motivation of a change, whether speakers are consciously aware of the innovation, the linguistic distribution of innovations according to the saliency of contexts and the structural levels involved. A number of variable parameters that allow the characterization of intermediate types are also explored, such as (in contact-induced change) the degree of bilingualism and the demographic balance between the languages, and (in unintended change) the possible coexistence of contrasting social interpretations of the innovation (e.g. 'overt' and 'covert' norms).

NILOFAR HAERT, University of Pennsylvania

Synchronic Variation in Cairene Arabic: The Case of Palatalization

Most sociolinguistic research on Arabic speech communities has concentrated on comparisons of Classical Arabic with the "colloquial". The variation reported on so far has been concerned with mixing the two varieties. Consequently, our knowledge about the kind of synchronic variation which is strictly within the so-called colloquial is limited. This study will present the recent phonological process of palatalization in Cairene Arabic. The alveolar stops [t, d] and the interdental, emphatic stops [\( T, D \)] are palatalized when followed by high front vowels. That the emphatic stops are involved in this process raises the possibility that they are merging with their non-emphatic counterparts. The innovators in this process are women. Palatalization, perhaps more than any other phonological process, distinguishes the speech of men and women in Cairo. The data base for this study consists of 75 sociolinguistic interviews carried out in Cairo during 1988. In addition to a full phonological description of this process, a multivariate analysis will be provided with particular emphasis on male/female differences. Finally, the results of a subjective reaction test to palatalization will be presented.
AARON HALPERN, Stanford University

Divorcing Morphological and Phonological Subcategorization

Inkelas has suggested that lexical items may have distinct morphological and phonological subcategorization frames, acting on distinct morphological and prosodic representations. This factorization of dependences makes the prediction that, given a lexical item which is both morphologically and phonologically dependent, it could have its morphological subcategorization satisfied by one form and its phonological subcategorization satisfied by another. The point of this paper is to document a case where the dissociation may be observed. The applicable morpheme in Hausa, we (see Tuller 1984) generally must immediately follow a verb, indicating its morphological dependence. The only exceptions are sentences in which there is no overt verb. These are precisely the sentences where independently motivated analyses force the postulation of a phonologically unrealized verb (Tuller 1986, Halpern 1989). In these cases, we criticize to an independent morpheme known as the “aspect marker”, which otherwise precedes the verb. We combines morphologically with the silent verb, but remains phonologically unsatisfied since the verb has no phonological presence. The phonological subcategorization is then satisfied by allowing we to criticize to the preceding element.

SHOJO HAMANO, University of California-Santa Cruz

On Japanese Quantifier Floating

Japanese has a construction known as Quantifier Floating. In this construction, a quantifier follows the NP with which it is construed. Attempts have been made to characterize Japanese Quantifier Floating as a process sensitive to surface cases (Shibatani 1977), grammatical relations (Dubinsky 1989), or the argument/adjunct distinction (Miyagawa 1989). In this paper, I claim that Quantifier Floating in Japanese is subject to a pragmatic/semantic constraint which has not been noted before and which cuts across surface cases as well as grammatical functions. Specifically, I claim that a floated quantifier requires the NP with which it is construed to refer to a contextually salient subset of the class denoted by the head noun. The quantifier then has as its referent a subset of this. The analysis makes it clear that Quantifier Floating does not constitute a reliable diagnostic tool of the sort claimed to be either by Miyagawa or Dubinsky.

HEIDI E. HAMILTON

Inappropriateness of Response: Longitudinal Case Study of One Alzheimer's Patient

This paper examines the appropriateness of responses made by an elderly female Alzheimer's patient to questions in natural conversations held between the researcher and the patient over a four-year period. The patient's breakdown in ability to respond appropriately changes qualitatively rather than quantitatively over this period of time. For example, inappropriateness in early conversations tends to manifest itself in vague or grammatically/lexically mismatched responses rather than in question type mismatches (such as 'yes' responses to wh-questions) whose use spikes in the middle conversations or in no response at all which comprises almost half of the inappropriate responses in the final conversations.

The identification of qualitative changes in communicative ability over time may help to explain inconsistencies in the literature regarding these abilities in Alzheimer's patients as determined by more traditional studies of language loss. In addition, because of the central role of question-response pairs in clinical assessments of Alzheimer's disease and other types of dementia, the findings in this study have implications for diagnostic assessment. More fitting and differentiated diagnostic tasks than exist at present may be able to be created based on what is learned about a patient's ability to ask and respond to questions in a relaxed, natural setting.
S.J. HANNAHS, University of Delaware

High Vowel Laxing in Quebec French

In this paper I will show how a metrical approach to the phenomenon of High Vowel Laxing (HVL) in Quebec French (QF) underscores important generalizations about vowel reduction phenomena in the language, e.g. the similarity of conditioning factors for HVL, syncope and diphthongization in QF, missed by previous essentially linear accounts. HVL affects /iy/ which become lax [IYU] in specific environments, e.g. vite 'quickly' is obligatorily [vi'te]; musique 'music' is optionally [mi'zyik] or [mi'zyik] and fini 'finished' is optionally [fi'n i] or [fi'n i]. By referring to stress and syllable weight it is possible to correctly predict the occurrence of HVL while at the same time relating HVL to other vowel reduction processes in the language, e.g. syncope and diphthongization. Essentially, I will show that lax high vowels a) occur obligatorily in stressed heavy syllables, b) occur optionally in unstressed light syllables, and c) are prohibited from occurring in stressed light syllables. In each case stress refers to abstract stress assigned on the basis of a metrical grid and syllable weight, not (necessarily) phonetic stress.

KRISTIN HANSON, Stanford University

Ternary Stress Feet in Garifuna (Central American Island Carib)

Most current versions of the metrical theory of stress rules incorporate the claim that the feet assigned by stress rules can be at most binary, and that such ternary feet as exist in language arise only derivatively, through the operation of rules of extrametricality, destressing, and so forth. This claim has been disputed by Levin (1985) who argues that basic ternary feet can indeed be assigned by stress rules, but suggests furthermore that all such feet are amphibrachic ([w a w]). I will present data from Garifuna (Central American Island Carib), an Arawak language spoken principally in Belize, which provides further support for the claim that basic ternary feet can be assigned by stress rules, but argues against the claim that all such feet are amphibrachic. Stress in Garifuna appears to fall on either the first or the second syllable of a word and on every third syllable thereafter: ubarinur 'luck'; uddigidi 'firefly'. On the assumption that some initial syllables may be extrametric, such a pattern can be analyzed by rules which assign dactylic feet ([s w]), but not by rules which assign only amphibrachic ones. Moreover, the predominantly CV structure of the syllables of Garifuna, which is shared by the syllable claimed to be footed by ternary stress feet in other languages including Cayuuva (Levin 1985) and Chugae (Rice 1988), represents an important cross-linguistic generalization about ternary stress feet neglected by the amphibrachic analysis. I will therefore propose an alternative approach drawing on the concept of resolution familiar from poetic meter, in which two light syllables may count as the equivalent of one heavy one, under which the inclusion of dactylic feet in the inventory of possible stress feet may be justified.

MARY L. HARE, University of California-San Diego

Conditions on Vowel Assimilation in a Connectionist Network

Achieving the most explanatory approach to vowel harmony has captured the attention of many phonologists. Transparent vowels are often at the center of the controversy, since they neither undergo harmony nor block the spread of the harmonizing feature to other vowels. This paper takes a computational approach to the problem of transparent vowels in Finnish and Hungarian. We rely on the theory of serial order proposed in Jordan (1986), which describes a dynamical system embodied as a recurrent connectionist network. Certain parallel aspects of the behavior of this model can be explained in terms of the dynamics of the system. In particular, if two consecutive output patterns have identical values on a number of features, it is computationally less costly for features having otherwise dissimilar values to become more alike as well. However, if two consecutive patterns are markedly distinct, no such assimilation occurs. In addition, outputs are similar insofar as they are presented in the same temporal context: thus assimilation is sensitive to the context in which the trigger pattern occurs.

Applying these findings to real language data, we present a PDP model of Hungarian vowel harmony, and demonstrate that a view of phonological representation that considers the dynamic properties of a language system provides a non-stipulative account of the harmonic behavior of transparent vowels.

28
JOHN U. HARRISON, Harvard University  

AUX-Cliticization as a Motivation for V2-Vindicated

Hock (1982) proposed a scenario for the historical development of verb-second sentential structures in Germanic (and elsewhere) whereby the auxiliaries, moved to second position as clitics, provide the motivation for general restructuring to V2. Kiparsky (1999) points out that Hock has not provided sufficient evidence for clitic behavior for early Germanic AUX’s and has not adequately explained its restriction to main clauses. From a careful analysis of the metrical behavior of Old English AUX’s I show that certain ones did behave as sentential clitics. Furthermore, consideration of Indo-European and OE verbal accent phenomena shows that it is precisely in main clauses that AUX’s had least stress and so were most likely to fall into clitic second position. Thus Hock’s general thesis is vindicated, though copulas and modals must also be considered as possible motivators for V2 structures.

The Wanderer 70a Beorn sceal godbæd “a warrior shall wait…” (main clause clitic verb)

A set of apparent exceptions (otonoced main clause verbs) can be shown to follow a poetic prohibition against certain verb forms accompanying more than one unstressed syllable before the first lift of the second half-line.

Guthlac 7b Ic þeo lædan sceal “I shall lead you” (The 2 unstressed syll. ic þæ, preceding the alliteration, lædan, trigger movement of sceal to stressed line-final position)

YOKO HASEGAWA, University of California-Berkeley  
KAZUE HATA, Speech Technology Laboratory

The HL and LH Tonal Perceptions

Tone-spreading is more often perseverative than anticipatory and the spreading of high (H) tones is more likely to occur than of low (L) tones in world languages (Hyman and Schuh 1974, Maddieson 1976, Jakobson 1978). These asymmetries suggest that there may be crucial differences between the HL and the LH tonal perceptions. As for the HL perception in Japanese, it has been shown experimentally that the primary cue is not the actual F0 peak location but rather a falling F0 contour. The F0 fall may be significantly delayed, resulting in the F0 peak within the L-tone syllable because it is primarily the steepness of the F0 fall which differentiates a HL from a HH sequence. The present experiment investigated whether such a lack of synchronization between F0 change and syllable boundary could be found in the LH perception as well. Synthesized nonsense words /mamama/ were prepared in such a way that both the onset of F0 rise and its offset occur at various locations, while maintaining the overall F0 contour (level-rise-level / --- / ). The stimuli were presented to native speakers of Japanese to determine the boundary between the categorical perception of LHH and LLH. The results show that the LH sequence lacks the compensatory steepness adjustment found with HL sequence. Having fewer constraints, the LH sequence is less likely to be subject to misapprehension and then change by listeners. This fact may help explain why L tones are less likely to spread than H tones.

SUSAN C. HERRING, California State University-San Bernardino

Is Sentence-Final "Focus" Position Universal?

Sentence-final focus has been evoked (e.g. Hetzron 1975) as a functional explanation for word order variations and other syntactic phenomena cross-linguistically. The assumption underlying this style of explanation is that the possibility of “focusing” arguments by floating them rightward in the sentence is cognitively preferred (MacWhinney 1977; cf. the related “universal” tendency for topicalized arguments to appear sentence-initially). I challenge this assumption, presenting counter-evidence from several unrelated languages. As an alternative, I propose and evaluate a hypothesis which relates informational “focus” to word order type. According to this view, languages employ word orders which are marked relative to the basic order, for the purpose of creating pragmatic focus in contrastive and presentative constructions. Thus SVO languages such as English, French, and Mandarin exhibit a tendency to focus subject nominals by placing them sentence (clause)-finally, while normally verb-initial languages such as Ojibwa and Tagalog place them sentence-initially; that is, before the verb. SOV languages such as Turkish and Tamil are less flexible with regard to the position of the verb, but permit the rearrangement of nominal arguments pre-verbally for pragmatic effect. These strategies interact to varying degrees with other morpho-syntactic and prosodic devices available in the languages (e.g. focus particles; intonation), as well as with the pragmatic function of topicalization.

29
Pharyngeal Articulations

Articulations in the pharynx have posed problems in terms of their description, classification and representation by features. Secondary pharyngealization, pharyngeal consonants, low back vowels, and vowels with advanced or retracted tongue root positions have been grouped together in different ways by different authors. A cross-linguistic study has been undertaken in order to determine the basic gestures used in forming pharyngeal articulations, to give us an understanding of how they are organized in different languages, and to provide a basis for improved feature representation. Factor analysis of tongue and vocal tract shapes from X-rays are used to identify basic patterns of articulation in the pharynx. X-ray data was selected from languages which make extensive use of what have been regarded as different sorts of pharyngeal articulations. Languages include Arabic, Akan (Kwa), and Dargi (Dagestani). Pilot data show that we need to recognize different families of gestures involving not only the tongue dorsum and root, but also the epiglottis, pharyngeal wall constrictors and vertical movement of the larynx. Different sets of gestures are involved at different constrictions locations.

ARILD HESTVIK, Brandeis University

Norwegian Anti-Subject Oriented Pronouns

The Norwegian pronoun has the property that in addition to being free in its minimal governing category, it must also be disjoint from the first subject outside this g.c., cf Vikner (1985): John bad Per sette Ola's bok la. 

Let us assume the PP is the g.c. for the pronoun. John bad Per fortelle Ola om [pp.hans] [H-kone] 'John asked Peter to tell Ola about his wife.' Note that it may corefer with the closer indirect object outside its g.c., which would be unexpected if the g.c. were a larger constituent than the PP or the NP respectively. The solution: The pronoun is subject to LF head-movement to INFL, just like the reflexive meg (cf. Fica 1987). If so, the ungrammatical LF of e.g. the second sentence is John bad Per INFL-hans. fortelle Ola om [t.kone]. If condition B applies at both S-str and LF, this is ruled out as a condition B violation at LF, since although the pronoun is free in its g.c. at S-str, it will be bound in its g.c. at LF under that indexing. If indexed with a higher subject or lower object, no condition B violation ensues. Independent evidence for the pronoun being interpretable as a head and hence accessible to head movement is that it allows specifiers and modifiers, as in viere deg 'dear you,' han med red hatt 'he with red hat.'

BETH ANN HOCKEY, University of Pennsylvania

The Function of 'Okay' as a Cue Phrase in Discourse

While there is general agreement that discourse is segmented, what constitutes a segment remains open for discussion. Since cue phrases provide explicit marking of segmentation, this analysis of the cue phrase okay will contribute to understanding of discourse segments. In analyzing the semantic/pragmatic functions of okay, I show that a strong correlation exists between position within the utterance and function.

Certain instances of pronounal reference that occur with okay provide evidence that 1) the accessibility of completed segments for pronominal anaphora is not as predicted by Gross and Sidner and 2) an account of anaphora that allows access to some completed segments is needed. Let us consider the following example of transcribed conversation:

L: Well, why do they criticize it? Do they give you the names of some of these people?
U: Yeah they-some senators
L: Okay, why don't you look them up either in LUIS or in the card catalog,
in the author title catalog?

If okay were marking completion of a discourse segment, some senator should be inaccessible for pronominal reference under the Gross and Sidner analysis. By adopting the reference process proposed by Webber (88), which allows access to a completed sister segment, the pronominal anaphora observed with okay, certain deaccenting phenomena observed by Davis and Hirschberg and discourse deixis can all be accounted for.
How Compositional Is Semantics?

Much of Categorial Grammar's appeal lies in its promise to formulate a strictly compositional semantics, using just the technical tools of functional application and composition. Such tools, however, require that syntactic parts combined by the concatenation operation be explicit and mutually adjacent forms. Whenever this ideal condition fails to obtain, strict compositionality is no longer technically guaranteed.

Two approaches to this problem are well-known. One solution as in Moortgat's treatment of ambiguous quantifiers is to build some adjusting device (such as permutation) deep into the proof system. Another solution as in Bach's handling of discontinuous constituents assumes an initially strict compositionality which is later somehow disrupted by local readjustment, much like phonetic adjustment in tone-sandhi or morphophonemics.

The present paper argues for a third, complementary approach by admitting that certain natural-language signs are based not on compositionality but on other, peculiarly linguistic devices such as 'echoing,' as exemplified by the adverbial quantifier dou 'in all cases' in Mandarin. A Mandarin sentence of the form NP₁-NP₂-dou-V is ambiguous, but can be disambiguated by prefixing NP₁ or NP₂ with the echoing suo-you-de 'all of' to indicate whether NP₁ or NP₂ is quantified.

Jose Hualde, University of Illinois-Urbana

On Basque Tonology

Western Basque dialects possess a prosodic system which, on the surface, greatly resembles that of Standard Japanese. As in Japanese, in Basque there are words where all syllables but the first have a high tone and words which have a drop in pitch at a certain syllable. I will claim that in spite of this surface resemblance, Basque differs fundamentally from Japanese at the underlying level. In Basque, as I argue, only low tones are specified in underlying representations. All major categories are assigned a high tone which will spread up to the first syllable carrying a lexical low tone, if there is any. E.g.: /logun-en-ə/ logënə 'the one of the friend'; /logun-en-ə/ logënə 'the one of the friends.' I will also argue that, in Basque, lexical rules affect only low tones. Since in languages with two tones the usual assumption is that it is the high tones which are lexically specified (Pulleyblank 1986), this analysis has consequences for a theory of default tonal values, which are also explored.

Geoffrey J. Huck
Younghee Na, University of Toronto

Extrapolation from Definite NPs and the Theory of Focus

Why is there a general restriction against extrapolating out of an anaphoric definite NPs, but not out of indefinite NPs? E.g., Ziv and Cole (1974) note the following contrast:

(1) A guy just came in that I met at Treno's yesterday.
(2) *The guy just came in that I met at Treno's yesterday.

Z & C and Guéron 1980 claim that (2) is bad because definites from which material has been extrapolated are name-like. We argue against the name analysis, claiming that the difference between (1) and (2) follows from a semantic difference between definites and indefinites and is predicted by the theory of focus, which is independently required in the grammar. If an extrapolated constituent must be interpreted as a focus (Rocher 1986), then it must either add new information to the discourse or serve as the locus of contrast between the sentence in which it resides and another in the discourse set. But relatives with anaphoric definite heads are necessarily presuppositional, and thus if the relative is interpreted as contributing new information, the result will be anomalous. This analysis correctly predicts that if the extrapolated relative were to be interpreted contrastively, as it might if Treno's were stressed in the appropriate context, (2) should be acceptable.
ELIZABETH V. HUME, Cornell University (SAT MORN: B)

Blocking Effects in Korean Umlaut: Evidence for the Coronality of Front Vowels

This paper presents evidence from the process of Korean umlaut which shows that the natural class of front vowels and coronal consonants must share a common place feature and that this feature must be [coronal]. Umlaut in Korean fronts the back vowels [a, o, u, e] to [a, o, u, e] before the high, front vowel [i]. An intervening labial or velar consonant is transparent to this process whereas umlaut is categorically blocked by an intervening coronal, e.g. kasi *kasi discourse, pori *pori barley, halmeni *halmeni grandmother. In Autosyntactic theory, the only means of ensuring the selective opacity of segments is to invoke the Line-crossing Prohibition on phonological representations (Goldsmith 1976). Consequently, coronal consonants, unlike labials and velars, must be specified for the same feature that spreads from [i] to the preceding back vowel. Spreading this feature across an intervening coronal consonant would therefore result in a Line-crossing violation. We will show that the feature [back] in an unattainable specification for coronal consonants in Korean. Rather, we support the controversial view that front vowels are [coronal] (cf. Clements 1976, and forthcoming; E. Pulleyblank 1989). Moreover, we propose a revision of the current definition of [coronal] which incorporates an articulatory as well as acoustic (cf. [acute], Jakobson, Fant and Halle 1952) description of the natural class of front vowels and coronal consonants.

MARY JANE HURST, Texas Tech University
DANIEL L. HURST, Texas Tech University (THURS AFT: E)

Brain Electrical Activity Mapping during Language Processing

This paper presents the results of an experiment in which ten volunteers underwent Brain Electrical Activity Mapping (BEAM) for a one-hour period divided as follows: fifteen minutes at rest; fifteen minutes of listening to a tape of technical instructions; and thirty minutes of listening to a tape of poetry. A preliminary analysis of the subjects' topographical maps reveals differences among the resting, technical instructions, and poetry sections. An initial review of the data suggests that the distinctions may follow patterns based on differences in the training of the subjects. The study has implications (1) for defining a normal brain's response to language processing in neurologically unimpaired individuals and (2) for evaluating the efficacy of electrical activity mapping for measuring complex language processing within the brain.

MASAYUKI IKE-UCHI, Massachusetts Institute of Technology/ Joetsu University (SAT MORN: A)

An Alternative Analysis of AN ANGEL OF A GIRL Type NP's in English

I will propose that English NP's of the type in question have a structure like (1) at latest by the stage of derivation at which deletion and (for that matter) wh-movement apply, discussing the possibility of base-generating it and arguing against the analysis of Napoli (1989) and (partly) against that of McCawley (1988):

(1) [NP an [ADJ angel of a] girl]

Our proposed structure (1) correctly accounts for facts like (2)-(4) without any stipulations:

(2) This is the most [devil of a] predicament that ever a man was in. (Jespersen, NAC

(3)*John sent a [hell of a] guy to jail and a [devil] __ to prison.

(4)*Who did he marry an [angel of] t?

I will also argue that our analysis can accommodate the semantic facts involving the syntactic and the semantic heads and that it can explain the difference between modification and predication that has been overlooked in Napoli (1989).

I will finally discuss the relevance of this analysis to Hornstein (1986)'s modified T-model.
Focused Remnants

Booij 1985 argues on the basis of elision in coordinated compounds in Dutch that morphological and prosodic structure are not isomorphic. This claim is significant in that it provides lexical evidence for the existence of the prosodic hierarchy (Selkirk 1978, Nespor and Vogel 1986), whose prime motivation has come from postlexical evidence (but see Inkelas 1989), yet the analysis suffers from a crucial problem. Booij's argument is based on ellipsis facts: only those portions of Dutch phrases and compounds can be elided which correspond to one or more phonological words. Furthermore, the deleted string must be adjacent to a conjunction. Herein lies the difficulty. No single deletion rule, whether lexical or syntactic, can impose these conditions and remain true to the fundamental Lexical Integrity Hypothesis (or its equivalent in Lexical Phonology). If word-internal structure is unavailable to processes taking place outside the lexicon, ellipsis of elements of compounds has to occur lexically—out of the jurisdiction of a syntactic condition that elision sites be adjacent to conjunctions. Equally, though a syntactic deletion rule could constrain the context of elision, it would not have the power necessary to omit portions of words. Thus the attractive analysis appears to run into a roadblock. In this paper I propose an alternative account, which also relies crucially on the important distinction between morphological and prosodic structure, but which survives the lexical/postlexical gauntlet. The solution is to allow ellipsis of phonological words to take place freely both in and out of the lexicon, but formulate the process such that (left-hand) sisters of elided elements acquire the feature [+focus]. A general condition on representations, namely that [+focus] elements must precede conjunctions, completes the picture. A benefit of this analysis is that it ties in the third constraint which Booij demonstrates to hold over elision: the remnant must be a focussable constituent.

MINAKO ISHIKAWA, Georgetown University

Iconicity in Discourse: A Case of Repetitions in Japanese

Tanen (1987) suggests that repetitions and joint sentence construction (JSC) convey the interactional meanings of involvement and rapport. This paper shows a similar phenomenon in a Japanese argument between two close friends. The following appears in my data at the end of the argument when a consensus is reached:

Asako: yoku frequently
Kazuko: [yoku aru-darou]

Asako: [yoku aru-de-nom ro-wa omou]
Kazuko: [ro-wa omou]

A claim that here the meanings of congruence and cooperation are iconically represented in the syntactic medium of repetitions and JSC. Finally, I conclude that iconicity underscores the link between form and meaning, serving as an effective way to convey both semantic and interactional content of the utterance.

GREGORY K. IVerson, University of Tocan

Extraprosodicity in Segmental Phonology

Though the role of extraprosodicity has been thoroughly integrated into metrical theory (Liberman & Prince 1977, Hayes 1981 & 1982, Hammond 1984, Halle & Vergnaud 1987; but cf. Spitzer 1989 for a comprehensive alternative), it has played a decidedly less pervasive part within segmental phonology. On the one hand are analyses of syllable quantity like that of Icelandic (Kiparsky 1984, Goldsmith 1989), in which a final C is made extraprosodic in order to group monosyllables closed by one C with open syllables, whose vowels lengths when stressed (\(v^j\)-\(\text{de}^{1}\)) \(\rightarrow\) [\(v^j\)\(\text{ka}\)] \(\rightarrow\) [\(v^j\)\(\text{k}\)] (Eggers 1985). Yet without resorting to alternative schemes of internal syllable formation (Arnason 1980, Anderson 1984), extraprosodicity in Icelandic can be obviated by characterizing (CVC monosyllables as either minimally bimoraic (Hayes 1989, McCarthy & Prince 1989) or underlyingly disyllabic (Giegerich 1985). On the other hand are analyses of syllable formation such as that of Ponapean (Itō 1986, 1989), in which extraprosodicity of a word-final consonant figures crucially in determining the site of epenthesis. By prohibiting a syllable-final C from having a unique Place specification, heterorganic clusters cannot be properly syllabified since each member would have to be specified for Place; but homorganic clusters, which share Place, may occur both heterosyllabically ([\(n\text{am-pa}\)]) ('trade wind season') and, in word-final position, tautosyllabically ([\(m\text{an-db}\']) ('tame'), where extraprosodicity of the final C maintains consistency with the (C)(C) syllable template. Without extraprosodicity, the constraint is instead to avoid clusters in which each member is specified for Place; monosyllables are governed by a separate template allowing CVCC; and epenthesis, optional in any case (cf. Rehg & Sohl 1981), applies between rather than before heterorganic clusters ([\(k\text{tk-t}\text{m}\text{e}\text{n}\mbox{-}\rightarrow\) [\(d\text{tk-k}\text{tk-t}\text{m}\text{e}\text{n}\)]) 'rat' indef.]) because that is the only site which will remove the 'violation'.

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testing phonological representations with articulatory models

Different phonological theories invoke different articulatory parametrizations. Traditional phonetic and phonological theories parametrize vowels in terms of tongue height and backness. Particle phonology parametrizes vowel articulation as blends of ⟨i, a, u⟩. Harshman, Ladefoged, and Goldstein suggest a parametrization of English vowels using two factors, each generating a family of tongue positions.

A multispeaker, cross-linguistic database of x-ray tracings allows quantitative comparison of these proposals. Each proposal's parameters define a vowel space with vowels located in it. The articulatory correlates of the parameters, and the adequacy of the model as a whole can be determined by standard methods, e.g. multivariate regression and $\chi^2$ tests.

A number of such articulatory models have been investigated. The results suggest that the factor model generalizes well across languages and fits articulatory data better than height/backness- or particle-based models. These parameters should underly the phonological representation of tongue body articulations.

the prosodic phonology of the hebrew component in yiddish

The Merged Hebrew (MeHe) component in Yiddish (Y) appears to show a phonological sensitivity to morphological and syntactic structures found in the source Tiberian Hebrew (TH) language. Thus, whereas the MeHe component in Y generally underwent a historical shift from TH basic stress pattern ws to a basic Yiddish pattern sw (TH somer > Y somer 'guard'), the overall ws stress pattern in Y bendor 'contemporary' reflects the presence of a word boundary (cf TH construct compound bën- dor, ben- son (of), dor 'generation'). Occurrences of non-compound ws stress in the MeHe component of Y have traditionally been attributed to TH rules regarding "stressable" vs. "unstressable" morphemes; e.g. "unstressable" TH he̱-ha- 'the' in TH ha-; ri:s̱n > Y hə ri:s̱n 'the first' (versus Y initial stress in q̱lames 'worlds' < TH qal: ʃ ə mə 8). When Hebrew and Y clash, however, Y phonology prevails, e.g. TH ha-ŋaš the - bad > Y -ñóra, in conformity with the basic Y sw pattern (see Veyger, Birnbaum, M. Weinreich). The paper will propose a Y phonological foot as a relevant organizational unit in the loss of original TH word end morpheme boundaries in MeHe.

hypercorrection without correction? on resolving a sociolinguistic 'headache'

Since Gumperz 1958, language-contact situations have been exploited as a testing ground for sociolinguistic studies of hypercorrection (HC). But, whereas variationist works use "hypercorrection" to label the higher frequency of use by a lower social class of a prestigious linguistic feature, both traditional historical-linguistic/dialectological and generativist approaches to language change (e.g., DeCamp 1972, Zonneveld 1978, Janda 1979, and Hock 1988) treat HC much more absolutely. I.e., speakers of a less prestigious dialect D1 notice that a more prestigious dialect D2 has linguistic feature Y where D1 has X and therefore replace such X's with Y's (correction), but they also replace with Y's some X's of D1 which are also X's in D2 (hypercorrection). On this latter view, HC is an incorrect generalization of correction, and an utterance that fails to show correction should also fail to show HC.

But HC frequently occurs without correction, even in the same word, as shown by an empirical study of the insertion of prevocalic initial /h/ in English morphemes by six French speakers vs. their omission of /h/. Cases like henance ('enhance') and 'headache' (headache) are surprisingly numerous. Even HC of a traditional sort appears to be a frequency-based phenomenon whereby insecurity concerning a linguistic feature leads to variability in the choice between two values of that variable.
Expressing Shifts in Perspective within a Narrative, and ASL Morphosyntax

Schlick (1988) has suggested that in an ASL discourse it is possible to express two perspectives of the world, a model world scale and a real world scale. I argue that by extending the notion of two perspectives to the spatial reference and locative systems, identifying an abstract spatial system and a real spatial system, it becomes possible to explain variations in verb agreement morphology, while at the same time explaining some regularities in the same morphology that have previously gone unnoticed. This account also explains for the first time why classifier and nonclassifier pronouns behave differently in their use of space.

The differences in perspective that occur in ASL are of interest not only for understanding discourse, but also because the evidence from ASL shows that discourse notions can be encoded in morphology and in syntax.

Task Effects on Input Processing

The role of conscious vs. incidental learning in adult SLA has been much debated. Krashen (1983, 1985) argues for a minimal role of conscious attention to form, while others insist on the importance of conscious attention (Swain, 1985; Clifford, 1986) with incidental learning most likely to come into play when linguistic structures carry significant information (Schmidt, 1985; Van Patten, 1989). This paper reports on a study designed to investigate the relative effect of 3 reading tasks with different attentional demands on both the acquisition of an information-bearing structure, the French "causative faire," and recall of the passage containing this structure. Second and third year French students were assigned one of three reading tasks: reading for meaning, reading for meaning while underlining all the instances of "causative faire" and reading for meaning while both underlining "causative faire" and noting the semantic relationship of elements contained in these structures. Preliminary results suggest a role for incidental learning of this structure. However, subjects assigned to task 3 requiring specific attention to the form and its encoding of semantic relationships performed the best on the translation and grammaticality judgment tasks following the reading. Furthermore, idea-unit analysis of reading recalls suggests that attention to this form does not compete with processing for meaning.

Breathiness and Intelligibility--Are They Mutually Exclusive?

Henton and Bladon (Lang. & Comm. 5.3.221-227, 1985) claim that women use greater voice breathiness than men in an attempt to enhance their sexual desirability and that this breathiness diminishes intelligibility. H & B claim (p. 226) that women "imitate the voice quality associated with arousal." H & B's analysis stems, in part, from incorrectly equating breathy voicing with speech produced in the presence of noise. Unlike noise from an extraneous source, which only hinders intelligibility, breathiness is modulated by the resonances of the vocal tract, giving formant structure (and the ability to carry information) to the breathy component.

The issue is important to researchers in synthetic speech, who aim to create female voices that are both intelligible and natural-sounding (therefore including, among other properties, some breathiness). An experiment was conducted to test Henton and Bladon's claim regarding intelligibility. Synthesized vowels were produced with two sources: a periodic function modeling vocal fold vibration, and a random function modeling a breathy component. The two types of vowels were mixed in non-breathy/breathy ratios of 12, 18, 24 dB and non-breathy alone. Difference limen tests were used to determine if discriminability (a component of intelligibility) was reduced. Preliminary results with 12 subjects suggest that no loss of discriminability occurred, although some shift in the asymmetries which sometimes occur in difference limen tests was observed. Further experiments will be reported which test overall intelligibility with different degrees of breathiness in synthetic speech.
On the Minimality Condition

Chomsky proposes Minimality Condition (MC henceforth: Barriers p.42) to account for that-t effects and to reduce ambiguity in government relations. This paper demonstrates that that-t effects can be simply accounted for by Antecedent Government without reference to the MC. I argue following an essential idea of Stowell (1981) and Saito (1989) that antecedent governments are indexed Comp's rather than Wh-operators in the Spec: hence proper governments must be X-zero categories (C or V). I assume that Comp-indexing is achieved by Head-Spec agreement as in (i), but not in (i) because the index of Comp does not match that of the Spec; hence 'that' fails to govern t1 in (i), but the indexed Comp governs t1 in (ii). Consequently, that-t effects are traced back to a failure of Head-Spec agreement. (i) [cp t1 [cp th[p]] lip t1 ...] **C-indexing** **governors** (ii) [cp t1 [cp th[p]] lip t1 ...] **C-indexing** **governors**

One of the advantages of this proposal is that we can easily dispense with unmotivated stipulations that Chomsky has to have: 1. 'I' should not be counted as a barrier (p.48); 2. V should not be present when the Spec is missing (p.47). To solve these conceptual problems, I propose to revise the MC as follows: A does not govern B in the configuration, [...]A...g ...C...B... where g immediately dominates both B and C. If g is a projection of C, I further show that such revision is necessary in a language which does not have a full range of Superiority effects as Japanese or Korean.

BRIAN D. JOSEPH, Ohio State University

JOEL A. NEVIS, Ohio State University

Wackernagel's Law in Morphology: The Lithuanian Reflexive

Wackernagel's Law (WL), the tendency toward second position for object, is attested only at the sentence level and phrase level (e.g. Russian question marker li, Sanskrit coordinator ca, etc.). Given, though, that the morphologization of syntax diachronically is quite common and that synchronically parallels have been postulated between syntactic and morphological organization (cf. Baker 1986), the absence of a word-level instantiation of WL, a morphological counterpart to attested cases, would be striking if true.

We claim though that word-level cases of WL do exist, and propose that the Lithuanian reflexive marker -s(i)-, often considered a clitic (a syntactic element), is a "Wackernagel affix". This analysis resolves a problematic characteristic of -s(i)-, for, if a clitic, in apparent violation of "lexical integrity" (the generalization that rules of syntax cannot operate word-internally), -s(i)- typically occurs at the end of nonprefixed verbs (e.g. matvi 'to see oneself') but in second position in prefixed forms (e.g. cas-si-matvi 'to see oneself PERF/GER/twice').

While at first glance the affixal analysis of -s(i)- appears ad hoc, designed just to save lexical integrity, it is well-motivated on other grounds. Thus, like affixes but unlike true clitics, -s(i)- triggers idiosyncratic effects in elements it attaches to: some vowels are raised before -s(i)- while others are diphthongized (e.g. mėtaši 'we see'/mėtimiš- 'we see ourselves', iškiš- 'I believe'/iškiš-iš- 'I expect', likš- 'you believe'/likš-iš- 'you expect').

Treating -s(i)- as an affix is thus in accord with its overall behavior and while allowing lexical integrity to be preserved, it fills out the range of instantiations for WL.

BRIAN D. JOSEPH, Ohio State University

REX E. WALLACE, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

Problematic f/h Variation in Faliscan

PIE *bh/dh regularly give f word-initially in Osco-Umbrian and Latin, and PIE *gh gives h, suggesting these as Common Italic developments. However, in Faliscan, Latin's most immediate sister, *bh/dh and *gh unexpectedly show both f and h as reflexes (e.g. bili 'son', alongside expected filesa 'daughter', vs. Latin filius 'son'; fe 'here', alongside expected hēc, vs. Latin hic). The source of this f/h variation in Faliscan has not as yet been satisfactorily explained, although there have been numerous attempts at solutions (e.g. dialect split [Meillet 1933; Giacomelli 1979]; Etruscan influence [Pfiffig 1969]; "phonetic" confusion [Hirner 1963; Wachter 1987]). We propose that a reexamination of the relevant data points to a sound change (f > h) and subsequent hypercorrection (h > f) as the source of this Faliscan f/h variation. Since the oldest Faliscan inscriptions (7th-4th c.) show the expected Italic developments, Faliscan forms (post 4th c.) with h for earlier f (e.g. bili) show the effects of sound change f > h. f for etymological h (e.g. fe) is then the result of hypercorrection. Urban Latin dialects with a distinction between f and h word-initially provide a likely model for hypercorrection since the period in which this change occurs is precisely that of increasing Roman activity in the Ager Faliscus. This proposal therefore helps to clarify the nature of the development of the aspirates in Latin-Faliscan and moreover provides a model for explaining the similar f/h variation in the aspirates between Rural Latin and Urban Latin.

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Argumentative Conversation in a Greek Family

Schiffrin (1984) claims that argument is a form of sociability in East European Jewish conversation. I show a similar evaluation of argumentation in the conversations of a Greek family. Sustained disagreement, twenty minutes long, is an indication of cooperation within the framework of argumentative conversation, but the nature of topics and the desire to be approved of, result in the disengagement of the participants from an argument. For example, talking about a Greek political-social scandal, the daughter sustains the disagreement and challenges her mother with a personal analogy. The mother employs "protective practices" (Goffman 1957) and initiates a shift of the topic. Thus even though disagreement is not negatively evaluated in general, it has constraints. This paper supports and extends Schiffrin's cultural perspective on arguments, and also offers another dimension, by focusing on the nature of topics in argumentative discourse and the reasons for their discontinuation.

CHRISTINE K. KAMPRATH, Executive Communication Systems

Moral Theory and Syllable-Internal Structure

Moral theory (ms) (Hayes 1989, etc.) proposes that syllable (S) internal structure be limited to a sequence of moras representing units of S weight and phonological position. Thus Ss have no Rime. Nucleus (N), or Coda, no structural distinction exists between -VC and -VV "Rimes", and phonological rules can refer to segments dominated by moras only by linear order. This paper argues that such a theory cannot adequately account for the behavior of glides. It presents data from Swiss Romansh in which glides become velar stops before C. If such glides are not syllabified in the N, epenthesis must be extrinsically ordered to apply to the [-r] in [métAr] 'send' but not in [färEr] 'destroy', contradicting the principle (Itô 1989, etc.) that syllabification applies wherever its S D is met. Likewise, this "hardened glide" is deleted by a post-lexical rule whereby branching Ns lose their right-most member when destressed; unstressed Cs in the Coda are not deleted by this rule, whether or not they are doubly linked with a the initial C of a following S (cf. rabjan'ter 'annoy', admun'Er 'admonish'; čant'er 'sing', sunbřEga, 'shadow'). Furthermore, ms cannot distinguish between glides and +hi Vs (in sequences such as [yi] and [ii]) without marking either their S structure or a [+/- cons] distinction in the lexicon; but S structure theory easily handles the distinction by rule or S template by reference to nuclear and non-nuclear position. This paper argues that Ss require the constituent structure of at least a Rime and a Nucleus to account for these data and others.

ANDRAS KORNAI, Stanford University

Implementing Feature Geometry in Markov Models

A new class of speech recognition devices, called Open Markov Models (OMMs) is proposed. OMMs differ from the widely used (see Rabiner 1989) Hidden Markov Models (HMMs) in three basic respects. First, in OMMs each state is explicitly associated with a linguistically relevant unit such as a phonological feature or (sub)segment type, and with duration information. Second, the transition paths and probabilities are determined directly by the phonotactic regularities of the language. Finally, the OMMs can be cascaded in such a way that the output of lower level OMMs operating in a parallel fashion can serve as the input of higher OMMs.

It is argued that traditional HMMs can not exploit the large-scale regularities of the speech signal, while OMMs make direct use of such phonotactic regularities. Also, the design of the OMM is linguistically transparent, and this permits the utilization of the results of phonological theory for the task of speech processing. This point will be illustrated on the design of the cascading mechanism, which can be made to follow the contemporary theories of feature geometry (Clements 1985, Sager 1986, Schein and Steriade 1986, Archangeli and Pulleyblank 1988, Ladefoged and Halle 1988, McCarthy 1988).

HMMs make use of powerful general methods such as the use of iteration procedures [Baum et al 1976], gradient methods [Levinson et al 1970], or simulated annealing [Paul 1985] for extracting statistical regularities from speech samples. However, as Zue (1985) notes, such methods make no use of the specific properties of speech data. The cascaded design advocated here reduces the number of parameters that have to be estimated to such an extent that the application of more speech-specific training methods becomes feasible.
RENA A. KRAKOW, Temple University/Haskins Laboratories  
(FRI MORNING: R)  
Inter-Articulator Timing and Syllable Structure  

Previous research attests to the importance of the syllable in phonological processes, but the discovery of articulatory correlates has been problematic. The notion that respiratory processes would play a fundamental role did not stand up to empirical study nor did the hypothesis that the syllable could be delimited by determining the extent of anticipatory coarticulation. Recently, it has been proposed that syllables may instead correspond to characteristic patterns of inter-articulator coordination. 

This study examines labial and velar movements in English words containing the bilabial nasal /m/. The results show that labial-velar coordination is strongly affected by syllable structure, with only weak effects of word structure. A pattern of bi-stability in the coordinated movements of the articulators was observed as a function of the syllable position (initial or final) of the nasal consonant irrespective of its word position (medial or marginal). Velar lowering for syllable-initial nasals ended as the lower lip reached a maximum for the /m/, whereas velar lowering for syllable-final nasals ended as the lower lip began raising from a maximally low position towards the high position for the /m/. Also examined were medial nasals whose syllable affiliation is unclear (i.e., possibly ambisyllabic). Most of the tokens revealed the characteristic articulatory patterns of either syllable-initial or syllable-final nasals, rather than some combination or an entirely different pattern.

HELENE KRAUTHAMER  
(THURS AFTERNOON: D)  
A Linguistic Approach to Readability  

Recent studies (Davison & Green, 1988) point out the inadequacy of traditional approaches to readability. For example, when texts are simplified according to the formulas in current use, they frequently become less comprehensible. This calls for an approach to readability that considers cognitive and textual factors. I have been analyzing texts by considering how the features of givenness, animacy and agency are ordered in the transitive clauses of the text. The hypothesis is that an ideally communicative clause will express given before new, animate before inanimate and agent before patient, based on the frequent observation of these tendencies in language occurrence. Texts that contain a high percentage of clauses that follow these tendencies are predicted to be more readable. This was confirmed by data from Scientific American articles used in a readability survey. Furthermore, this approach proved to be a better predictor of readability than a commonly used formula. In addition, a similar analysis of the verbal texts of several SAT/GRE exams will be compared to student performance.

PAUL D. KROEBER, University of Chicago  
(THURS AFTERNOON: A)  
Relative Clauses and Related Constructions in Thompson Salish  

In Thompson, as in other languages of the Salish family (Pacific Northwest), clefts and WH questions appear to contain relative clauses (RCs) and can reasonably be treated together with them. Gaps rather than pronouns represent the relativized position within RCs. Thompson (and its close relative Shuswap; cf. Kuipers 1974) is cross-linguistically somewhat unusual in deploying three distinct inflectional patterns for RCs, each for a different segment of something like the Koenan-Coserie (1977) accessibility hierarchy. When subjects and direct objects are relativized, the RC verb retains normal main-clause inflection. When instruments and demoted objects are relativized, the verb is nominalized. And when locatives are relativized, the verb takes subjunctive inflection. The nominalized and subjunctive inflections are not voices, since they are not used with relation-changing effect in main clauses. Nor will the various non-RC uses of the inflections mentioned fully predict their specific RC functions, although it cannot be chance that relativization of more oblique (i.e., less obligatory) arguments requires greater inflectional change to mark it.
NEGATIVE CONCORD AND NEGATIVE POLARITY ITEMS

English negative polarity items like *any* and *ever* must be licensed by an overtly or covertly negative element. For these items, the class of licenses is syntactically and semantically quite diverse though morphologically negative elements are archetypal licenses. (cf. Ladusaw 1979, Linebarger 1987) The acceptable occurrence of such a negative polarity item entails the occurrence of a license.

Many languages have argument expressions whose occurrence in a clause also entails the occurrence of a clause-level marker of negation. Unlike *any*, these elements (e.g. Italian *nessuno* in Rizzi 1982) are acceptable and semantically negative in isolation. Such cases of 'negative concord' are frequently called negative polarity items given that they too involve the presence of one item entailing another. But this superficial similarity masks important differences between the two systems.

Negative concord requires special treatment in semantic interpretation. The concordant terms must be linked so that among them only one negation is contributed and they may occur as independent markers of negation. This linking is more restricted than the relation between *any* and its license. This paper explores a typology of negative-sensitive items which classes English *any* as semantically licensed, Italian *nessuno* and perhaps French *personne* as instances of negative concord with Middle English (Shanklin 1988) and Serbo-Croatian (Progovac 1988) as systems which contain both negative concord and semantic licensing.

CHRISTIANE LABEUF, Ohio State University

ACQUISITION OF THE ENGLISH *PTK/BGD* CONTRAST BY FRENCH SPEAKERS

Apart from VOT there exists little information about how and when L2 learners acquire a different voicing contrast from their L1. Yet, besides such longer VOT, the English (E) contrast involves a number of parameters differing from French (F), including closure duration (in E *bgd* are longer than *ptk*, the opposite in F); percentage and durations of fully voiced *bgd* duration of voiced closure interval for not fully released *bgd* percentages of released final stops; and of flapped /t,d, d/.

The present study examines the acquisition of these parameters by two groups of five advanced bilinguals (5-10 years in the U.S. (FB1) vs. 10-18 years (FB2)), as assessed by comparison with an E and a F control group. The data were obtained from ten repetitions per speaker of a number of CVC words placed in a frame sentence. The results so far suggest that neither group of bilinguals has mastered the shorter closure duration of initial *ptk* correlating with the longer VOT. Nor has either group acquired the repartition of glottal pulsing in E /bgd/. The only aspect the FB2 seems to have become more proficient in, compared with FB1, are the absence of active final stop release and the short duration of flapped /t,d,d/ (with /t/ voicing already achieved by FB1). An explanation in phonetic terms will be provided and the implication for theories of acquisition will be discussed.

RANDY J. LA POLLA, University of California-Berkeley

ON THE GRAMMATICALIZATION OF INFORMATION STRUCTURE IN MANDARIN CHINESE

In the 1970's, James Tai, Charles Li and Sandra Thompson put forward the idea that Chinese was changing from an SVO to an SOV language. Many of their arguments were based on the development of certain constructions, such as the *be* construction and the *be* passive construction. My paper is not a refutation of the SOV hypothesis, as these authors no longer hold that position; instead I argue that these constructions, as well as the presentative, 'inverted subject', 'adversative passive' and 'double subject' constructions, are the result of the grammaticalization of a clause-final (or post-verbal) focus position which developed after an earlier change from Sino-Tibetan SOV to Chinese SVO. Rather than bringing about SOV order, they developed because of the SVO order, as within the focus structure (the assertion—what is being said about the topic) the post-verb NP is in the unmarked focus position. Over the last two years I have presented several papers which gave evidence that Chinese has not grammaticalized grammatical functions such as subject and object; this paper argues that what has happened in Chinese is the grammaticalization of information structure. That is, each of these constructions has the function of clarifying what part of an utterance is within the scope of the pragmatic presupposition (the topic—what referent the assertion is about), and what part is within the scope of the assertion. They also distinguish event-cental utterances from entity-cental utterences. These functions are very different from marking grammatical function. Though building on Li & Thompson's (1976) topic-comment analysis, the emphasis of this paper is the nature of focus structure and its importance in determining syntactic form.
CLAUDIA LEADOCK, City University of New York/IBM
RAY C. DOUGHERTY, New York University

The Lexical Entry for ASK in a Principles and Parameters Grammar

The subject of put is who in (1) and John in (2,3,4). Himself refers to who in (5) and John in (6).

(1) Who did John ask to put the book on the table?
(2) Who did John ask how to put the book on the table?
(3) Who did John ask where to put the book?
(4) Who did John ask where he should put the book?
(5) Who did John ask to talk to himself?
(6) Who did John ask when to talk to himself?

We will show a GB grammar (a) would require ask to have lexical markings for at least three subcategorization: V NP, V S, and V NP S. (b) would assign two different D-structures to (7); (c) must assign incorrect or redundant structures to (1-7).

(7)(i) Who did John ask to perjure himself?
(ii) e John did (y ask)(np who)(s (np PRO) to perjure himself).
(iii) e John did (y ask)(s (np who) to perjure himself).

We propose a parsing model, based on Chomsky (1986, 88), which (a) assigns correct structures to (1-7), (b) assigns just one structure to (7), and (c) indicates how lexical entries are used by a lexically driven parser to construct the S- and LF structures.

W.R. LEBEN, Stanford University

Tonal Licensing and the Typology of Tone

Tonal languages can vary enormously in the distributional characteristics of tonal features, and this diversity has seemed to require an untoward amount of leeway in phonological theory. It is not uncommon for phonological accounts of tone to assume that a grammar can stipulate:

(a) whether default rules apply lexically, post-lexically, or phonetically
(b) whether association and spreading rules apply lexically or post-lexically
(c) whether global information is required by individual phonological rules

In this paper, I show how these three sorts of variable all stem from a single phonological contrast: namely, which tone-bearing units are licensed to carry a tonal link at a given point in the derivation. As a result, we can express very fine correlations between types of tonal behavior; for example, we predict in which languages morphologically toneless elements will become low-toned by default rather than acquiring tone by spreading.

Once we isolate the point at which a tone-bearing unit is licensed to carry a tone, we do not need to stipulate (a), (b), or (c) language-independently. This makes for a new and more revealing basis for a typology of tonal systems.

ILSE LEHISTE, Ohio State University

Mora-Counting in Japanese, Finnish, and Estonian

The purpose of the paper is to test the applicability of the mora concept to languages other than Japanese, especially to Estonian. Estonian quantity has been described in terms of moras by Hint (1978) and Prince (1980); both assign two moras to overlong syllables (Q3) and one mora to syllables in Q1 and Q2. Hayes (1989) has returned to a ternary analysis, assigning one, two and three moras to syllables in quantities 1, 2, and 3. The present paper attempts to establish whether the treatment of Estonian quantity in terms of moras is warranted, by comparing the realization of the haiku form in Japanese, Finnish and Estonian. Extensive studies of timing have established the mora as an abstract isochronous unit of timing in Japanese, found in larger units like words (Port et al., 1987). In the haiku, the lines constitute these larger units. In Finnish and Estonian haikus, the lines contain 5, 7, and 5 syllables. An acoustic analysis of productions of haikus in the three languages confirms the isochronous nature of moras as units of timing in Japanese, and indicates that in Finnish, short and long syllables can indeed be treated as containing one or two moras respectively. In Estonian, however, neither the mora nor the syllable constitute the basic unit of timing. Theories that use mora-counting as supportive evidence need to be revised; alternatively, the term "mora" should be redefined in terms other than duration.
Defensive Rhetoric: Brendan Sullivan and the Iran Contra Hearings

Garfinkel (1956) describes a status degradation ceremony as "any communicative work between persons, whereby the public identity of an actor is transformed into something looked on as lower in the local scheme of social types." In contemporary American society, these ceremonies are largely carried out in courts of law or courts martial; there are, however, forums ranging from TV interview shows to Presidential press conferences in which it is possible for an interrogator acting in the name of the community or in support of community values to attempt to elicit damaging information from a person suspected of being a "perpetrator" (Garfinkel's term). This paper examines the transcript of Colonel North's testimony during the Iran Contra hearings, and discusses rhetorical strategies (syntactic, lexicosemantic and pragmatic) employed by Mr. Sullivan which ensured that, by Garfinkel's criteria, this was an unsuccessful degradation ceremony.

Restrictive and Appositive Forms of Descriptive Adjectives

It is difficult to establish the distinction between restrictive and appositive adjectives in English, since there is no distinction in form - an adjective can have only one form. This distinction is easier to establish in Serbo-Croatian, since a descriptive adjective actually can have two forms, traditionally called indefinite and definite. This distinction in form is easily perceived in the singular form, whereas plural distinctions depend on stress and vowel length. In this paper I show that the difference in form of descriptive adjectives closely corresponds to the distinction between restrictive and nonrestrictive complements. I claim that the indefinite adjective form is appositive in nature and therefore of N° level, that is of the same bar level as the appositive complements in posthead structures. On the other hand, the definite form is a restrictive modifier and thus of N° level, its position being closer to the head and following N° modifiers. We find closest to the head those modifiers which are strictly subcategorized by the head -N° modifiers, in the following example only this order is allowed

siromašni mladi mašinski tehnikar; *siromašni mladi tehnikar poor(indef) young(def) mechanical technician poor(def) young(indef)

Syrcope between Identical Consounds in Passamaquoddy

Odden (1988) has presented a series of counterarguments to McCarthy's (1986) claim that a universal Antigemination effect blocking syncope between identical segments is a consequence of the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP). One class of counterexamples which he adduces involve rules which specifically delete a vowel between identical segments. In this paper I take a closer look at one of the rules which Odden discusses, a syncope rule of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy (MP). I argue that properties which this process shares with Geminate Formation, an independently motivated rule which merges sufficiently similar adjacent segments into a long segment, suggest that the two rules should be collapsed. (Most notably, both rules treat the sequences /t...ŋ/ and /t...ŋ/ alike, distinguishing them from /t...t/.) But if this is the case, then MP does not in fact present the kind of counterevidence to McCarthy's proposal that Odden claims, since the output of syncope is a multiply linked matrix which does not violate the OCP. The MP evidence nonetheless provides support for Odden's larger critique of McCarthy's position, since it suggests that segment merger as well as Antigemination may prevent OCP violations from arising in the course of derivations.
VERN M. LINDBLIAD, University of Washington (THURS MORN: F)

A Shift to [-Back] in UR and Coexisting [-Back] Neutralization in Uyghur

Proto-Ural-Altaic seems to have distinguished front from back high unrounded vowels (1/4). Turkish and a few other languages have maintained this distinction, but in many other languages, including Finnish, Hungarian and Mongolian, the distinction has been neutralized in favor of the front vowel /i/. (In Hungarian a small remnant group of words maintain harmonic features of backness alongside their frontal pronunciation.)

It might be assumed that the rule neutralizing pronunciation away from the back value might inevitably go hand-in-hand with a shift to [-Back] being the only harmonic value, or at least the unmarked one as in Hungarian. This does not hold in Uyghur, an eastern Turkic language. In Uyghur the i/ distinction is neutralized post-lexically in favor of /i/, but although son consonants convey backness values, words whose phonological shape gives no clue to their backness overwhelmingly are found to govern [-Back] suffixes (tir + la → tillar, 'languages', etc.). Only a small group, mostly of high frequency words, violates this generalization. Thus surface neutralization to [-Back] can coexist with a rule shifting underlying value to [-Back] in a single language.

LINDA LOMBARDI, University of Massachusetts-Amherst (THURS MORN: D)
JAYA SARRA, University of Connecticut

Against the Bound Variable Hypothesis of the Acquisition of Principle B

Under Principle B of the Binding Theory (Chomsky, 1981) pronouns must not be coindexed with a c-commanding NP. To account for children's apparent failure to observe this Principle experimental tasks, Chien and Waxler (1988) propose that it be reformulated to apply only to pronouns used as bound variables. To support this viewpoint, they offer experimental results showing children's superior performance on Principle B for bound variables over referential pronouns. This leads them to conclude that children do know (reformulated) Principle B, but do not know the constraints on coindexing of referential pronouns. Our study tests this hypothesis by testing the same children across different sentence types and experimental tasks. Eleven children (aged 4.0-6.2) were tested in act and truth value judgement tasks. Total correct responses for bound variables trials (Monkey wants every puppet to give him a present) was 48.5%, lower than for referential pronouns (Monkey wants Bert to give him a present) which was 54.5%. Individual subject data show that children know Principle B either for both types of sentences or for neither; in no case a performance on bound variables superior. Also, there is no age effect, and thus no evidence for stages of acquisition. These results are contrary to Chien and Waxler's proposals, since children's Principle B errors cannot be accounted for within their reformulation or Principle B.

MARTA LUJAN, University of Texas-Austin (FRI MORN: A)

Functional Features and the Nature of Spec

Chomsky's collapsing the subject function with that of Spec leads to a unified account of Spec-Head agreement in NP and clause domains. Consistent with this idea, we argue against Pollock's (P) analysis dismembering INF into Tense phrases. We claim that there are no AGR/Tense heads/phrases. In f, there is no INFL node. Instead, functional features (F) are distinct from functional ones (+N, +V) in that they're (i) located in Spec, and (ii) they must percolate to head (H) and complement (C). Syntactic percolation (SP) is defined by c-command w/ minimal cost, assuming a canonical binary branching structure where Spec c-commands the X' projection of H+C. Thus, in NP/claunumber/gender/person F's are uniquely found in Spec (Det/subject), and are either maximally projected, or picked up by the X-max of the head N/V, respectively. The F's can then percolate to H and any C lacking functional F's. The tense is in Spec of CP. Our account obviates Aff/V movement, hence disqualifying an account of Adv position, whose empiric insufficiency is shown in Iatrinos '88. SP plus the relative basic order of Spec, H, and C are sufficient to drive the affix sequences, which makes having separate AGR nodes for subj/obj NP's (Chomsky '89) superfluous. Proliferation of AGR nodes in NP is also avoided. The account must yet be tested against 'agreement spreading' facts.
HERBERT W. LUTHIN, University of California-Berkeley  

Male/Female Speech in Yana-Revisited

If Yana, an extinct Hokan language of Northern California, is reknowned for anything besides its most famous speaker, Ishi, it is for its male/female forms of speech ( Sapir 1929). Usage of the forms has always been considered straightforward, rooted in the speech act: male speech is used by males addressing males, female speech by all other sex-combinations of interlocutors. The grammatical differences between the two forms are played out at discourse phrase boundaries. Since the discourse aspects of the phenomenon have been underappreciated in the literature, I will discuss the almost symbiotic relationship between m/f speech and certain phrase-terminal signalling processes. Furthermore, the real nature of the m/f distinction may have been misapprehended. In texts of the Northern dialect, a chief will address his people (mixed sexes) using male forms, suggesting that formality may be the more salient distinction here. In other words, the m/f distinction may actually be a secondary consequence of speech-act discriminations based on formality. In this light, the fact that San Bathi, a Central dialect speaker, would frequently use female forms by mistake may be attributed to a loss of register associated with language death. In the Yahi dialect, Ishi’s persistent usage of female forms in purely narrative clauses—otherwise quite anomalous—may have a similar explanation. The paper will weigh the evidence for a new analysis of m/f speech in Yana based on formality and a language-death scenario. Several curious parallels to Fossati male/female speech (Kimball 1987) will also be discussed.

MARLYS A. MACKEN, University of Texas-Austin  

Syllable Theory and Extrametricality

Current syllable theory holds that a V:C string is syllabified V.CV, given the obligatory onset rule, and that the maximum syllable weight is bimoraic (e.g. Hyman 1985, McCarthy and Prince 1986, etc.). Given these two assumptions, quantity languages with long vowels in both V:C and V:C# structures are then taken as evidence supporting extrametricality (EM): if word final segments are extrametrical, the parallel behavior of V(1) in mono- and di-syllabic words can be captured with a rule of “open syllable lengthening”, as in Kiparsky’s 1985 analysis of Icelandic. In this paper, I argue that, however, Icelandic syllabification is codal-maximal and that the stressed, initial syllable of Icelandic is governed by a trimaoric template that licenses VVC and VCC rhymes. Primary evidence for the template comes from sequential constraints, and from the syllabic motivation and template function of an array of rules that show the constituency of the rhyme: deletion and coalescence resolve cases of excess melodic material; vowel lengthening, compensatory lengthening, and syncope resolve cases of excess skeletal slots. These rules establish that syllabification is codal-maximal; a coda may contain at most two C slots, and each C of a CC coda is moraic, thus yielding a trimaoric rhyme, and further that syllable theory must be accordingly parameterized. Provided that extrametricality is a property of representations (i.e. the absence of incorporation into prosodic structure) and not a diacritic property of individual rules, the deletion and coalescence facts rule out the use of extrametricality for Icelandic quantity and thus provide diagnostics for the nondiacritic use of non-stress. EM.

MARLYS A. MACKEN, University of Texas-Austin  
CHARLES A. FERGUSON, Stanford University  

Lexical Templates

According to the two leading theories on the first acquired phonological constituent, the earliest phonological grammars are organized around either the syllable or the prosodic word. In this paper, I present data on the structure and content of learners’ lexical templates. I show that (i) there are two broad types of learners’ grammars, harmony (C₁VC₁V) and melody (e.g. C₁VC₂V) types, (ii) that both types are controlled by constraints across nonadjacent Cs in polysyllabic words that closely resemble adjacency restrictions in adult languages like minimal distance constraints on tautosyllabic clusters and the typical content of linked structures, and (iii) there is little evidence of fixed C-V syllabic units where V is other than a default vowel. These facts suggest that these first grammars are built on the prosodic word with C-V planar segregation. Further evidence comes from the melody grammars which most clearly instantiate the McCarthy 1989 diagnostics for phonological planar segregation: (1) rigid Mayan-type constraints, (2) strict CV(CV) syllables (e.g. Oceanic languages), and (3) metathesis. I conclude the first constituent is the prosodic word.
Shona Velarization: Complex Consonants or Complex Onsets?

Labial and coronal consonants in some Shona dialects occur with an accompanying velar articulation as a result of a velarization process (Doke 1931), e.g. /mbga/ "dog," /luzikwe/ "mushroom," /kudzak/ "to fear" This process is active in the phonology, e.g. diminutive prefix /hu-/ + /-ana/ "child" → [tkwana]. Doke's account is ambiguous as to whether the velar is produced simultaneously with the labial or coronal follows it. Some interesting issues are associated with this. The [tkw] elements have been cited as evidence of the occurrence of segments involving three major articulator nodes, i.e. labial, coronal & dors. (Sagey 1986). Pulmonic alveolar-velar (coronal-dorsal) segments are not otherwise attested. In the first experimental investigation of Shona velarization since Doke's original study, acoustic and intraoral air pressure data from three speakers of the Zizuru dialect were recorded at the University of Zimbabwe Relative timing of primary articulations was examined by comparison of time points in the acoustic air pressure records. In most cases, the velar component of these elements does not overlap with a coronal articulation or with a primary labial articulation, but simply follows. Exceptions regularly occur with velarized bilabial nasals, where the velar and labial closures often overlap substantially in time, and the two closures may be rarefied. In phonological terms the phonetic sequences (such as [tk, tlk, bç etc) form complex syllabic onsets, but the co-produced labial-velar ([mr]) is a complex single consonant.

ROY C. MAJOR, Washington State University

First Language Loss

This study of 7 adult native speakers of English who are immigrants to Brazil investigates interrelationships of L2 acquisition, L1 loss, and style. The major claims are that there are inverse relationships between L2 mastery and L1 loss, and between order of L2 acquisition and L1 loss. Measurements of VOT productions of the subjects' Portuguese and English voiceless stops reveal that those who did better at L2 acquisition (Portuguese) suffered the greatest loss in their L1 accuracy (English). Stylistically, in L2 acquisition accuracy was better in the formal over the informal style, while L1 loss was greater in the informal over the formal style. The implications are: (1) the influence of transfer of L2 to L1 becomes greater as L2 is mastered and (2) L2 acquisition mirrors L1 loss: in L2 acquisition the formal style is learned before the informal but in L1 loss the informal is lost before the formal.

JACK MARTIN, University of North Texas

A Verb Movement Approach to Active Phenomena

One approach within Relational Grammar to the description of 'active' phenomena in language has been to extend the Unaccusative Hypothesis of Perlmutter (1978) and to suggest that active intransitives have initial 1's and nonactive intransitives have initial 2's. Since there are differences in the semantic classes of unaccusative verbs and nonactive predicates, Rosen (1984) has argued that initial syntactic relations are not predictable from the semantics of the clause. Here I propose a formal distinction between active and unaccusative phenomena. Specifically, active languages have separate processes of V-movement to Infl (required of active predicates) and unaccusative movement. The NP's triggering active case marking or agreement are those NP's governed by Infl, while NP's (subjects or otherwise) triggering nonactive case marking or agreement are governed by V. Some results of this treatment are that: 1) causes of causativized active verbs will be expected to trigger nonactive agreement as much as they are governed by a higher verb (Siouan, Muskogean); 2) verbs expressing quantification that are semantically nonactive nevertheless will take active agreement (Muskogean) if they must move for scope reasons; 3) semantically nonactive modals and auxiliary verbs, if they inflect at all, will inflect for active agreement (Creek, Crow); and, 4) active phenomena crosslinguistically should be tied to functions normally associated with Infl (e.g., case marking, agreement, and auxiliaries). Finally, certain apparent problems Rosen notes for predicting grammatical relations from semantics can be eliminated on this approach.
YO MATSUMOTO, Stanford University

On the Indirect Relationship between Horn Scales and Suspension Frames

One diagnostic that has been proposed for Horn scales <S,W> (where S and W are a pair of semantically stronger and weaker items that induce Quantity implicatures) is whether S and W can occur in so-called suspension frames such as W, if not S and W, in fact S (Horn 1972, 1989). However, there are many pairs of expressions that occur in these suspension frames but do not induce implicatures. For example, (1a) does not implicate (1b), though the pair <spaniel, dog> occurs in the in fact frame, as (2) shows. Also, different suspension frames accommodate different sets of expressions. (3) shows that the pair <spaniel, dog> does not occur in the if not frame in its suspension reading (‘John bought a dog, perhaps a spaniel’).

(1a) John bought a dog.
(1b) John did not buy a spaniel.
(2) John bought a dog, in fact a spaniel
(3) ??John bought a dog, if not a spaniel.

On the basis of examples like these, I argue that the relationship between pairs that induce Quantity implicatures and pairs that occur in suspension frames is indirect. Both kinds of pairs must consist of semantically stronger and weaker items. However, pairs that induce Quantity implicatures are subject to additional constraints that pairs occurring in suspension frames are not subject to (e.g. the items in the pair must be on the same level of lexical specificity). Each suspension frame also imposes its own constraints on relevant pairs, as (2) and (3) suggest. Thus, suspension frames are not good diagnostic tools for Horn scales.

YOSHIKO MATSUMOTO, Ohio State University

Pragmatic Control of Relative Clauses in Japanese

Japanese relative clause constructions (RCCs) are of "gap type" (in Comrie's (1981) term), yet they cannot be explained solely in terms of a reference-binding relationship between the head noun and a syntactic gap in the RC, since more than one argument may be missing and since arguments of a predicate can be omitted even in a non-relative structure. These properties indicate the necessity for semantic and pragmatic considerations in the interpretation of the participant (or semantic) role of the head noun with respect to the RC. In spite of this characteristic, a general accessibility hierarchy of syntactic/semantic roles suggests the presence of an RCC paradigm. This study investigates how the limitations of such a hierarchy, and (2) suggest that a more semantically/pragmatically based principle which utilizes both the notion of frame (in which participant roles are subject to an unordered set) and the Gricean maxims, especially those of Quantity and Manner, can better predict acceptability judgments of RCCs with particular intended meanings. One example discussed is [(X ga katta) mise] (X NOM bought shop); if X is, e.g., Tomo-tyan ‘Little Tomo’, the most likely interpretation is (a) ‘the shop which Little Tomo bought’, whereas if X is Donald Trump, it would more easily have the interpretation as (b) ‘the shop which D.T. bought’. A strict hierarchy would exclude the interpretation such as (a), but the suggested semantic/pragmatic principles would predict both readings.

JAMES MCCLOSKEY, University of California-Santa Cruz
University College-Dublin

Clause Structure and Proper Government in Irish and English

This paper compares two languages (Irish and English) and two dialects of English (Standard English and Hiberno-English) within the terms of reference of Government Binding Theory. It is concerned with the capacity of the INFL node to function as a proper governor, and with the closely related question of how the two languages differ in their clausal structure. An attempt is made first to distinguish the structures in which INFL may function as a proper governor in English from those in which it may not, using evidence from Hiberno-English and from Standard English. It is argued that just as subjects that may not be governed by INFL, Irish, on the other hand, may exhibit proper government of the subject INFL. It is argued that by adopting and extending the analysis of Irish clausal structure, proposed by Chung and McCloskey, the differences between the two languages can be accounted for and derived from a more basic difference between the two languages concerning clausal organization.
Glottalized Nasals in the Athabaskan (Navajo) D-Effects

This paper concentrates on the nasal-glottalized nasal (n - n') alternation in the 'D-Effects'. The D-effects are a set of alternations on stem initial consonants caused by the prefixation of a /d/-segment, which then deletes. I argue that the production of glottalized nasals arises from a /d+/n/ sequence via a general phenomena (English, Nootka): the reduction of stops before homorganic nasals ('nasal plosion' Ladefoged 1982). The Navajo case differs from the bisyllabic English case [kɪʔn] in being monosegmental. The analysis calls on a recent proposal by Kingston (1987, 1988) concerning the 'looseness' of the binding of laryngeal gestures in sonorants vs stops (see also Sapir 1932). This analysis weakens a case for a unique status of /d/ in the language as provoking the d-effects. the lack of recent work (Wright 1984, Bennett 1987, Rice 1988).

CYNTHIA McLemore, University of Texas-Austin (THURS MORN: E)

Intonational Style across Speech Activity Types

Based on a corpus of naturally occurring speech recorded from a dense network of female Texas speakers, this study shows that patterns in pitch accent placement are one feature of a socially marked style characteristic of highly interactive speech for this group; however, this feature is suspended during spontaneously occurring narratives, which show a greater concentration of non-prosodic stylistic features (e.g. word choice) within a structuring narrative 'frame' of intonational phrasing and pitch range manipulation (cf. Hirschberg & Litman, 1987; Hirschberg & Pierrehumbert, 1986; McLemore, 1988). These findings (a) support Gumperz' claim that prosody is a crucial 'contextualization cue' for activity type, in this case conversation and narrative; and (b) show that pitch accent placement, though thought largely to reflect information structure -- i.e. the given/new or topic/focus status of discourse referents (Ladd, 1980; Lambrecht 1986), can result from the choice of a style which communicates social identity.

LAURA A. MICHAELIS, University of California-Berkeley (FRI MORN: D)

On the Polysemy of Adverbial STILL

The meanings conveyed by adverbial usages of the English word still can be divided into two classes. These classes, which might be dubbed temporal and adverative usages, respectively, are exemplified in (1-2):

1. Bill is still reading *Modern Bride*.
2. Even if he were fat and slovenly, I would still love him.

In the temporal usage (1), still appears to denote the extension of a state or activity through time. In the adverative usage (2), still appears to convey the existence of some state of affairs despite conditions which would seem to militate against it. It is a central claim of the present analysis that these two distinct uses of still can be attributed to a single polysemous lexical item. The primary semantic property shared by the two senses is held here to reside in their employment of the mode of cognitive processing termed *sequential scanning* by Langacker (1987). The divergence of these senses can be described in terms of the different conceptualizations scanned: while temporal still requires the scanning of homogeneous components of an imperfective process (op. cit.), adverative still requires scanning over effectively identical states or outcomes established within mental spaces (Fauconnier 1985). It is here argued that both temporal and 'transpatial' uses of adverbial still involve the scanning of an ordered conceptualization; in the latter case, such ordering can be attributed to a scalar-semantic model (Fillmore, Kay, and O'Connor 1987). Within the present account, differences in grammatical behavior manifested by the two usages, including their differing sympathies for durational adjuncts and for predicates coding perfective processes, are seen to reflect the distinct conceptual structures associated with each sense. This account also provides motivation for the close association of adverative still with the scalar operator even.
Productivity, Rules, and the Lexicon

This study is an experimental investigation of the productivity of a set of inflectional allomorphs, those used to form the past tense in English. Its results have important consequences for morphological theory. First, they suggest that traditional approaches to productivity do not adequately represent the intuitions and behavior of speakers. Patterns which theorists have assumed to be exceptional show clear evidence of productivity in this study. Thus, decisions concerning how to represent these alternations in the grammar must be based on more direct measures of productivity. Second, it shows that inflectional patterns, like derivational ones, show variation in their productivity. Furthermore, the past tense allomorphs were not divisible into discrete categories of regular systematic alternations and arbitrary exceptional ones, rather they formed a continuum of productivity, which has not been adequately represented in current theories. A model of morphology which incorporates this continuum of productivity will be discussed.

M.A. MOHAMMAD, University of Southern California

The C-Command Domain of Clitics and Condition C of the Binding Theory

Consider the following examples in Arabic and their English counterparts:
(1) ra’aa l-walad-u
    ax-aa-hu
    saw 3m the-boy-NOM brother-ACC-his
    "the boy saw his brother."
(2a) ra’aa ax-uu-hu l-walad-a
    saw 3m brother-NOM the-boy-ACC
    "his brother saw the boy."
(2b) ra’aa l-walad-a ax-uu-hu
    saw 3m the-boy-ACC brother-NOM-his
    "his brother saw the boy."

The problem that these examples pose is that, despite the usual word order freedom tolerated in Arabic, word order in (1) is free, but the antecedent may not precede the pronominal clitic in (2) (under the intended reading as indicated by underlining the pronominal and its antecedent). In this paper I suggest that in order to explain the Arabic facts, and to account for the difference between English and Arabic, the Arabic pronouns, being clitics, they assume the c-command domain of their host. This property found in Arabic but not English allows us to appeal to Condition C of the Binding Theory. When the clitic (or its host) c-commands the antecedent, it can bind it, and thus incur a Condition C violation. I present further evidence supporting this proposal. Time permitting, the consequences of the present analysis will be examined with variables.

BIRCH MOONMOMON, University of California-Berkeley

Vowel Centralization in San Francisco English

Through an examination of variation across generations and speech styles for members of one family this paper addresses the issue of pressure, through overcrowding, on vowels in nonperipheral vowel space. The speech of five San Franciscans, representing three generations of the Ryan family, exemplifies different stages in the progress of vowel changes found in a larger sample in that city. There is forward movement of all back vowels. The front vowel variables are monophthongal and nonperipheral (e, had, and E), bit, which are rising and centering, and (l), bit, which shows centralization as well. Ginger Ryan: put you through a living hell [pʰɪ] ɛɾɪɻɯ ə Il ethers. Since the Labov, Yaeger, and Steiner (1972) reformulation of Sweet's principles for vowel movements in shifts, the question of what principles, if any, govern the movement of nonperipheral monophthongs has been open. These vowels, and others, show centralizing movement in San Francisco white English. (A), thumb, most often pronounced as a high central vowel, appears to have moved up in response to overcrowding in the nonperipheral area of vowel space.
KATE MOORE, Columbia University/University of Helsinki (FRI MORN: C)

Analysis of Pauses in Finnish and English Spontaneous Narrations

This analysis is based upon an investigation of the range, frequency, and distribution of unfilled pauses in spontaneous narrations. The purpose of the study is to account for the linguistic and cultural reasons for silence in two unrelated languages (Finnish & English) that have very different cultural orientations toward silence as communication. Finnish and English recordings of Olympic Ice Hockey commentaries were entered into a computerized speech analyzer that produced oscillograms of the utterances. The results of this study contradict the 1979 findings of Lehtonen. Whereas Lehtonen found that Finns differ only negligibly (1%) from Americans in average percentage of pause time, this study reveals major statistical and strategic differences between the use of pauses by Finns and Americans. The mean number of breaks in narration were similar for both groups, but their range and distribution varied greatly. The purpose of the paper is to describe and to suggest reasons for this variation.


JAMES MYERS, University of Arizona (SAT MORN: B)

Spirantization in Moore

Postvocalic spirantization, the appearance of the fricative alternate of a stop after a vowel, is generally analyzed as involving the rightward spread of [+cont] (eg McCarthy 1988). Moore (Canu, 1976), spoken in Ghana and Upper Volta, provides an example of postvocalic spirantization that cannot be analyzed in this manner. In Moore, [g] alternates with [y], [y] appearing only after [+high] and [-ATR] vowels, while [g] appears word-initially, after nasal stops, and after the [+high,+ATR] vowels. The effect of the vowel on [g/y] is unaffected by the contiguity of intervening consonants: kosvr (all), bitva (even bigger). Thus it cannot be the case that [+cont] is spreading from the vowel, since the intervening stop or continuant would block it. An examination of Moore vowel harmony within the framework of Radical Underspecification advocated in Archangeli (1988) and elsewhere also supports this claim. Moreover, the process of rightward [+high] spread that I argue explains harmony also serves to explain the [g/y] alternation; [g] in Moore is, I argue, [y] with [+high] attached, as implied in Canu's terms "dorso-vélaire" for [g] and "post-vélaire" for [y]. In the phonetic component this slight difference in place of articulation is translated into a difference in continuancy.

SCOTT MYERS, SOAS (FRI MORN: F)

Structure Preservation and the Phonology of Complex Segments in Shona

The causative of a verb in Shona (Bantu, Zimbabwe) is often formed by mutation of the final consonant of the root: kuvir-a "rise" vs. kuvira-a "make rise", nit-a "be tired" vs. nitas-a "make tired". Otherwise, it is formed by suffixation of -is: zivy-a "know" vs. zyvis-a "inform". I propose that the causative suffix is simply /-s/ in all cases. There are no consonant clusters in Shona, so that when this /s/ is juxtaposed with a consonant, it must either fuse with that consonant to form one complex segment, or the epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted to break up the cluster. I offer a small set of segment-formation rules to accomplish this fusion, which are structure preserving in that they never produce a non-phoneme. But I argue that this structure preserving property follows from the fact that the segment-formation rules motivated by alternations in fact generate the set of complex phonemes. We get the right results, then, if we specify the phoneme set with segment-formation rules, rather than with filters or by listing, and require these rules to apply throughout the lexical phonology. The structure that is preserved is generative.
MINEHARU NAKAYAMA, Ohio State University

Processing of NP Movement Constructions in Japanese

This paper provides the first experimental results for the behavior of NP traces in Japanese sentence processing. The experiment contained 6 types of sentences: Unergatives (Control Sentences), Ergatives, Direct Passives without BY-phrase, Direct Passives with BY-phrase, and Indirect (or Adversity) Passives. Each of 25 native speakers of Japanese read 95 test sentences on a computer screen, presented one phrase at a time each time /dna/, pushed a key. Then, /dna/ decided if the probe word at the end of the sentence was contained in the sentence just presented. The average reaction time of "yes" responses for each sentence type is the following.

Ergative < Direct Passive (+BY) < D. Passive (-BY) < Unergative < Indirect Passive 849 927 975 981 msec.

Of the five sentence types, the Ergatives evoked the fastest recognition time of the probe words while the Indirect Passives were the slowest. The sentences with NP traces such as the Ergatives and the Direct Passives appear to evoke faster recognition time than those without NP-traces. Therefore, the results are interpreted as evidence that NP traces reactivate, indicating that they are psychologically real. Further, the difference between the Direct Passives with and without BY-phrase may suggest that the passives with BY-phrase involve movement while the passives without BY-phrase may allow lexical formation.

WEILAI NI, University of Connecticut
STEPHEN CRAIN, University of Connecticut

The Use of Contextual Information in Resolving Structural Ambiguities

Two proposals have been advanced to explain how structural ambiguities are resolved in reading and speech. The "Garden Path Theory" (GPT) contends that perceivers are guided by strategies based on the structural properties of sentences (e.g., Frazier & Rayner, 1982). The alternative "Referential Theory" (RT) maintains that referential complexity explains parsing preferences (e.g., Altmann & Steedman, 1988). We report findings from two experiments designed to test between these competing theories. The experiments manipulate the referential content of NPs by varying the determiners, "the" vs. "only," in sentences like "The/Only pilots delivered the warning notice went out on strike." According to the GPT, both sentences should be perceived in the same way, at least initially, since the structure remains unchanged. The RT, by contrast, predicts that the occurrence of "only" will encourage perceivers to modify the subject NP; hence the reduced relative clause analysis should be favored.

Twenty sentences of each type were presented to 40 subjects using a self-paced reading task. The subjects were required to read sentences one word at a time, from left to right, and to decide at each point whether or not the sentence continued to be grammatical. It was found that subjects responded only at chance level in judging sentences with "the" as compared to 70% accurate in judging those with "only." Also, it took subjects significantly longer to respond to the disambiguating word (e.g., "went") in sentences with "the." Subjects' speed and accuracy in response to sentences with "only" did not differ from their responses to unambiguous control sentences. These findings are interpreted as support for the RT. With syntactic structure held constant, changes in the referential content of NPs were seen to dramatically influence the structural analysis subjects gave to ambiguous sentences.

Maire Ni Chiosáin, University of Massachusetts-Amherst/
University College-Dublin

Palatalization in Feature Geometry

Palatalized segments are generally represented nonhomogeneously in current Feature Geometry literature (e.g., Halle (1986), Sagey (1986), Schein & Steriade (1986)): within a single theory, alternately represented as a direct dependency relationship (the palatalization feature is dependent on the primary place node) or as a complex segment (a second place node dominates the palatalization feature). An alternative account in which the primary and secondary place features are consistently represented independently is suggested by the interaction of palatalization and initial mutations in Irish. Lenition, an initial spirantization rule that also involves deletion of place for coronals, is blocked whenever two coronals are adjacent in the environment of mutation:

(1) ban [b]n] 'white' + dear [darag] 'red' -> bandarag 'pink'
(2) og [og] 'young' + girseach [g'irseax] 'girl' -> ogghirseach [ogy'irseax] 'a young girl'

The failure of lenition may be accounted for if adjacent homorganic homorganic consonants are fused at this level (geminate blockage). However, fusion is not accompanied by assimilation of secondary features. Also, when lenition of a coronal segment does apply, deocclusion is not accompanied by deletion of the secondary features, s' , c' -> n'. These facts and others suggest an account of palatalization that reflects the independence of this secondary feature.

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JOHANNA NICHOLS, University of California-Berkeley (FRI AFT: C)

Distributional Evidence for the Rise and Development of Ergativity

A sample of the world's genetic stocks at a controlled time depth shows that the structural and geographical distribution of ergativity bear on its origin and development. Ergative morphology is significantly associated with nouns, case-marking morphology, and high morphological complexity. Stative-active languages are twice as likely to be ergative as accusative in their transitive components. Ergativity is strongly areal: ergative languages cluster in 'hotbeds' where all structural types occur, while outliers, crucial to the spontaneous rise of ergativity, are all predominantly case-using. Ergativity seems to have an insular distribution, occurring in enclaves and isolated in Eurasia and Africa but more continuously distributed elsewhere. 45% of the ergative languages in the sample, but only 2% of the accusative ones, show major internal splits; likewise, half of the genetic stocks in the sample are all accusative, but none is all ergative. The instability, areality, and insular distribution are explanations in themselves and render superfluous the appeals to evolution occasionally offered to account for the tendency of ergativity to recede diachronically. Proposed discourse factors are contributory but not sufficient to trigger ergativity. A more likely primary trigger is the combination of dependencemarking morphology and a verbal lexicon in which the intransitive or one-place predicate is the unmarked type and transitivity is marked, secondary, or derived; this configuration is common in hotbeds and apparently predominates in outliers.

NEAL R. NORRICK, Northern Illinois University (FRI MORN: C)

Joking Repair and the Organization of Repair in Conversation

In my paper I want to show that joking repairs provide evidence for a contextually variable organization of repair determined by how participants view their respective abilities to resolve the difficulty. Conversationalists initiate serious repair when something goes wrong, aiming to get the interaction back on track as fast as possible. Joking repair, by contrast, draws attention to ambiguities and slips, digressing from the ongoing interaction in favor of word play. In a common type of joking repair, one speaker teases another by pointing out an error in his or her preceding talk; in another, the second speaker initiates repair where nothing is objectively wrong to display cleverness in discovering an unintended interpretation. This type challenges the original speaker to find the secondary meaning and to get the joke. I will argue that the preference theory of repair provides no ready explanation for the teasing, challenge or humor in relevant examples, while an analysis based on the asymmetry in participants' ability to produce the repair does.

DAVID ODDEN, Ohio State University (FRI MORN: F)

Adjacency Parameters in Phonology

Archangeli and Pulleyblank (1987) propose that target and trigger of phonological rules must be adjacent, as determined in two ways. Under Maximal Scansion, the highest node giving access to the feature is scanned, and under Maximal Scansion, the tier containing the feature is scanned. Vowel harmony under Maximal Scansion requires the syllable heads of target and trigger to be adjacent, and ignores only consonants, but harmony under Minimal Scansion skips neutral vowels as well. This paper shows that three scanions are needed, namely Segment, Syllable, and Terminal Scansion, which require the target and trigger to be, respectively, adjacent segments, in adjacent syllables, and not separated by elements on the same tier. This proposal is supported over the A&P model by showing that the A&P model does not handle certain adjacency conditions. The first case is consonant to consonant nasalisation in Kimatumbi, Lamba, and Kikongo. In Kimatumbi, consonants must be strictly adjacent, illustrating Segment Scansion. In Lamba, they may be separated by vowels but must be in adjacent syllables, illustrating Syllable Scansion. In Kikongo, the consonants may indefinitely separated, illustrating Terminal Scansion. The A&P model handles Kimatumbi with Minimal Scansion and Kikongo with Maximal Scansion, but cannot handle Lamba. Similar sets of rules involving the three scanions from tone and vowel harmony are examined.
TOSHIYUKI OGIHARA, University of Stuttgart

Temporal Interpretation of Nouns and Tense Morphemes

Noting that a quantificational analysis (QA) of tense morphemes (e.g., Montague (1973), Dowty (1979)) does not predict the temporal interpretation of nouns correctly, Eng (1981, 1986) argues for a referential analysis (RA) of temporal expressions (i.e., verbs and nouns). QA predicts that the subject NP of (1) All rich men were obnoxious children receives two scopally ambiguous interpretations relative to the past tense morpheme. Eng claims that these two interpretations do not cover one reading that (1) has: all the current and past rich men used to be obnoxious children. Eng concludes from this that QA of temporal expressions is inadequate. Instead, she argues for a RA, in which verbs and nouns have an extra argument slot for a free time variable, and its value is assigned by the context. I see two problems with this account. First, Eng's proposal does not solve the problem that she has raised. Under Eng's proposal, (1) can only have interpretations in which all the relevant individuals are rich at the same time. Hence, the intended interpretation is not obtained. It is necessary to introduce an existential quantifier with limited scope in order to solve this under-generation problem. Second, although the proposal calls for a RA for tenses as well as for nouns, the prediction about the temporal interpretation of nouns is exactly the same regardless of whether tenses are subjected to a RA or a QA. Thus, in order to justify a RA of tense morphemes, we must find independent evidence for it. There is reason to believe, however, that tense morphemes exert quantificational force and that a RA of tense morphemes is empirically inadequate. The above problems with a RA are serious enough to make us question its desirability. I argue that a RA supplemented by relevant constrains provides a better framework.

MANJARI OHAL, San Jose State University
JOHN J. OHAL, University of California-Berkeley

A Phonetic Account of Intrusive Nasals before Voiced Stops in Hindi

Modern Hindi (MH) words such as [səd̪] "moon" vs [də] "tooth" present an interesting asymmetry in their phonological history: in their development from Mid. Indo-Aryan (MIA) to New IA both were subject to cluster simplification with compensatory lengthening and nasalization of the preceding vowel (Baines 1872, Misra 1967). Thus: Skt candra > MIA canda > MH canda; Skt danta > MIA danta > OH datta > MH dətə. Is it plausible that a nasal be re-introduced only before a voiced stop? We present phonetic evidence in support of the scenario that a nasal could have been re-introduced preferentially between a nasalized vowel (v) and a voiced stop. Monitoring a Hindi speaker's and a French speaker's soft palate position vis-à-vis nasal airflow, we found intrusive or transitional nasal consonants (of up to 60 msec) in sequences of v # voiced stop where the word boundary (#) guarantees that the first element is unambiguously just a distinctively nasal vowel and not a sequence of vowel + nasal (e.g., [yəhə] "here" plus [ɡəyə] "went") yields [yəhənɡəyə]. In comparable sequences of v # voiceless stop an intrusive nasal was absent or much shorter. Plausibly neither the voicing nor stop character of a voiced stop is auditorily degraded by initial velic leakage, nor is a voiceless stop. The present pronunciation (55nd) must have arisen through a sound change precipitated by some listeners misinterpreting the intrusive nasal as an intended nasal, i.e., phonologizing the nasal. This helps to explain similar asymmetries in other languages.

TOSHIRO OHORI, University of California - Berkeley

On 'Switch Reference' in Old Japanese: A Clause Linkage Analysis

In Old Japanese (OJ), conjunctive particles are claimed to have "switch reference" functions, i.e., -te links clauses with the same subject and -ba (along with -ni and -wo) links clauses with different subjects (cf. Akiba 1977, 1984). However, a closer look at OJ evidence reveals that -te and -ba also differ in case marking, operator scope, discourse function, etc. These differences are best explained in terms of the overall characteristics of the typology of clause linkage, namely the combining of the core or nucleus for -te and that of the whole clause for -ba (cf. Foley and van Valin 1984). To illustrate from operator scope: In -te-linkage, as in [miyako-ni makazari-te] (on the capital-DAT go-TE [acquire-AUX]), '(I may go to the capital) and [acquire (it)]', both predicates are within the scope of AUX -mu, 'may'. In contrast, the scope of AUX -mu does not extend to both predicates in -ba-linkage: [nabiru-ni are]-ba (sha-BA) (journey-DAT BE)-BA [meet-AUX], '[X is on journey] so [(I) may meet (him/her)]'. This difference arises because -te is more cohesive than -ba, and "switch reference" functions are likewise the consequence of this general property of the linkage type.
Idiomaticity and Regularity in Japanese Replicative Constructions

There are many replicative constructions in Japanese. This paper analyzes two of them: *V-ni V* and *V koto wa V* (*koto* is a Comp). *V-ni V* (e.g., *tabe-ni tabeta*) as a whole means roughly 'V (e.g., ate) to an extreme extent' while *V koto wa V* (e.g., *tabeta koto wo tabeta*) means 'It is true that ... V (e.g., ate). Each of these exhibits syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic idiosyncrasies: 1. they disobey "regular" structural patterns while generally maintaining syntactic integrity, 2. their meanings are non-compositional, 3. *V-ni V* involves only the proposition of a sentence while *V koto wa V* concerns both the proposition and the modality and is used parenthetically as a concessive polarity item. These idiosyncrasies make them idiomatic, yet they are not 'genuine' idioms: they are productive; their members are not exhaustively listable, although each has certain constraints for application (e.g., *V-ni V* rejects nondurative verbs, etc.). These facts suggest that productivity and idiomaticity are not necessarily mutually exclusive. I argue that these constructions, along with many other replicative constructions (e.g., *N ga N, N mo N*), are best accounted for by non-modular construction grammar (Fillmore, Kay, et al.)—i.e., as integral morphosyntactic patterns bearing unique semantic and pragmatic properties.

Multi-Planed Functions of the Japanese Discourse Connective 'Demo'

'Demo' is a frequently used connective in Japanese conversation. It has been examined as an adversative conjunction from the perspectives of syntax and semantics in Japanese linguistics. However, to understand fully the function of this word in spoken discourse, the pragmatic perspective becomes necessary. This study is a first trial of a pragmatic approach to 'demo'.

Just as it was found in Schiffrin (1987) that English 'but' has semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic functions, this study shows that 'demo' also has these multi-planed functions. My data, which are accounts from an interview and a conversation among Japanese native speakers, clearly show these functions. For example, one of the pragmatic functions of 'demo' is illustrated in the following example.

Marl: *Demo*, nihon ni kaettara tanosimi desu ne. Misanan.
But, Japan to go back fun (it) will be. Guys.

It will be fun, won't it, when you go back to Japan, Guys.

The speaker, Marl's utterance is the first one in the entire conversation. Since nothing precedes 'demo', there is no referential contrast which usually takes place with an adversative conjunction. However, this connective is used because of its pragmatic function - 'entering into conversation', one of the contrastive actions (actions of a speaker) found in this study of Japanese. The reexamination of Japanese conjunctions from the pragmatic viewpoint will contribute to the field by revealing their discourse functions, which have not been examined in prior studies.

Durations of Palatalized Allophones: Some Implications for Speech Recognition

Allophonic variation at word boundaries has been exploited in the machine recognition of speech as a tool for parsing the acoustic speech waveform into words. Variation in segmental duration conditioned by word juncture has also been used to a certain extent to parse the signal, e.g., geminate /s/ in the digit string [sikisevn]. However, it is surprising that little attention has focused on durational properties of allophones resulting from assimilations at word boundaries, given the frequency of these rules in continuous speech.

The purpose of this paper is to examine whether certain assimilated segments in English have durations that reflect derivational differences, and whether those differences can be incorporated as rules to parse the speech signal. A series of acoustic-pantomime experiments are described in which the durations of inter-word palatalized fricatives, as in "gas shortage"[s~j~c] and stops, as in "did you"[d~j~k~j~] were studied. It was found that durations of inter-word palatalized fricatives (as in "gas shortage") were significantly shorter than inter-word geminate fricatives (as in "cash shortage"). Affricates derived from palatalized stops also differed from affricates with no underlying palatalization, but not to the same extent. Results are discussed in the context of their application to parsing the speech signal into words.
DAVID M. PERLMUTTER, University of California-San Diego

Does Southern Tiwa Grammar Need Initial-Stratum Reference?

This paper examines the strongest case in the literature of rules referencing initial-stratum relations - the incorporation and agreement rules in Southern Tiwa (ST) [Allen, Franz, Gardiner, and Perlmutter, in press], arguing that a better syntactic analysis makes it not only possible but necessary to eliminate reference to initial strata. The key idea is to recognize Antipassive in ST grammar, supported here by five arguments. Once Antipassive is recognized, the key notions needed to state ST incorporation and agreement rules are not initial and final strata, but rather 'chomeur' (for incorporation) and 'overrun arc' (for agreement). This has important consequences for both multistratal and monostratal syntactic theories. First, it suggests that the former can move away from stratal representations. Second, while initially appearing to support current monostratal theories, our result brings out new problems rooted in the difficulty of representing the key notions of 'chomeur' and 'overrun' in monostratal theories as currently conceived.

LIVIA POLANYI, Rice University

Clause Permutation and Discourse Coherence

One sequence of topic-chained clauses may be judged more coherent than another sequence, identical except for clause ordering, even if temporal, causal or logical factors (e.g. If/then) are controlled for. Standard treatments of discourse coherence relations (Halliday & Hasan 1972; Hobbs 1976/87; Reichman 1981; Mann & Thompson 1986) are unable to predict these intra-segment coherence effects which result from structural ordering alone. The treatment of discourse coherence described here proposes that coherence emerges from an interaction among structural, semantic and pragmatic relations obtaining among constituent clauses. Variation in degree of coherence is to be expected. For a topic chain discourse D to be maximally coherent, I propose that a set of minimal conditions must be met. All clauses in D must be interpretable relative to the same interaction, Speech Event, Speech Event Move, discourse genre unit and genre unit constituent. They must share modality, polarity, empathy, speaker knowledge state and point of view where point of view itself is determined by a complex of relationships obtaining among speaker, hearer and object of discussion. Furthermore, in an Open Right tree structured description assigned to D by a Discourse Model analysis (Polanyi 1985, 1988; Schachter & Polanyi, 1988), any two adjacent clauses in D must be dominated by a coordination node whose label, C, assigned by unifying constituent semantic and structural properties, may not duplicate a node label to its left in the Tree. In this paper, minimal pairs of permuted topic chain clause sequences are shown to exhibit varying degrees of coherence reflecting the structural descriptions assigned to the different orderings through the tree construction process.

LIVIA POLANYI, Rice University

LA and -A in Mayan: A Formal Approach to Discourse Particles

In Mocho, a Mayan language, the distribution of the phrase initial particle la, a sentential coordinator, and the phrase final particle -a, identified previously as a locative deictic, can not be explained by their sentential functions alone. Our analysis of Mocho narrative using the Linguistic Discourse Model (LDM) framework (Polanyi 1988, Schachter and Polanyi 1988) shows that in some contexts they function solely as discourse segmentation markers (Gulich 1970, Grimes 1975, Longacre 1976/83, Hymes 1981, Bright 1981/2, Reichman 1981, Gumperz 1982, Cohen 1983, Schiffrin 1987, Brody 1989). The LDM assigns a structural description to a discourse, formally an Open Right Tree, in a left to right manner recursively sequencing and embedding discourse units in accordance with explicit constraints on discourse syntactic and semantic well-formedness. Discourse unit boundaries emerge from the tree construction process for both narrative and non-narrative texts without reference to discourse markers. Thus our analysis avoids the methodological circularity (pointed out in Woodbury 1987) of using discourse markers to determine discourse unit boundaries while simultaneously explaining the distribution of markers in terms of initiation, completion, or resumption of discourse units. We propose that in Mocho narrative, la can be either a sentential coordinator or can signal the attachment of an event clause to an interrupted narrative mainline. Phrase final -a functions extrasententially to indicate episode completion. The clause immediately following non-locative -a will resume the mainline interrupted by the complex dialogue structures required by Mocho narrative convention. Given these structural characterizations of conditioning environments, our proposal predicts where la and -a can or can not occur in Mocho narrative and that la functions as a connective throughout Mocho discourse.

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WILLIAM J. POSER, Stanford University

**Downstep in Kyoto Dialect Japanese**

I present the results of a preliminary study of phrasal trends in fundamental frequency (F0) in the hitherto little-studied Kyoto dialect of Japanese. As in Tokyo dialect, the F0 level is lower after accented words (those containing a fall from H to L) than after unaccented words, indicating the presence of downstep, presumably triggered by the HL transition. Unlike the standard Tokyo dialect, in which a Low tone is inserted at the beginning of each minor phrase by rule, in the Kyoto dialect whether a word begins High or Low is lexically distinctive. Whereas the minor-phrase internal HL sequence of accented words triggers downstep, the HL sequence following the sequence of an unaccented word followed by a word with a lexically distinctive initial Low tone does not trigger downstep. Since a minor-phrase internal HL sequence triggers downstep but a hetero-phrasal HL sequence does not trigger downstep, the downstep rule must be bounded by the minor phrase, in spite of which its effect is manifested outside the minor phrase. This means that downstep must either be stated as being triggered by an accent diacritic rather than a tonal sequence or that the downstep rule must affect the following phrase non-locally via its effect on the F0 register.

JOYCE POWERS, Ohio State University

**Inflection and Grammatical Relations in Cree**

In this paper I provide an analysis of the inflectional forms of independent indicative verbs in Cree, and consider the role of grammatical relations in Cree morphology, syntax, and semantics. I show that a complex set of paradigms can be described by a relatively simple set of morphological rules and operations (cf. Zvary 1985, 1988). Contra Anderson (1977), in his account of closely parallel facts in Potawatomi, I show that it is not necessary to analyze verb agreement as feature copying from NPs onto Vs, to posit a morphological transformational rule, to assume a stipulated ordering of morphological rules, or to require features to be layered within morphosyntactic representations in order to distinguish subject and object features. Instead, I show that the effects of rule ordering result from independently necessary principles, and argue that there is no need to distinguish subjects and objects in morphology or in syntax, hence no need for feature layering. However, I discuss the ways in which GRs are realized in the semantic component of the grammar: I show how interpretation of one verbally marked argument as subject and the other as object results from the animacy hierarchy (Comrie 1981), the order in which the verb combines semantically with its arguments, and an interpretation of the direct/inverse features of Cree.

INGRID PUGHAL, Georgetown University

**Tense Variation in Indirect Speech**

Prescriptive accounts of indirect speech in English postulate the so-called sequence-of-tenses rule (STR) (Blackstone 1962, Quirk et al. 1972, 1985). Accordingly, if a verb of saying is in the past tense, the verb in the reported speech part shifts to the corresponding past tense form (e.g. present tense to past tense, present perfective to past perfective). If the second verb is already in simple past, two versions of STR exist (Comrie 1985): (1) shift to past perfective (tense backshift), (2) no shift (tense concord). While grammars disagree whether STR is obligatory, it is considered optional if the original speech content is still valid at the time of reporting (She said that the world is round). This paper discusses to what extent STR is applied in U.S. television news. It examines which tenses are shifted most frequently and explains the uses and functions of tense variation. I argue that STR is not always the semantically and pragmatically unmarked form as proposed by prescriptive grammars. Rather, in almost all cases in which it may be optional, reporters shift tenses to distance themselves from quoted speakers or quoted speech contents. By the same token, tenses are not shifted when reporters agree with the original speaker. However, if negative evaluation is marked by other linguistic devices, lack of tense shift is used to signal that the original speaker is still committed to the validity of his/her proposition. This, in turn, suggests that the news content is still valid and, therefore, relevant information. A special case is simple past in the original speech; it is hardly ever backshifted and other devices mark evaluation. This suggests that the tense backshift rule is being replaced by the tense concord rule and that retention of simple past is typical of colloquial style (Comrie 1985), a style which networks try to use in their news broadcasts.
The Use of the Suffix \( \xi \) in the Adaptation of Russian Verbs to the Karelian System

The purpose of this paper is to examine the role of the Balto-Finnic intransitiveizing suffix \( \xi \) in the assimilation of Russian verbal lexemes to the Karelian system. A phonological constraint governs the occurrence of the suffix in verbs of the type 'vowel +j'. It is used in all forms of this type when the desinence is or begins with a vowel; it is deleted when the desinence is consonantal: duumsi-\( \xi \)-\( \omega \)-en 'I think' but guli\( \xi \)-ja- 'walk'. The universal use of \( \xi \)- with vocalic desinences indicates a need for a marker which will simply identify a form as 'verb' in Karelian: the suffix occurs with transitive as well as intransitive verbs. The suffix is rarer in verbs from all other Russian stem-types, which are uniformly assimilated to Karelian as i-stems: svoni- 'call', berti- 'take'. The specifically intransitive meaning of the suffix is apparent in all verbs of such stem-types however: Karelian verbs of this type with the suffix \( \xi \)- are based on Russian verbs with the intransitivizing particle -sja. Most telling, however, is the occurrence of 'vowel+j' verbs with a reduplicated suffix \( \xi \)-\( \xi \)- (nadei-\( \xi \)-\( \xi \)- 'hope'): the Russian base forms always have the particle -sja. This is a strong indication that the use of \( \xi \)- in verbs of this type means '+verb' and nothing more; a verb that is clearly transitive then requires the reduplicated suffix. The significance of this analysis lies in the clarification of one specific instance of contact between two unrelated languages; the use of the suffix in question is phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically conditioned.

CLIFTON YUE, University of Kansas

The Acquisition of Xφ Movement

Baker (1988) provides an elegant account of a variety of syntactic processes in terms of one simple mechanism: Xφ movement. While this mechanism simplifies the explanation of how children acquire a diverse set of syntactic processes, Baker does not cite any acquisition data to support his hypothesis. I will evaluate Baker's hypothesis using longitudinal acquisition data from the Mayan language K'iche'. K'iche' has six syntactic processes which Baker claims to involve Xφ movement: verb incorporation, a causative affix, 2 passives and 2 antipassives. Baker hypothesizes that Verb Incorporation underlies verb incorporation, causatives and passives, while Noun Incorporation underlies antipassives. I will test hypotheses one by seeing: 1. if K'iche' children use passives and antipassives before the other processes (since these rules do not require a complex sentence structure at D-structure); 2. if the children produce complex sentences by the time they produce instances of Verb Incorporation (since verb incorporation and causatives require a complex structure at D-structure); and 3. the extent to which the children acquire a syntactic rule rather than individual lexical items (the children should apply syntactic rules involving Xφ movement 'across the board'). The results will have a significant bearing on the debate over the extent to which language development is driven by lexical or syntactic processes.

LISA REED, University of Ottawa

Biclausality, Barriers, and the French Causative Construction

The French causative construction poses unique problems to syntactic theory. Word order, in particular, is one area in which this construction differs considerably from other constructions within the language. The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, I will discuss some new data of the type in (1) which, assuming recent proposals regarding the structure of IP made in Pollock (1988) and Chomsky (1988), strongly argue for a biclausal S-structure since an embedded Neg Phrase is licit in the embedded clause.

(1) Le regard suppliant qu'elle lui a jeté lui a fait ne pas souffler mot de cette histoire à quiconque.

'The pleading look that she gave him made him not say a word about this story to anybody.'

Given the existence of sentences like (1), we must conclude that both Aissen & Perlmuter's (1976) monoclusal analysis of Spanish causatives and Baker's (1988) Incorporation approach are inappropriate for French causatives.

In addition to addressing the issue of monoclusal vs. bi-clausal, I will discuss the problematic word order found in causatives. Specifically, I will argue for an analysis in which the adjacency of Vφ or VP to the embedded VP results in a voicing of the barrierhood of the latter so that the causative verb can govern into it. This movement, motivated by Case theory, together with Koopman and Sportiche's (1988) proposal that subject NPs are base-generated within VP, will be shown to elegantly account for the word order found in French causatives.
This paper investigates the feature representation of affricates (Sagey 1986, Lombardi 1988), and its implications for underspecification theory (Kiparsky 1982, Archangeli 1984). We follow Sagey (1986) by arguing that affricates may have both values for the feature [continuant]. We argue for this representation by examining one part of the process of strengthening in Tswana (Cole 1955, Chomsky and Halle 1968, Rice 1989) where fricatives become affricates under [-continuant] spreading, e.g. /N-sira/ --> [nshira], 'cut me', /N-sapa/ --> [nshapa] 'throw me.' However, we argue that a discontinuity contour is not a possible underlying representation of affricates given Radical Underspecification (cf Archangeli 1984, Abaglo and Archangeli 1989) and is an unpreferred underlying representation even with Restricted Underspecification (Mester and Vó 1989, Steriade 1987). This tension between the well-motivated representation of derived affricates and the theoretical problems of having that representation underlyingly is resolved with arguments which pursue Steriade's (1989) recent claim that affricates are stops.

Theoretical Implications of Disordered Syntactic Comprehension

Caplan and Hildebrandt (1988) present a series of detailed case studies documenting the disordered syntactic comprehension of a group of aphasic patients and seek to interpret the observed disturbances within the framework of the theory of government and binding (Chomsky 1981). The notion 'empty NP' plays a crucial role in the interpretation, in part because of the authors' decision to adopt the parsing model of Berwick and Weinberg 1985, and recourse to it is explicitly claimed to provide insight into the data. We reexamine their data from a different set of background assumptions, concluding that where these can be clearly distinguished from those underlying GB the evidence favors a non-GB-based account. We attribute the deficits observed in the crucial cases to an inability on the part of the patients to access either or both of two data structures needed to support our proposed parsing algorithm. Our account differs from that of Caplan and Hildebrandt first in avoiding an incorrect prediction made by their analysis which can be rectified only by an ad hoc auxiliary hypothesis; and second in making it possible to account for the difference between normal and disordered language users without appeal to the auxiliary concept of compensatory heuristics.

Control Variations in Transfer Verbs

The reference of an empty subject PRO in the infinitives selected by variable control verbs in French is not uniquely fixed with respect to an argument in the main clause. Two types can be distinguished. First, the control relationship may vary freely in the case of verbs like parler or proposer, offrir:

1. Je lui partiturais, offré de PROj parť 'I talk (about)/offer/propose to leave (leaving)'

Secondly, control may be preferentially subject-oriented (promettre, garantir) or object-oriented (demander, exiger). This preferential control relation shifts in the modal or passive contexts indicated in (2b) and 3b).

2. a. Je lui promets de PROj parť 'I promise him to leave'

b. Je lui promets de PROj parťa être nommé 'I promise him to be allowed to leave/to be nominated'

Past literature failed to note that in (2b) and (3b), the control relation shifts from the Source to the Goal argument in the relevant contexts. Verbs displaying the same control properties also belong to a specific semantic class expressing a modality of Transfer from Source to Goal. With a thematic explanation of these data, I can show that the referents of the Source/Goal arguments display (agentive) relations of direct and indirect power with respect to the transfer of the Theme argument. These power relations eventually determine the reference of the empty subject when the Theme is realized as an infinitive. Control shifts originate in Transfer domination conflicts. (In)direct power relations also explain why the classes of causative and judgment verbs display obligatory object control.
SUSAN RUSTICK, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Word Order as Caused by Lexical Qualities and Parameters

The proposals of Borer (1984) and Mannini and Waxler (1987) claim that syntactic parameters are not associated with grammars, but rather with lexical items. However, I argue that the generalizations previously possible in the theory of parameters should not be abandoned. In this paper, I propose that two types of factors precipitate variation in word order: parameters, which range over lexical classes, and lexical qualities, which may be attributed to idiosyncratic lexical items. Thus, the restrictiveness of lexically based causes and the generalizations possible with parameters effectively account for the data as syntactic factors innate to UG. I posit that a lexical class parameter is indicated when most members of a class are affected, while a lexical quality is likely when few members of a class appear in a construction. As an example of the former (in (1)), I discuss Germanic verb second, which affects the entire class of verbs, while I demonstrate the latter through variation in constructions in Swedish and Norwegian, such as ha ‘have’ omission, as in (2):
1. By mæg it famke. (Frisian)  2. Han borde (ha) sett henne. (Swedish)
   he saw the girl he should have seen her

This analysis addresses the problems of overgeneralization and undergeneralization noted by Safir (1987), by limiting the power of parameters in relation to the empirical evidence while requiring reference to whole lexical classes where appropriate.

LYDA RUYTER, Macalester College

Incorporation and Double Subjects in Bahasa Indonesia

Incorporation theory as developed by Baker (1988) accounts for apparently universal restrictions on the distribution of incorporation: subjects do not participate in incorporation (cf. Mithun, 1984). Baker explains this effects by extending the application of the ECP to structures that have undergone X -movement. Bahasa Indonesia (BI) appears to violate this restriction. The underlined elements in (1,2) are both incorporated into the VP, while having originated as subjects.

   book that PASS-buy-him
   ("That book was bought by him")
2. Buku itu saya beli
   book that I buy
   ("That book I bought")

It will be argued that the incorporation structures in (1,2) are fully compatible with incorporation theory, if it is assumed that BI has two subject positions available: SPEC,VP and SPEC,IP. Such a structure has been widely accepted recently for other languages. In BI the underlying subject originates in SPEC,VP and may incorporate into VP only if the SPEC, IP is occupied via movement by another element. This analysis is supported by the distribution of the morphological elements "Men-". Moreover, this analysis treats (2) as a "double subject" structure, and avoids the problems associated with its most common treatment as a "second passive" (cf. Chung, 1976).

HILARY SACHS, Pomona College/Cornell University

Are There Two â© in French?

Jaeggli (1981) has argued that there are two distinct â© in French, one simply an indirect object case marker, and the other a true preposition. The indirect object as in je parle à Marie 'I talk to Marie', can criticize to preverbal lui while the prepositional object, as in je pense à Marie 'I think of Marie', cannot criticize to lui. Jaeggli has two tests to distinguish the two â©. The first is that a conjunction of PP's cannot be the antecedent of a relative clause, but a conjunction of NPs can. The second is that a conjunction of NPs can be the object of a single preposition, but not case marked by a single â©. I will show that native speakers do not, in fact, distinguish between the two uses of â© in these cases. They will not accept, contrary to Jaeggli's predictions, *Tu pensais à Paul et la directrice 'You were thinking of Paul and the director'.

Hence, this purported difference between the two â© cannot be the basis for the difference in criticism between parler and penser. I will suggest that the difference is due to thematic role assignments. The object of parler is a Goal, whereas that of penser is a Theme, and French does not allow lui-criticization of Themes.
DOUGLAS SADDY, University of Arizona

Interpretation of Quantificational Ambiguities in an Aphasic Individual

This paper reports the results of a case study that investigates the ability of an agrammatic deep dyslexic to determine relative scope orderings in sentences such as 'Every man photographed a boy' and 'A man photographed every boy'. The performance on a sentence picture verification battery demonstrates a surprising island of intact comprehension for scopal ambiguities. The results (1) provide counter evidence to Grodzinsky's (1984) account of comprehension deficits in agrammatism and (2) reveal a highly circumscribed comprehension deficit that is sensitive to logical properties of quantified terms and provides evidence in support of an event based-logic.

MANORU SAITO, University of Connecticut
KEIKO MURASUGI, University of Connecticut

N'-Deletion and the DP Hypothesis

According to Jackendoff (1971), N'-deletion takes place in NPs in exactly the same way that VP-deletion takes place in Ss. The following is an example of N'-deletion:

(1) [[npJohn's [n'reliance on friends]] is more problematic than [[npMary's [n'is]]

In this paper, we examine the N'-deletion phenomena in English and Japanese, and argue that they provide strong support for the reanalysis of NP as DP (Determiner Phrase), which is proposed by Fukui & Speas (1987) and Abney (1987), among others.

The original N'-deletion analysis, as it stands, faces some conceptual as well as empirical problems. One of the conceptual problems has to do with its parallelism with VP-deletion. It is known that VP-deletion is licensed by INFL (see Zagona 1982), as shown by (2), but there is no licensing functional category in the case of N'-deletion.

(2) I left because John *(did) [ypte]

Among the empirical problems is the fact that N'-deletion is, surprisingly, not allowed in examples such as (3).

(3) *(npThat [n'reliance on friends]] is [[npMary's [n'is]]]

We discuss these and other problems with the N'-deletion analysis in detail, and show that they are immediately solved if we adopt the DP hypothesis and reanalyze N'-deletion as NP-deletion, as shown in (4). (Compare (4) with (1) above.)

(4) [[dpJohn's [n'pe relies on friends]] is more problematic than [[npMary's [npe]]]

PAUL SAKA, University of Arizona

The Ambiguity of Proper Names

Linguistic evidence favors the encyclopedic theory of the meaning of names (Searle 1969, Jespersen 1924) over the Nominal Description Theory (NDT). NDT claims that the meaning of a name N is equivalent to "the bearer of N" (K Bach 1987, Loar 1976, Algeo 1973, Sloat 1969). While this correctly accounts for names used as common nouns, as in "There are 25 Francis in the local phonebook," it also entails that a name like Franklin is VAGUE rather than AMBIGUOUS. The linguistic test that distinguishes between ambiguity and vagueness involves elliptical constructions (Lakoff 1970). An ambiguous term cannot have different senses in its overt and omitted forms: "Jan found an insect and Kelly found a transmitter (except humorously). In contrast, a vague term does permit crossed interpretations: "Shakespeare performed for the queen, and the Beatles did too" can mean that one played for Elizabeth I and the other for Elizabeth II. Applying this test to proper names demonstrates that names are ambiguous: "Shakespeare performed for Elizabeth and the Beatles did too" cannot mean that Shakespeare performed for Elizabeth I and that the Beatles performed for Elizabeth II. This argues against NDT for the encyclopedic theory.
Developing Internal Constraints for a Sociolinguistic Variable

How does an emergent speech community arrive at a stable ordered set of internal constraints for a sociolinguistic variable? If it takes 2 generations for individual children to acquire the intricacies of a new dialect (Payne 1980), how long will it take children for whom an English speech community did not exist two generations ago? This study presents data on (-t,d) deletion within the Los Angeles Chicano speech community. (-t,d) deletion has a particularly consistent internal structure across all English dialects. By mapping the ordering of the whole set of constraints that govern the variable across different social classes and 4 generations of native English speaking Chicanos, we find evidence that even 3rd generation monolinguals do not achieve the pan-English ordering of constraints of the variable. Constraints develop stable ordering at rates dependent on their nature and on their function within the variable. The database consists of sociolinguistic interviews carried out in 1988. A multivariate analysis with particular emphasis on generation and social class will be presented.

Property Concepts and Adjectives in Emai

Dixon (1977) and Thompson (1988) have argued that languages typically express property concepts in one of two lexical patterns grounded to the category adjective. Influenced by these patterns for property concepts, this paper delineates their morphosyntactic patterning in Emai, a Kwa language of West Africa. Although adjective-deficient in the Dixon/Thompson scheme, Emai's small but syntactically definable class of adjectives do not consistently follow expected avenues with respect to the coding of semantic domains and the sharing of coding tasks with other parts of speech. For instance, adjectives are not the characteristic means for indicating basic concepts of Age, Value, or Color, where either noun or verb based constructions dominate. They do express Dimension concepts but only for the marked pole of an opposition, here 'small/little/short,' not the expected unmarked pole. And while adjectives in Emai do not convey concepts of Speed or Human Propensity, consistent with predictions, an array of constructions based on verbs and idioms in addition to nouns characterize the latter. Most frequently however, adjectives, including those derived from verbs, tend to express concepts of Physical Property, pere 'flat,' combining therein with verb-dominant constructions. Emai adjectives, therefore, do not manifest a predicted typological pattern, the present system for expressing property concepts appearing to have emerged from one in which verbs played a more dominant role.

Parataxic BECAUSE

Linguists who examine clause combining in discourse have challenged "subordination" as a construct, especially in relation to adverbial clauses. Because is generally described as a subordinating conjunction with causal meaning. But analysis of its distribution in spoken discourse demonstrates that such a description does not account for the full range of functions for which speakers use because.

This paper demonstrates that criteria such as local scope and presuppositionality, often cited as features of subordinate clauses, do not characterize all because clauses. Syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic evidence from spoken discourse is used to describe parataxic uses of because, where because has broad scope, initiates a new informational focus, and introduces sequences which are not causally related to prior discourse. Parataxic because, as a marker of elaboration, plays an interactive role in indicating speaker continuation and response, and plays a discourse-cohesive role in enabling a speaker to link backward and forward across broad spans of discourse.

Parataxic because will also be described in terms of its relationship to previous descriptions of "performative" or "speech act" because, where, rather than linking two propositions, because links a proposition with a speaker's stance toward that proposition.
On Nominal Gender and Number

Properties of nominal number parallel gender properties, justifying a formally unified analysis of N class: NP-internal concord (cf. Eng. this apple these apples); N-class-based pronoun choice (Ger. der Wagen/das Auto 'the car' (masc./neut.) ...er/es: Eng. these/this data...they/it); imperfect N-class/semantic correlations (cf. Eng. non-countable plurals like gits); cross-N-class derivation (human feminines from masculines; countable plurals from singulars). Lattice-theoretic approaches to collective/distributive semantics (e.g., Link 1983) allow us to analyze both gender and number as manifestations of syntactic splitting (Montague 1973) of a type-theoretically unified N category. Productive derivation of, e.g., feminines and plurals exemplifies the independently recognized predictability of N class from the presence of a particular derivational affix and accounts for such semantic correlates of N class as are observed; the fact that N subcategories have non-rule-derived members accounts for their failure to have perfect semantic correlates overall. The formal nature of syntactic categories assumed and the role of operations like affixation in grammatical formation rules thus allow us to derive N-class properties.

ROGER SCHWARZSCHILD, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

A Call for Simplicity in the Interpretation of Plurals

Pluralization and conjunction (pl./conj.) are often interpreted semantically as set-formation (Joe and Ed denotes the set of Joe and Ed). In this case, semantic complexity mimics syntactic complexity: the boys and the girls has a higher order denotation (a set containing a girl set and a boy set) than does the children. A simpler and for me more intuitive approach (cf. Link(1983)) interprets pl./conj. as an operation that no matter how many times it is iterated the final result depends solely on the individuals involved: the children denotes a sum of individuals and the boys and the girls denotes the same sum. The chief argument for the complex approach is that it allows for special readings of sentences with complex subjects, for example: (1) The Cuban men and the Cuban women were separated. On the relevant reading the separation is between men and women but not amongst men or amongst women. The predicate's denotation includes a set of two sets, one 'male', one 'female'. I will argue that this 'reading' is not a matter of NP/VP denotations, since in this situation it is also appropriate to say: (2) The Cubans were separated (by gender). Rather, (1) does with implicature what (2) can do with an overt adverb (by gender).

SUSAN C. SHEPHERD, Indiana University-Indianapolis

Oral and Written Traditions in Spontaneous and Elicited Narratives

This paper compares the structure of spontaneous narratives and two types of elicited narratives told by ten African American children, ages 8-10, and discusses the implications for literacy achievement. The spontaneous narratives occurred naturally in conversation. In the first elicitation task, children were asked to tell a story of their own choosing. The second elicitation task involved picture book narration, in which some structure was imposed on the narrative through the depiction of a particular sequence of events. These stories were then analyzed in terms of general structural patterns, referential and evaluative functions, and use of various cohesive devices (such as repetition, pronominal reference, and tense/aspect marking). The results can be placed along a continuum ranging from features typical of oral behavior to those more commonly associated with written behavior, with the spontaneous narratives clustering at the oral end, the picture book narratives at the written end, and the other elicited narratives falling in the middle. The picture book narratives tend to be "better" or "more acceptable" according to definitions of story which emphasize Western European literate traditions. The spontaneous narratives of these children reflect oral traditions which differ from school norms, and therefore may be evaluated negatively in educational contexts.
Tone and Metrical Structure in Sukuma

Richardson's 1959 description of Sukuma (Tanzania) documents the rightward shift of High tones in this Eastern Bantu language. In various contexts H tones shift one, two, or three segments, or not at all; this is seen with the H tone of the verb stem bon 'see' (underscoring indicates range of tone shift):

0    a-bon-e tenhu    'let him see people' (3s-'see'-subj 'people')
1    a-ka-bon-ê mi-ubu    'he saw a sp. of tree' (3s-past-'see'-indic 'tree')
2    a-ka-bon-ê à ma-hagala    'he saw the tree fork' ('ppfx-NCM-tree fork')
3    a-ka-bon-ê ma-hagala    'he saw tree fork' ('NCM-tree fork')

This paper offers an analysis of Sukuma tonology in which abstract metrical structure (binary feet) determines the distance of tone shift. Metrical constituent boundaries limit the rightward spreading (and delinking) of High tones (cf. Goldsmith et al., in press). Familiar constructs of metrical theory (e.g., extrametricality, weight sensitivity) are invoked to explain this otherwise puzzling process of tone shift in Sukuma.

LAWRENCE SOLAN, Orans, Eisen & Lupert

Ambiguity and the Law

Courts are frequently required to resolve disputes involving the interpretation of documents such as statutes, contracts, insurance policies, etc. This paper will discuss two sets of rules developed for dealing with linguistic issues in document interpretation. The first set of rules "stacks the deck" in favor of one of the litigants when a document is ambiguous. Thus, for example, ambiguous criminal statutes are interpreted in favor of the accused, and ambiguities in insurance policies are resolved in favor of the insured. Courts frequently are confronted with having to decide whether a particular document is ambiguous at all. In so doing, they sometimes invoke linguistic analysis. Examples will be presented of cases whose resolution depended on decisions about the scope of adjectives, the scope of adverbs and the meaning of words.

The second set of rules involves unambiguous language. The relevant principle states that when the language of a statute or a contract is clear, the courts should simply apply the language to the facts before them, and not engage in further analysis. Again, the principle has led to debate over whether a particular document is clear or ambiguous. An example involving the scope of a quantifier will be presented. The paper will conclude with some philosophical ramifications of these linguistico-legal issues.

KYONG-SOOK SONG, Georgetown University

Honoric Speech of Korean-English Bilingual Children in the U.S.A.

The Korean language has a highly developed and complicated honorific system and the difficulty in mastering it often results in Korean children being considered impolite and rude by their elders. This study deals with honorifics in the Korean speech of Korean-English bilingual children in the U.S.A. The 24 children, ages 10 to 13, in the Los Angeles area, participated in sociolinguistic interviews and filled out questionnaires. Their transcribed speech was analyzed in terms of their use of honorific markers such as humble first person pronoun, case markers, verbs, and sentence final markers. The frequency of honorifics significantly varies among the children. However, they most frequently use honorific sentence final markers and they often code switch from Korean to English. For example, in "Appa, grandfa-ka-summer-e on dae-yo." (Father! grandfather will father NCM in come that SPH visit us this summer) the child employs the plain case marker -ka and verb -on in stead of honorific forms -kxe and -osi, and switches to the English lexicon 'grandfa' (hala-beuji) and 'summer' (yeourum). This study, being the first attempt to use a sociolinguistic framework in examining honorific speech of the Korean children in the U.S.A. shows the importance of speaker's communicative competence as well as linguistic competence and provides significant insights for further research on language acquisition and teaching.
Thematic Grids and Generalized Transformations

On the basis of the argument-adjunct asymmetry in anti-reconstruction effects shown in (1) and (2):

1. a. *Whose claim that John(i) is nice did he(i) believe?
   b. Which story that John(i) wrote did he(i) like?

2. a. *Which pictures of John(i) did he(i) destroy?
   b. Which pictures near John(i) did he(i) destroy?

Lebeaux (1988) argued that adjuncts cannot be present at D-Structure, but must be added by Generalized Transformations. In this paper I accomplish 2 goals. I present new data which provide support for the general outline of Lebeaux’s proposal, but which show that the conclusions he drew about the nature of D-Structure are incorrect, and I examine the 3 arguments against the existence of Generalized Transformations, showing that all are moot under the assumptions of current versions of GB, HPSG and LFG.

CARI SPRING, University of Arizona

The Ternary Foot in Stress and Morphology

In Asheninca Campa secondary stress derives from alternating, left to right iambic footing but main stress is on the rightmost, heaviest of the final three syllables (modulo extra-metricality): asa.tada.–(ti), hoo.tai.ya.ta.ka.(ni), ka.ble.ri.(ki). The problems for metrical theory are 1) that main stress in alternating systems is formalized as foot (or grid) placement “on top of” secondary stress feet and thus by locality cannot be sensitive to syllable weight; and 2) the ternary foot crucial to main stress is not adequately explicated in what are basically binary theories of stress. This paper demonstrates that Asheninca main stress is sensitive to the heads marked by the iambic system, not to iambic feet thus main, weight-sensitive stress placement does not violate locality. Two solutions to the ternary foot are discussed: ternary foot can be derived by placing a single iambic foot right to left on the heads marked by the iambic system. Alternatively, the ternary foot could be viewed as primitive. As recent morphological theory demonstrates that feet operative in stress are those operative in morphology (McCarty and Prince, 1989) a test for this claim exists. The ternary foot, if primitive, should operate in morphology. Asheninca reduplication provides just such evidence: reduplication generally targets a disyllabic foot (including the verb stem), but if a verb stem is three syllables long, the whole stem reduplicates (koma → koma.koma, n-asi → nasia.ni, but kawosi → kawosi.kawosi), a finding which supports the ternary foot as a primitive of phonological theory.

RICHARD SPROAT, AT&T Bell Laboratories
OSAMU FUJIMURA, Ohio State University

Articulatory Evidence for the Non-Categoricalness of English /I/ Allophones

English /I/ is described as light syllable-initially and dark syllable-finally; these allophones, though non-distinctive, are traditionally viewed as categorical (e.g., Giles and Moll 1975). This paper argues against the traditional description: light and dark /I/ represent two extremes of a continuum, /I/ being lighter syllable-initially and before weaker boundaries, becoming progressively darker before stronger boundaries. As evidence we present simultaneously recorded physiological (EMG), articulatory (X-ray microbeam), and acoustic data from 5 speakers (EMG data from 3 speakers) who produced intervocalic /I/ syllable-initially and in a series of preboundary positions: before *-t, *-t, compound-internal, between-word and intonational phrase boundaries. Several phonetic and physiological factors correlate with /I/ quality: e.g., tongue dorsum retraction in dark /I/ is more extreme and earlier relative to apical contact (or approximation) than in light /I/; intrinsic tongue muscle activity (transverse-verticallis and superior-longitudinals) is increased for dark /I/ over the activity for light /I/. These factors correlate significantly with a phonetic measure of boundary strength, phonetic boundary lengthening, which in turn correlates with the phonological boundary hierarchy. We present a phonetic implementation model for English /I/, in the spirit of recent work on the phonetic implementation of intonation (Pierrehumbert and Beckman 1988). For this model to work, however, phonetic implementation needs access to boundaries of all strengths — a problem for theories such as Lexical Phonology which consider word-internal boundaries invisible to post-lexical processes (e.g., Mohanan 1986).
The Structure of Noun Phrases in Swedish and German

Szabó (1987) argues that Hungarian "noun phrases" exhibit a higher degree of parallelism with "clauses" than that suggested for English by Abney (1987) in that Hungarian "noun phrases" contain a lexical head and two functional heads: a lower functional head analogous to INFL (NI) and a higher one analogous to COMP (NC). In this paper I will argue that "noun phrases" in Swedish and German likewise contain NI and NC. Evidence for this parallelism comes from the double determination of Swedish "noun phrases", as in (1):

(1) det röda bordet 'the red table-the'

Following Delzing (1988), I will argue that both det and -et are functional heads. I will further argue that the possessive -s is generated under NI in Swedish. Thus, the enclitic article cannot cooccur with a pronominal possessor, as shown in (2):

(2) Svens röda bordet 'Sven's red table'

Furthermore, I will argue that the assumption of two functional heads will make possible a simple account of the following contrast: in possessive constructions in Swedish adjectives take weak inflection (2), while in German they take strong inflection, as in (3):

(3) Stefan roter Tisch 'Stefan's red table'

I will argue that the strong endings are generated under NI in both languages, while the possessive morpheme is generated under NI in Swedish, but under NC in German.

Metathesis as a Morpheme: The Straits Salish Case

In this paper I will present an account of Straits Salish Actual Aspect formation which does not require the use of a morpheme of metathesis as has been suggested in the literature. The use of metathesis in this case would involve a non-linear process in the derivation of a grammatical category, the imperfective aspect, and would be particularly difficult to capture in any theory which relies strictly on concatenative rules in the morphological component. Pertinent examples from Clallam are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ŋa.ə</th>
<th>'shatter'</th>
<th>ˈkə.ət</th>
<th>'shattering'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ˈkə.ət</td>
<td>'grasp'</td>
<td>ˈkə.ət</td>
<td>'grasping'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

My contention is that this apparent transposition of consonant and vowel has, in fact, nothing to do with the phenomenon, which is rather due to the syllable structure of the root and the shifting of stress and the consequent results of certain phonological rules of the grammars of these languages. The appearance of metathesis is therefore a purely superficial effect and hence not part of the formation of the imperfective aspect or any other grammatical category in these languages.

Noun Prefixes in Hmongic

In the Hmongic (Mia) languages of South China and Southeast Asia, bisyllabic nouns consist of a prefix and a root. The language Bunu has many bisyllabic nouns involving many different prefixes. On the other hand, White Hmong has very few bisyllabic nouns at all. At least one prefix can be reconstructed for Proto-Hmongic. Others may be derived from nouns, including examples like White Hmong ḡov 'hole' as used in the word ḡovntsej 'ear'. Although noun morphology has been reconstructed for other proto-languages in the area such as Mon-Khmer and Sino-Tibetan, no one has attempted such reconstruction for Proto-Hmongic. In reconstructing the noun morphology, I posit a noun-class system that was subsequently augmented by calques from Chinese and Zhuang (Tai) and possibly supplanted by noun compounding.
THOMAS STROIK, Morehead State University

Middles and Movement

Roberts (1987) argues that Middles do not assign their external (Agent) Theta-role. If it were the case that Middles lacked an external Theta-role, then two facts about Middles could not be explained. First, as (1) illustrates, Middles permit reflexives in their surface subject.

(1) Books about oneself always read well

*Given that only one theta-role is assigned in (1a), as Roberts claims, then there would be no licensing antecedent for the reflexive. Second, under Roberts's analysis of Middles, the fact that the sentences in (2) do in fact have Agents is unaccounted for.

(2) Those books will read quickly for John

In this paper, I propose that, to account for (1)-(2) as well as the scopal reversal properties of Middles ("which book reads the most quickly for everyone" is ambiguous while "who does every book read quickly for" is unambiguous), we must analyze Middles as double unaccusatives (following Belletti and Rizzi's (1989) analysis of Psych-verbs).

UMA SUBRAMANIAN, Ohio State University

Phrasal Affixes and Their Lexical "Doubles"

In this paper, the Lexicalist Hypothesis (IH henceforth, cf. Chomsky 1970, Bresnan 1982, Lapointe 1979,1983) is defended in the face of some apparent counterexamples in Tamil. A version of LH adds principle flexibility to LH while maintaining the autonomy of syntax: and the lexicon by treating inflections and clitics as phrasal and derivations as lexical. (cf. Matthews 1976, Anderson 1982, 1988, Zwicky 1986, Sadow 1985). Some traditions make no theoretical distinction between derivation and inflection (e.g. Selkirk 1982, Lieber 1980, 1988). In Tamil, some phrasal affixes have lexical "doubles", which apparently weakens the former view; however, I show that they exhibit properties as a phrasal affix which are different from their properties as a lexical affix in a way that confirms the distinction between phrasal and lexical morphology. The opposite situation (one in which lexical affixes have phrasal "doubles", e.g. -ly, -able, -ish etc.) in English and Korean is discussed in Fabb 1984, Toon 1987 respectively; Yoon argues for similar differences in the properties of the phrasal counterparts of these lexical affixes. It is concluded that the predictions of LH and the distinction between phrasal and lexical morphology are borne out by the difference in the behavior of affixes that are both lexical and phrasal in the two domains in terms of the degree of productivity, semantic and phonological predictability, interaction with other word-formation processes and scope.

KARI A. SWINGLE, University of Minnesota-Minneapolis

Another Look at the Progressive Construction in Irish

Various subtheories of GB (e.g., Case theory and X-Bar theory) predict the existence of an underlying VP in the grammars of all natural languages. Hence, for adherents to this theoretical framework, there is strong motivation to find evidence of a VP in languages with largely flat surface word orders. To this end, Sproat (1985) and McCloskey (1983) present similar arguments for analyzing the progressive constructions in the VSO languages Welsh and Irish, respectively, as VPs despite apparent similarities these constructions bear to PPs. The intent of this paper is to show that McCloskey's arguments against a PP analysis and for a VP analysis of the Irish progressive construction are unconvincing. Specifically it will be argued that the /ag/ of progressive constructions (1) is identical to the preposition /at/ (2); apparent evidence to the contrary indicative only of allomorphy;

(1) Tá Cáit [ag maoladh Mhóirtín] is Cáit at praising Mhóirtín-gen
(2) At Cáit [ag feilim Mhóirtín] is Cáit at farm Mhóirtín-gen

'Cáit is praising Mhóirtín (at H's praising)' 'Cáit is at Mhóirtín's farm'

Further, it will be shown that the VP structure proposed by McCloskey for the progressive construction is based on highly marginal data and unlike a PP analysis, is inadequate to accounts of the genitive case-marking of the semantic object and the optional occurrence of emphatic suffixes on the verbal noun. Finally, evidence will be presented to indicate that the PP analysis is supported by the general facts of nominal predication in Irish.
Verb-Copying in Chinese: Syntactic and Semantic Typicality Conditions in Interaction

Verb-copying (e.g. *ta FAKIAN zhejian shi* FAKIAN-le san ge zhongtou *He has read books for three hours.*) in Chinese has recently intrigued a number of syntacticians working in different frameworks including James Huang (1982, 1988) in GB theory. This paper uncovers some hidden aspects of verb-copying hitherto unnoticed and thereby proposes an integrated theory which incorporates Huang's well-known Phrase Structure Condition (PSC) in Chinese and a semantic condition prohibiting 'verb-copying' in predicates describing instantaneous change-of-state situations (e.g. *ta FAKIAN zhejian shi* FAKIAN-le san ge zhongtou *He has discovered this matter for three hours.*). It will be shown that neither PSC nor the semantic condition should be construed as the necessary or sufficient criterial condition. Rather, both the PSC and the semantic conditions are *typicality* conditions (à la Jackendoff 1983) in that they motivate the *prototypes* of 'verb-copying', and yield a gradation of grammaticality in 'verb-copying' in various types of predicates. Thus, 'verb-copying' is optional for some predicates (e.g. *ta ZHUO lu hou kai / ta ZHUO lu ZHUO de hou kai 'he walks fast'). And for some verbs, 'verb-copying' is more acceptable for frequency than for duration complements (e.g. *ta DAO Meigu o DAO-le san ci 'He has come to U.S. three times.' versus *ta DAO Meigu DAO-le san ci 'He has been in U.S. for three years.*). The paper concludes with a discussion of the interaction between syntactic and semantic conditions in relation to categorization judgments in human perception in general.

ANN TAYLOR, University of Pennsylvania

Second Position Clisis and Free Word Order

It has long been observed that clitics in many languages show a preference for second position (2P) in the clause (Mackernael 1981, Zwicky 1977, Kaisse 1982, etc.). It has also been noted that there is a significant overlap between languages possessing 2P clitics and those with free word order (Zwicky 1985, Novis 1986). The nature of the connection between the two, however, has previously gone unexamined. In this paper, drawing on recent analyses of clitics as "phrasal affixes" (Klavaus 1982) and the proposal that free word order languages have relatively flat surface structures (Mats 1982, Pullum 1982, Zwicky 1986), I show that the domain of a clitic (i.e., the phrase to which it attaches) is either the phrase the clitic belongs to semantically or B and propose that this choice is dependent on whether or not the semantic phrase is represented in phrase structure by a corresponding structural phrase. Thus, in a language with a completely "flat" surface structure, there is only one phrase projection (i.e. B), and all clitics will attach to it since it is the only phrase node available. In languages with intermediate degrees of word order freedom (e.g., surface structure NPs but not VPs, etc.), the distribution of the clitics will be different, reflecting the more hierarchical surface structure of these languages. I connect this variation in the choice of domain to the well-known variation in the definition of 2P as following either the first constituent or the first word, and show that the source of both is in the phrase structure and not in the clitic placement rule as has been proposed (Pullum 1981, Kaisse 1982). This serves to simplify things considerably since clitic placement remains a uniform process and the two rather different alternations, the choice of domain and the definition of 2P, turn out to arise from the same source.

TALBOT J. TAYLOR, College of William and Mary

Rules and Explanation in Conversation Analysis

This paper extends the discussion presented in Taylor and Cameron (1987). It was argued there that none of the currently available rule-based models of conversation are able to provide the required account of conversational interaction as an intersubjective achievement. And yet, without such an account conversation analysis is limited to descriptive adequacy. Conversational rules must therefore be reconceived as public norms which are imposed on interactants and which they explicitly impose on each other during the never-ending (political) process of socialization. It is by reference to such norms that interactants themselves explain their own and others' conversational behavior and thereby succeed in imposing structural regularity on their interactions. It is possible to envisage an explanatory adequate account of the structural features of conversational interaction, based on such lay mechanisms of control.
MARGARET THOMAS, Harvard University
AKIO KAMIJO, Dukkyo University

Referential Properties of English IT and THAT

Propositional, anaphoric it and that exhibit subtle semantic and pragmatic differences. (1) A: Overnight parking on the street is prohibited in Brookline.
B: It's absurd!
C: That's absurd!
Use of it in (1) requires that B already know the fact uttered by A (perhaps B is a Brookline resident) but A's utterance may be novel information to C. In (2) only that can appear because Y overtly states that X's utterance is not part of his/her prior knowledge.
(2) X: Fred arrived even later than Sally.
Y: I didn't know that / *it.
Pronominal it/that are also sensitive to the degree of processing of their referents:
(3) Put the box on the chair then go outside and see if you can see /that (=box)
through the window.
Here it refers to an entity already entered into the discourse; that refers to the box + chair configuration constructed by (3) itself. Although both it and that are MDP Anaphor (Sag & Hantke, 1980: no syntactic parallel required; definite use OK), it indicates information already integrated into the speaker's discourse model, whereas that represents information newly encountered by the speaker. Thus it and that serve as anaphors at distinct levels of language processing.

ROSALIND THORNTON, University of Connecticut
STEPHEN CRAIN, University of Connecticut

Children's Use of Pronouns as Bound Variables

This study investigated children's use of bound pronouns in Wh-questions such as "Who said he has a marble?" Eleven 4- to 6-year-old children were tested using an elicited production task. Six situations were devised in which one experimenter made some character(s) whisper something to a puppet being handled by a second experimenter. The child posed questions to the puppet about who said what. The main findings are these: Children differed in their choice of bound pronoun: Six children consistently used "they" even in asking about a single character ("Who said they have a marble?"); three children sometimes repeated the Wh-phrase ("Who said who have marbles?") and sometimes omitted the bound pronoun altogether ("Who said have marbles?"). The remaining two children used direct speech. An interesting non-adult response was given by four children, who used 'collective' rather than 'distributive' expressions. For example, when two characters whispered "I have a marble", these children's corresponding question was "Who said they have two marbles?" In contrast to their difficulties with bound pronouns, all eleven children gave appropriate responses in another set of six situations which were contrived to elicit utterances with referential pronouns in Strong Crossover sentences such as "Who did they say has a marble?" This is interpreted as evidence of the early emergence of structural constraints on coreference relations, as anticipated by Universal Grammar.

ROBYNE TIEDEMANN, Princeton University
JAYA SARMA, University of Connecticut

Methodological and Theoretical Issues Regarding the Acquisition of Wh-Questions

We address two issues regarding the acquisition of Wh-questions in English: the reliability of the data and an explanation for the data. Earlier studies (Bellugi 1965, 75, Kuczaj & Brannick 1979, Ingram & Tyack 1979, Davis 1986, Strohmold 1980) report data attained by observation of spontaneous production or from imitation tasks, and suggest particular acquisition stages (e.g., (1) lack of Subject-Aux Inversion (SAI) in Wh-questions, (2) SAI in some questions before others, (3) difficulties with Subject questions, (4) later acquisition of why questions). We used the elicited production methodology (which we argue, better taps the child's linguistic competence), where the desired structure is the only appropriate response and the child produces the structure on his own. Our results support some (i.e., (1) & (2)), but not all (i.e., (3) & (4)), of the suggested stages of the earlier studies. 18 children (2.5-3.53) were adept at producing Wh-questions, while 4 produced non-adult structures (1 & 2). We found no difficulties with Subject Wh-questions or why questions (cf. Strohmold 1980). Our theoretical analyses predict just these results. Following recent work (e.g., Chomsky 1986) we assume antecedent government to be the only notion relevant to the Empty Category Principle (ECP). We propose a parameterized ECP in which, in the initial setting, the antecedent governor must be an X* (head of CP). Then, assuming SAI rules over X* antecedent government (cf. Koopman 1983), SAI will be precluded for children (those producing 1 & 2) still at the initial ECP setting.
Non-Topical Bracketing of Episodes in Oral Interaction

The most common method of segmenting oral interaction is by shift in topic (i.e., topic continuity and discontinuity). The purpose of this paper is to present a more interactionally based episodizing of such discourse.

The practice of bracketing episodes of oral interaction by shift in topic reflects the sort of interactions most commonly studied, and represents a bias of researchers toward content over relationships (with notable exception of Tannen's work).

By contrast, in a seventy minute exchange in Turkish between a religious master and his student, well-known to each other, the boundaries of episodes are negotiated and repeatedly serve to affirm the relationship of the participants. I will describe the bracketing markers of episodes, their variations, and their vital importance in the meaning of the exchange.

Aspects that are marginal in topical analysis thus become central in the perspective of this study.

A Semantic Characterization of Referentially Dependent Noun Phrases

Many syntactic and semantic studies have focused on the distribution of closed-class lexical NPs such as her, herself, and each other. Recent work has demonstrated that many other NPs are also referentially dependent (Carlson 1987, Keenan 1987). In this paper, I provide a model-theoretic semantic analysis of a number of referentially dependent NPs, including those below:

(1) Bob and Chris saw a total of nine plays.
(2) Alice's friends had two hobbies in common.
(3) Three students read the same books.
(4) Every student read a different book.
(5) Ashu's parents speak related dialects of Denya.
(6) No students saw each other's scores.

These NPs are interpreted as functions which map two-place relations onto sets of properties.

This analysis leads to two novel and interesting results. First, NPs may be classified according to their degree of dependency as specified by six semantic conditions on higher-order functions. This classification shows that English NPs cluster at points along an anaphor "squish", in the sense of Ross (1972).

Second, distinctions made by these semantic conditions correlate with differences in syntactic distribution. For example, Strong and Weak Crossover effects are shown to generalize from bound variable pronouns to other classes of referentially dependent NPs. Unlike pronouns, these higher-order NPs appear to discriminate between crossover environments at S-structure and LF, as exemplified below.

(7) a. * Which students did the same professor fail?
   b. The same professor failed at least three students.

Stress-Timing, Spanish Rhythm, and Particle Phonology

Traditional descriptions of rhythm have stated that Spanish is a syllable-timed language. Recent experimental studies have questioned this claim. Little work has been done on vocalic processes in Cuban Spanish, but it has been noted that unstressed vowels may be raised and that stressed vowels may lengthen. This paper examines such phenomena in a recorded speech sample of 20 Cubans who arrived in the United States in 1986. Raising of unstressed vowels and lengthening of stressed vowels have been found in this sample, in addition to devoicing of unstressed vowels and diphthongization of stressed mid vowels. These vocalic processes are analyzed within the framework of particle phonology as proposed by Schane 1984, in which vowels are considered to be composed of three elementary particles: a (aperture), i (palatality), and u (labiality). All of the vocalic processes described here contribute to a greater differentiation in length between stressed and unstressed syllables. This difference is especially notable for examples such as "es Tatujful for "study"; pie:ls(g)s for pesos 'unit of currency'; repesejtfl for respeto 'respect'. Utterances produced in this manner are certainly not syllable-timed. These findings, combined with those of experimental studies, suggest that a length difference is emerging between stressed and unstressed syllables, thus calling into question the traditional classification of Spanish as a syllable-timed language.
A Cluster of Typological Surprises in Majang

This paper will present data to show that some hitherto undocumented typological combinations do in fact exist. Majang (Nilo-Saharan) is a USO language with some typological combinations hitherto undescribed or rare in the typological literature, (following mainly Hawkins 1983). Numerous examples will show Majang has the following previously unknown or rare combinations:

N = noun
GEN = genitive
CL = Clause

USO and postposition: Bëkkālũ kā lligārēl' kēlt gōdē tāk
killed lligayel rat house in 'I, killed a rat in the house.

USO and question words finally: kēlũ kēlũ gōdō
chopped tree who? 'Who chopped the tree?'

Postpositions with NRelative CL & NPossessive: jārī̀sē mēlk+tik tān+nāk
woman came+RELATIV cow+my

Postpositions with NPossessive & NGenitive: tān+nāk amī tān+bōk
woman cow+my hair+GEN

Postpositions with NNumeral & NGenitive: tōgī ā tōu ēl gōdē tāpād+ōn+k
cow five house chief+GEN

Postpositions with NDemonstrative & NGenitive: kēlũ měb sāsālũ hāg+ōn+ē+yik
tree that baby Haage+GEN

ENRIC VALDÚVÍ, University of Pennsylvania

ONLY and Focus

It has been largely assumed in the literature (e.g. Kratzer 1989) that only is a focusing operator, i.e. that the scope of only is the focus of the sentence. This has been taken to mean that only and focus are one and the same thing and that focus must be interpreted as an only-type exhaustive listing quantifier (e.g. Szabolcsi 1981, 1983, Svoroda & Materna 1987).

This paper shows that the identification of focus and only-type quantifiers is erroneous. Two types of evidence are presented to support this claim: a) non-interchangeability of only and focus in either absolute terms (I met NOBODY at the party vs. *I only met NOBODY at the party), or in a given context (I knew the Amazon quite well and now I've been to the CITIES in Brazil vs. *I knew the Amazon quite well and now I've only been to the CITIES in Brazil); b) occurrences of only in sentence positions which are unequivocally non-focal: IT'S JOHN who eats only rice, To HARRY, she gave only a shirt, Cat. No el VULL, nomds un duro 'I don't want it, only a nickel'.

These facts suggest that, while it is true that the scope of only is generally determined by intonational means (Hoeksema 1989), like focus is, focus and only are non-identical. This finding is in agreement with approaches that suggest that focus is not a logical operator, and that the 'exhaustiveness implication' must be derived somehow else (Korn 1981, Atlas 1981).

CLAYTON VALLI, Gallaudet University
CEIL LUCAS, Gallaudet University

Black Deaf Signers in Language Contact Situations

Differences between the signing of Black and White signers of American Sign Language (ASL) have been reported both anecdotaly and in research findings. Specifically, Aramburo (1989) reports that the signing of Black deaf individuals varies as a function of the race of the other participants in a conversational setting. Based on the interaction of two Black deaf men with a variety of interlocutors, Aramburo provides evidence for code-switching and lexical variation. The paper proposed here is part of an on-going project on language contact in the American deaf community, and will describe the signing of 8 Black deaf signers (4 men, 4 women) in 4 videotaped interview settings: with a Black deaf interviewer, with a Black hearing interviewer, with a White deaf interviewer, and with a White hearing interviewer. The project findings for the 12 White deaf informants reveal complex patterns of language use within the interviews, with switches taking place between ASL, contact signing, and Signed English, as a function of individual linguistic and educational background, formality of the setting, and lack of familiarity with co-interlocutors. This paper will describe the overall pattern of language use during the interviews with the Black informants, and compare it to the language use of the White informants.
Serial Clause Constructions in American Sign Language

This paper focuses on a complex, previously unanalyzed construction in American Sign Language. The construction is used to describe transitive events involving action directed towards a part of the body. For example, the ASL equivalent of "the girl paints on the boy's face" would be GIRL PAINT BOY PAINT-FACE. The first verb, PAINT, is spatially marked for agreement with subject and object, but does not specify the affected body part. The second verb, PAINT-FACE, is articulated on the signer's face, incorporating the signer's body as a body classifier; it is obligatorily marked with referential shift (involving changes in eye-gaze and body position). An analysis of the construction will be presented, addressing in particular the following questions: whether this is a mono-clausal, serial verb construction; what the argument structure of the second verb is; the relationship between the referential shift and the (formationally identical) referential shift that is used as a discourse marker of direct quotation. The analysis claims in part that: the construction involves two clauses; the incorporated body classifier is the subject of the second clause; the referential shift marking is part of a single system which includes the direct-quotation marker.

THOMAS C. VEATCH, University of Pennsylvania

Word-Final Devoicing of Fricatives in English

Although "final devoicing" in German is the most widely known process of Germanic phonology, little attention has been paid to it in another Germanic language, namely, English. The word-final devoicing of the underlyingly voiced obstruents, especially fricatives, is a frequent, systematically conditioned, variable phonetic rule in spoken English. In word-final and sometimes syllable-final position, these obstruents are often actually phonetically voiceless: the fricatives have no concurrent glottal pulsing, and the stops have a voiceless aspirated release. However, there are few empirical studies of this subject. To existing indirect and impressionistic evidence concerning English fricative devoicing (Denes 1955, Sapir 1921), this paper adds quantitative and instrumental data. Important conditioning factors are discussed, as well as the place of this process within the overall phonetics and phonology of English, and its prevalence across various dialects. The most robust result to emerge is the conditioning effect of the following segment, which patterns according to a sonority hierarchy: devoicing occurs progressively more often before vowels, voiced obstruents, voiceless obstruents, and pause, with frequency increasing across this hierarchy from about 25% to nearly 100% for one speaker.

S. PAUL VERLUTTEN, University of Antwerp

Vowel Neutralizations in French

This paper presents a study of the neutralization of the following vowel oppositions in French: a - o; e - o; e - e; i - a; it is based on a sample of 100 native speakers. General conclusions include:

- The number of neutralizations is lower than expected: around 50%.
- Neutralization occurs, as expected, much more frequently in unstressed syllables (56%) than in stressed syllables (25%).
- Surprisingly, neutralization affects as much e - o as it affects a - o; also unexpectedly, the e - o opposition is better preserved than e - e.
- Contrary to one of our own hypotheses about syllabic prominence, neutralization is not consistently more frequent in penultimate syllables than in antepenults.
- Four sociolinguistic variables were part of our study: (a) sex: no correlation (m 47% - f 47%); (b) age group: younger speakers (under 30: 53%) neutralize more than older speakers (over 50: 41%); (c) region: speakers from 'peripheral regions' (Belgium 30%, Southern France 52%) neutralize much less than speakers from 'central' areas (Paris and Northern France 59%); (d) social class: lower middle class speakers appear to neutralize more than lower class and higher class speakers.

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KEITH WALTERS, Ohio State University

The Interviewer as Variable in Quantitative Sociolinguistic Studies

Although there has been heated debate among quantitative sociolinguists (e.g., Labov 1972, Milroy 1986) about the influence of the interviewer on the nature and quality of data collected, the interviewer continues to be treated as a constant with respect to reporting results. Except for the discussion in Trudgill 1986:7-10, the actual behavior of an interviewer is almost never analyzed; indeed, in many large-scale studies, teams of interviewers who vary in terms of sex, age, or place of origin—the very variables being investigated among the interviewees—are sometimes used and the interviews they conduct treated as a single, unpartitioned corpus. Using data from two variables (raising of word-final (e:) and word-initial [g]-[z] alternation) in a quantitative study of Tunisian Arabic in which a subsample (n=7) of the sample (n=23) was interviewed by two interviewers (one male, the other female), this presentation demonstrates why the interviewer should not be considered a constant. An analysis of the behavior of this subsample reveals that each interviewer elicits different patterns of variation. Within the context of the behavior of the larger sample and of the interviewers, the behavior of this subsample raises new questions about the relationship between short-term accommodation and language variation and change. The research also demonstrates that studies using the independent variable of sex as a determinant of variation are probably getting half the relevant data, at best, when a single interviewer (usually male) is used. Finally, the presentation argues that by considering the interviewer as variable, we not only gain a new source of data but also increase the likelihood of coming to understand linguistic variation in its social context.

GREGORY L. WARD, Northwestern University

A Functional Analysis of VP Preposing

An examination of naturally-occurring data reveals that the function of VP Preposing (VPP), illustrated in 1, is to affirm a salient proposition explicitly evoked in the discourse:

1. (a) As members of a Gray Panthers' committee, we went to Canada learn...

(b) AND LEARN WE DID.

In 1, the proposition 'We learn' is first evoked – but neither entailed nor presupposed – by 1a, and then affirmed by the VPP in 1b. In this paper, three types of proposition affirmation are proposed, corresponding to the three types of propositions which VPP serves to affirm. INDEPENDENT PROPOSITION AFFIRMATION affirms a proposition which is neither semantically entailed nor presupposed in the discourse (e.g. 1). CONCESSION AFFIRMATION affirms, contra Ward 1985, a proposition despite some countervailing consideration having been conceded in the discourse (cf. Horn 1987). SCALAR AFFIRMATION affirms, contra Horn 1987, a proposition as representing a high value on a scale evoked in the discourse (cf. Ward 1985). Finally, we demonstrate how VPP is related to other types of OSV word order.

JAMES K. WATTERS, Summer Institute of Linguistics

The Syntax of Applicatives in Tepehua (Totonacan)

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the difference between instrumental applicative objects (IAOs) and benefactive applicative objects (BAOs) in Tepehua (Totonacan) in light of recent work which treats such constructions as involving preposition incorporation. Baker has argued for a universal distinction between BAOs and IAOs: the former receive their th-role from a P in D-Strux, the latter receive it directly from the V. A corollary of this is that IAOs may be assigned either inherent or structural Case from the V; BAOs may only be assigned structural Case from the V. Certain facts support a similar analysis for Tepehua, e.g., only IAOs can occur in construction with the (Case-absorbing) de-transitivizing suffix (i). However, contrary to such an analysis, BAOs do occur freely with intransitive verbs (ii). This and other data suggest either a merger account (as in Maranta, with percolation of features from the affix or a purely lexical account in which the presence of valence-increasing morphemes license the presence of additional arguments.

(i) pus-c'oq

INST-write-PFV

'X wrote Y with it.'

(ii) pus-c'oq-nu

INST-write-AP-PFV

'Sleep-BEN-DMPF

'X sleeps for Y.'

'X wrote Y with it.'
Perceptual Abilities of Japanese Learning English

Most earlier studies of Japanese perception of English contrasts have focussed only on the perception of /r/ and /l/ (Goto 1971, Mochizuki 1989). Many of these have used synthetic tokens (Mann 1986; Miyawaki 1975). No studies have investigated the perception of Japanese children and teenagers immersed in English using a variety natural language stimuli where the effect, if any, of age at immersion and length of stay could be evaluated. In this study 59 Japanese ranging in age from 5 to 18 years were tested on 14 English consonantal contrasts produced by a native English speaker. Length of stay ranged from 1-2 to 13 years; all subjects were attending public schools. The relationship of overall scores to length of stay was significant at the .001 level; age at time of arrival in the U. S. was inversely correlated with scores and was significant at the .01 level. Other effects for word position and type of sound were also found. The results of this study suggest that for young L2 learners both length of stay and age at time of L2 immersion play a significant role in the acquisition of a native-like perceptual system.

DON WEEDEA, University of Texas-Austin

Foot Extrametricality in Central Alaskan Yupik Eskimo

Should the deletion of prosodic constituents be allowed by phonological theory, as encountered in many analyses yielding hyposthetic and imperative forms? Here we examine a more abstract putative prosodic deletion process from which follows a pattern of de-stressing at the end of the intonational phrase (IP) in Central Alaskan Yup'ik (examples from Hiyooka 1985):

a. [nunakas] [tamana] → nu.na1.kaa.ta.ma1.na 'that is HIS land'
   IP
b. [nunakas tamana] → nu.na1.kaa.ta.ma1.na 'that is his land'
   IP

(Footing is invariable; VV represents phonemic long vowels; V1 represents vowels lengthened in certain underlyingly light stressed syllables.) The emphatic interpretation in (a) of nunakas 'land-his' correlates with the IP break resulting in stressless kaa.

Woodbury (1986) accounts for de-stressing through deletion of an IP-final foot without affecting syllables. An alternative account is based on IP-final foot extrametricality and is preferable in that Exhaustiveness (in the sense of Prince 1983) is not violated. Further, an interesting rule for Nunivak dialect-specific Stray Syllable Footing may be simplified to insertion of a group-final foot.

JOHN WHITMAN, Cornell University

String Vacuous INFL to COMP in Topic Prominent Languages

Topic phrases in languages such as Japanese and Korean have long been held to be dominated by a projection of COMP, in contrast to scrambled constituents, which appear to involve conjunction to S. Topicalization, but not Scrambling, is largely a root clause phenomenon. In this regard JK T resembles T in the majority of Germanic languages, where T is restricted to root clauses because it involves (i) movement to SPEC,CP (ii) raising of INFL into the empty COMP of CP. If T in JK indeed involves (i), we should expect a reflex of (ii) as well. Evidence for such a reflex exists in the distribution of sentence-final modal elements in JK. In contrast to Germanic/Romanic, where root clauses are headed by Tense, JK root clauses are headed by a modal element. T is restricted to just those environments (including a subset of embedded clause types) where overt modals also occur; in embedded contexts (relative clauses, conditionals) where T is blocked, sentence-final modals are likewise. The hypothesis that sentence-final modals are raised into COMP, licensing a topic phrase in SPEC,CP parallel to INFL -> COMP in Germanic, explains the facts. Particularly strong evidence for Mood -> COMP comes from the behavior of sentence-final question particles in Japanese: QPrts co-occurring with an overt COMP in embedded contexts receive a modal (non-interrogative) interpretation and fail to license WH words; QPrts in absolute final position license WH words, suggesting that they originate in the position of modals and are raised into COMP in root interrogative contexts.

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A Reanalysis of Oscan-Umbrian Syncope

In the most complete discussion of Oscan and Umbrian syncope to date, Benediktsson has argued for a two-step development: (1) syncope in final syllables; (2) multiple applications of syncope in second syllables conditioned by an initial accent (parallel to that assumed for Latin on similar evidence). This paper suggests an alternative, unitary rule for Oscan-Umbrian syncope, based on a review of all syncopated forms available: short vowels in initial syllables are deleted starting from the end of the word in a quantity-sensitive alternating pattern. Such a pattern of alternating strong and weak positions need not be conditioned by accent, as the remarkably parallel treatment of the jers in Slavic under Havlík's Law indicates. Such a pattern of syncope accounts for the data more accurately than Benediktsson's rules, as such forms as Q. Nuvelius (< Nonvelio < where B. would predict Nunelius) and U. erešlu (a) (< aizke-kelom (with third, not second syllable syncope) are properly derived. Such an account ties syncope in Oscan and Umbrian to a prosodic system similar to the historical Latin accentual system, and weakens the case for a 'Daeonian Italic initial accent' (though not for treating second syllables as phonologically weak). While these conclusions and parallels can be most clearly stated within the framework of metrical phonology, the conclusions of this study are not dependent on a particular theoretical orientation.

RICHARD NOJCIEK, Boeing Advanced Technology Center (SAT MORN: F)
JAMES E. HOARE & LISBETH E. DUNCAN-LA COSTE, Boeing Advanced Technology Center

Lexical and Phrasal Issues in the Disambiguation of Noun Phrases

The resolution of ambiguity between noun phrases and lexical compounds is an extremely difficult problem for syntactic parsing and semantic analysis. The problem is especially acute in technical language, where it is not uncommon to find adjectives embedded in lexical compounds: digital command remote control, stop action special effects, lower cargo door latch. A linguistically adequate text processor must not only be able to generate all possible syntactic configurations for such sequences, but also to choose the most reasonable parse for the context. We discuss the merits of two different approaches to parsing such sequences. One is to combine lexical categories to form lexical compounds, and the other is to allow phrasal rules to participate in compound formation. Both approaches have been tried in a fairly robust (GPSG-based) parsing system using technical language from several domains, including naval tactical messages and aircraft maintenance manuals. Finally, we describe the types of inferences that lead to the correct parse. Basically, it is necessary to consult information not only about the domain involved, but also the objects being described. For example, in lower cargo door latch, there is no concept corresponding to lower cargo in our domain, but there are concepts such as cargo door and door latch. Although cargo does not combine with door latch semantically, cargo door, as a type of door, combines with latch. Finally, the question of whether lower combines with cargo door or cargo door latch depends on whether the knowledge base for some aircraft references two cargo doors or two latches on cargo doors. Our research on complex noun phrases reveals the necessity of having cooperative syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic analysis to achieve correct interpretations. None of these components is sufficient by itself.

ANTHONY C. WOODBURY, University of Texas-Austin (THURS MORN: B)

Tone Association in the Central Alaskan Yupik Eskimo Intonational Word

It is argued that the (intonational) word in Central Alaskan Yupik is associated with the tone sequence [L H], where L associates to the first (preassigned) stress, H to the last, and FO is realized as a straightline interpolation between values of L and H:

- (1) a. a n i  n e n e n  b. a n a n i  n e n e n  c. a n a n i  n e n e n e n
  \H  \H  \H  \H
  'his mother/INST'   'his mat. aunt/INST'   'his fem. cross-cousin/INST'

  This account predicts three different outcomes for one-stress words, depending on different assumptions of exclusivity and precedence for tone association:
  (2) a. a n i  n e n e n  b. a n i  n i  n e n  c. a n i  n i  n e n  
  \L  \L  \L
  'his mother'  'his mother'

  (2a-b) result if tone association is exclusive (left-first or right-first, resp.), (2c) if not. Systematic evidence from 5 speakers shows that all three outcomes occur, i.e., the surviving tones in all three variants in (2) are scaled like L and H tones of multistress words (cf. (1)) uttered in otherwise-identical sentence frames. Moreover, discourse and experimental data show that choice among (2a-c) is partially restricted tonologically but also not entirely frame. A target-and-interpolation model (Pierrehumbert & Beckman 1988) accounts for these facts simply if it combines impoverished representation ([L H]) with relaxed, facultative conventions for association at the phonetic level.

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MALCAH YAEGER-DOR, Ben Gurion University  
(THURS MORN: E) 

Statistical Analysis of Social and Linguistic Variation

Israeli Hebrew (IH) has three key phonological variables, or 'markers' -- (resh), (ayin), and (het). Percentages of different phonetic realizations of the phonological variables were tabulated, and different variable rule runs of the data were made, to determine the degree to which various linguistic and social factors have influenced the speech of the individuals whose data were collected, and to determine the degree to which different statistical programs influence the conclusions which can be drawn from a given analysis.

In recent years linguists have come to the conclusion that the less self-conscious the 'style' of speech, the more systematic the data which will result (Yaeger 1974; Labov 1989). However, the present study of necessity uses relatively self-conscious styles, and includes for a given speaker 2 or more styles or registers. Consequently, the study draws some tentative conclusions on the relative usefulness of specific (REGISTERS) for sociolinguistic analysis. Both phonological environment of a given variable, and the attention paid to a given word can influence variation as well. Consequently, there are several linguistic factor groups as well.

Given the number of factor groups, it is clear that only a multivariate analysis technique can evaluate the data effectively. Two different versions of the Sankoff analysis technique, generally referred to as 'varbrul', have been adapted for the use of micro-computers. Both of these have been used for this present analysis. While the results of the two analyses do not contradict each other, using both programs highlights the fact that different computational options create different analyses. Conclusions can only be drawn from the questions which a given program permits the linguist to ask; sociolinguistic conclusions will be discussed, as well as our conclusions about the relative merits of the two programs.

HARU YAMADA, Georgetown University  
(FRI AFT: E)

Topic Shifts in American and Japanese Business Conversations

Following Gumperz (1982) and Tannen (1984), cross-cultural research has shown that different sociolinguistic groups use different conversational strategies because of different interactional assumptions. A study of American and Japanese bank officers' meetings shows that Americans and Japanese use different strategies to shift topics: the Americans use formulaic talk to explicitly close and shift topics; the Japanese do not close topics, but use silence to shift topics instead.

American Topic Shift Strategy  
PRIOR TOPIC: A: n. iishuukan desu yo  
CLOSE: A: that's all I have  
END: (mha, it's a week)

Japanese Topic Shift Strategy  
PRIOR TOPIC: B: zenzen hanashi ga chigundesu kedo ...  
OPEN: B: this talk is completely different but ...  
SILENCE: (8.2 seconds)

The American strategy serves within-group independence by giving each officer their right to talk on a specific topic. The Japanese strategy serves nonconfrontation as silence replaces the oppositional topic switch.

JAMES H. YOON, University of Illinois-Urbana  
(THURS MORN: C)

Korean Nominalizations, Lexicalism, and Morphosyntax Interface

Nominalizations (NMLN) have been cited as evidence that parts of words (nominalizing affixes) must be atomic in syntax (Abney 87, Baker 83). However, there are lexicalist alternatives that do not countenance such phrasal affixes but instead rely on feature percolation through which a verbal projection (S) can take on nominal properties (S, +N) (Hale and Patero 85, Mikesen & Lefebvre 88). Often the data is neutral with respect to the two. In this paper, I present arguments that syntactic NMLNs in Korean provide positive evidence that affixal nominalizers must be syntactic atoms in this language.

A John-t a pap-ul mek-ssa-un "John-NOM rice-ACC eat-FAST-NML(nominalizer)" I take the NOM to be a sister to IP, combining with it to form a nominal constituent. There are several reasons why a feature percolation analysis fails. First, if NMLNs are clauses marked [+N], the head (→N) of the clause must be (→N), given reasonable assumptions about feature percolation. This in turn predicts that the subject NP in the Spec of IP should be marked Genitive. It is marked Nominative instead and there are no instances where Nominative is found in NPs. Second, the 'scope' of NOM distributes over coordination, as should be the case if it is a sister to a conjoined IP:

B. John-t a pap-ul mek-to Mary-ka swul-ul masi-m "J-NOM rice·ACC eat-QNJ K-NOM beer·ACC drink-NML (the fact that John ate and Mary drank)"

In a lexicalist alternative, unless only the first conjunct is the head of the coordinate structure (contra GPSO), the entire structure cannot be marked [+N]. Making all conjuncts heads doesn't work either because when only the first conjunct is nominalized, the scope of the NML is confined to that conjunct. In the paper, I give evidence which points to the same conclusion.
Welsh NP Predicates

The syntax of predicate nominals (PNs) in Welsh provides evidence supporting Heggie's (1988) claims that all PNs are syntactic predicates and that referential PNs undergo focus movement. This analysis is controversial in that while indefinite PNs ("He is a doctor") are generally treated as predicates, referential PNs (e.g., "That man is Bill") are analyzed as arguments (e.g., Rapoport 1987). Furthermore, the effects of focus movement (to preclausal or VP-adjunct position) are opaque in English since the basic NP-de-NP word order is maintained. We present data from Welsh confirming Heggie's analysis: the distribution of forms of bod "be" indicates that, like predicate adjectives and indefinite PNs, referential PNs are syntactic predicates. In addition, strict directional government and VSO word order in Welsh make the effects of PN focus movement transparent. However, we depart from Heggie in our explanation of why focus movement occurs, drawing on the fact that while focus of name and deictic PNs is obligatory in both languages, focus of definite PNs is obligatory in Welsh but optional in English. We argue that this movement serves two functions: it allows a non-standard mapping from the syntactic to the semantic component and licenses otherwise unlicensed referential indices. Both functions are ultimately attributable to Chomsky's (1986) Full Interpretation (FI) and entail that Welsh focus is the unmarked case. Our analysis explains the syntax of Welsh PNs, supports Heggie's approach and confirms the crucial role of FI in licensing syntactic representations.

SHI ZHANG, University of Arizona

Correlations between Dative Shift and Preposition-Stranding

Larson (1988) suggests that the disappearance of to in a dative shift structure such as Bill gave Mary a letter is similar to Case absorption in the passive; moreover, only in languages where P(repositions) are objective Case assigners will such absorption of the language particular analogue of to occur. Larson also adopts Kayne's (1984) view that only objective Case assignment by P will permit stranding in structures such as Who did Bill give a letter to. His reasoning leads him to predict that "Dative shift will thus be impossible in French, Italian, and Spanish...but possible in the P-stranding languages such as English, Dutch and Danish". More generally, Larson predicts that (#): languages which do not permit P-stranding also do not permit dative shift.

I argue that (#) is untenable by showing that Chinese, Indonesian and German are counterexamples. These languages all have dative shift but do not allow P-stranding. I then argue that the alternative of treating Chinese dative constructions as serial verb constructions (Li 1985) to maintain (#) is also not viable by presenting evidence to show that dative constructions are syntactically different from true serial verb constructions in Chinese. Since there exist languages with dative shift but without P-stranding, but not languages with P-stranding but without dative shift, the non-existence of the latter languages indicates that there is some "correlation" between the constructions. I claim that whatever is a necessary condition for the existence of dative shift may also be a necessary condition for P-stranding; but what is a sufficient condition for dative shift is not necessarily a sufficient condition for P-stranding.

BAO ZHIMING, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

On the Nature of Contour Tones

Two representations of contour tones have been proposed in autosegmental phonology. The first, (1a), considers them as combinations of level tones: The second, (1b), treats contours as branching off the register node. Both fail to account for the changing facts (2) where the high falling tone 53 becomes low falling 21 before a low rising tone 13:

(1) a. HL b. [r] c. t (2) 53 13 > 21 13

A

r c (r: register; c: contour; t: tone)

(2) is a clear case of L (i.e. [-r]) spreading, leaving the contour intact. This process is not expressible in a theory like (1a), as (3a) shows; and in a theory like (1b) spreading the r node also spreads the contour, as (3b) shows. I argue for (1c), where register and contour form two separate tiers dominated by the node t. (2) supports (1c).

(3) a. s b. s c. [+r] [-r] where:

HL LH [r] t t S: tone bearing units

HL LH F P R: falling contour

R: rising contour

The representation (1c) allows the register to spread independently of the contour. This is the result which is supported by evidence such as (2).

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English Influenced Semantic Change in American Sign Language

Users of ASL are often in contact with the English language. Thus, any ASL signer will become to at least some extent bilingual. As in other language contact situations, borrowing from English into ASL frequently occurs. This situation has two important differences from contact situations involving two spoken languages: 1) the impossibility of borrowing a true phonological representation of an English word, and 2) the possibility of producing an English word simultaneously with an ASL sign. Because the articulatory structures of ASL and English are so different, English influence on the ASL lexicon is mainly seen in the area of semantics.

The present work examines semantic change in ASL lexical items due to the influence of English. This phenomenon follows a natural pattern for semantic change in ASL signs - from more iconic to more arbitrary. Three types of semantic borrowings are discussed: 1) loan translation, 2) semantic shift, and 3) the creation of new lexical items (including the use of signs to indicate completely new meanings and those in which there is a lexical category shift).
ABSTRACTS

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regular papers
Toward a Multifunctional Model of Written Discourse Conventions

Scholars (e.g., Bazerman 1988) have described the conventions of selected genres of written discourse, but theories explaining the evolution and functions of written discourse conventions (WDCs) have not yet been proposed. This paper begins with a discussion of past research on conventionalized language, and then develops a multifunctional approach to WDCs. According to this model, conventions serve three complex functions in written text. Cognitively, conventions are represented by schemata and prefabricated syntax. These cognitive "structures" serve: 1) to partly enable discourse processing and production, and 2) to enhance the efficiency of these processes. Socially, WDCs aid in the constitution and maintenance of "discourse communities" (Swales forthcoming) by providing community norms and standards, which promote efficient communication and solidarity among community members, as well as act as "norms of partiality" (Hartsch 1987) by keeping would-be members out. Textually, WDCs contribute to coherence at five levels. At a superlinguistic level (but with linguistic reflexes) they function as community-wide "conventions for constraining reality" (Bizzell 1982). Linguistically and rhetorically, WDCs serve to ensure coherence at the macro-rhetorical, rhetorical, clause-boundary and lexical levels of text. Characteristics of written scientific reports are used to illustrate this model.

LYLE F. BAGMAN, University of California-Los Angeles
FRED DAVIDSON

The Cambridge-TOEFL Comparability Study

The Cambridge-TOEFL Comparability Study (CTCS) investigated the comparability of two of the world's most widely-used EFL proficiency test batteries: the Test of English as a Foreign Language, Test of Spoken English and the Test of Written English, administered by Educational Testing Service, and the First Certificate in English administered by the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate. Approximately 1,600 subjects from eight countries took both test batteries in December of 1989. Although the reliabilities of some of the tests were low, factor analyses of test scores indicate similar patterns of loadings across the two batteries. All measures loaded most heavily on a higher-order general factor, while factor loadings on the primary factors suggest that the most salient abilities measured by the two test batteries are speaking, listening, and a combination of reading, writing and structure. The factor loadings also suggest the presence of test method effects associated with each of the two test batteries. The implications of these results for the interpretation of test scores from the two test batteries and for a theory of factors that affect performance on language tests are discussed. The viability of the CTCS as a model for future research is also discussed.

BETSY K. BARNES, University of Minnesota-Minneapolis

Discourse Structure of IL of American Learners of French

It has been claimed (Keenan 1977, Givón 1979) that adults largely revert to a pragmatic mode (PM) vs. a syntactic mode when learning a second language. This study examines means of structuring information in discourse employed by American L2 learners of French at varying levels of proficiency and with various combinations of classroom instruction and immersion experience. L1 and L2 narratives produced by retelling of a silent film are compared with respect to the following features: relative proportion of types of clausal linking (e.g., coordinate, subordinate); number of lexical arguments per clause; proportion of lexical subjects to total subjects; use of linking particles such as et puis, alors, etc.; use of 'left dislocation'; use of pragmatically-sensitive structures for introducing NP referents new to the discourse. Contrary to the PM hypothesis, beginning classroom learners' discourse, while lacking syntactic complexity, is in some respects very similar to planned discourse and very sentence-oriented. Advanced learners with greater exposure to natural TL discourse do appear to make greater use of the PM in L2 than in L1.
GERALD P. BERENT, Rochester Institute of Technology
VINCENT J. SAMAR, Rochester Institute of Technology

The Psychological Reality of the Subset Principle: Evidence from Deaf Learners

In the present study we provide evidence in support of the psychological reality of the Subset Principle as a component of the learning mechanism that fixes the settings of the Governing Category Parameter (GCP) of Manzini and Waxler 1987. Using prolingually deaf subjects, we demonstrate that restriction of positive evidence in early life disturbs the relative GCP settings of English anaphors (e.g. himself) and pronouns (e.g. him) in a way that respects the markedness predictions of the Subset Principle. In accordance with the Subset Principle, the learner selects that value of a parameter which generates the smallest language compatible with the input data. On the basis of cross-linguistic evidence, Manzini and Waxler have identified five GCP values. For English, the GCP setting for anaphors generates the smallest language and is predicted to be the easiest to learn, but the GCP setting for pronouns generates the largest language and is predicted to be the hardest to learn. On a coreference judgment task, our subjects' interpretations of sentences containing himself revealed knowledge of the correct GCP setting for English anaphors; however, their interpretations of sentences containing him implied an easier-to-learn but incorrect GCP setting for English pronouns. Thus, a restriction of auditory linguistic input results in insufficient positive evidence to set the more difficult GCP setting for English pronouns.

SUSAN BERK-SELIGSON, University of Pittsburgh

The Social/Psychological Impact of Pragmatics in a Bilingual Discourse Setting

In an experimentally designed study of subjective reactions, pragmatic features such as hedges (sort of, kind of, somewhat), interruptions, and mimicry of paralinguistic utterances (uhm, uhuh), are shown to have an impact on listeners. A total of 551 listeners, 40% of whom were bilingual Hispanics and the remainder non-Hispanic, participated in a verbal guise type of study, acting as jurors as they listened to audio-recordings of witnesses testifying in Spanish, a lawyer asking questions in English, and a court interpreter interpreting for witnesses and lawyer alike. The study finds that hedges in the interpreted testimony of a witness makes him seem less competent, intelligent, and trustworthy than he seems when his interpreted answers are devoid of hedges. Hispanic listeners, however, are not affected by the presence of hedges in interpreted testimony. Interruptions of the attorney by the interpreter make the attorney seem less competent to Hispanic and non-Hispanic listeners alike. In addition, Hispanics find the attorney less intelligent when he is interrupted by the interpreter. Interpreter mimicking of paralinguistic utterances makes the witness appear less intelligent, and the lawyer less competent and persuasive. However, bilinguals are not affected in any way by the mimicking of a witness's paralinguistic responses.

KRISTINE BILIMUER, University of Pennsylvania

The Effect of Formal Instruction on the Development of Sociolinguistic Competence

Recent sociolinguistic research indicates that in order to achieve native-like competence in a second language, learners must not only develop their interlanguage at the levels of syntax, morphology, and phonology, but they must also acquire the target language speech community's rules for producing appropriate utterances and understanding them in a given social context (Gumperz 1966, Hymes 1971, Wolfram 1983). There now exists both impressionistic and empirical evidence (Tannen and Otzek 1981, Gumperz 1982, Eisenstein and Bodman 1986) suggesting that non-native speakers have considerable difficulty acquiring the rules for appropriate speech behavior. This paper reports on a study which examined the efficacy of a particular type of formal instruction as a means of accelerating the development of ESL learners' sociolinguistic competence. The production of compliments and replies to compliments by two groups of Japanese learners of ESL were compared. Following Thomas (1983) and Holmes and Brown (1987), the experimental group received explicit instruction in the rules for producing well-formed and appropriate compliments and replies. The control group received no explicit instruction. Both groups were tested for spontaneous productions of compliments and replies during social interaction with native speakers of English.
Bilingual Education in Practice: The Value of Messy Data

A description of bilingual education programs often begins and ends with labels. Just as often, however, when encountering real data, an author must merge categories and even switch them around. Under further analysis an instructional method called maintenance, for example, will really be transitional, or have characteristics of both types.

Far from being a hindrance to fruitful research, the gray areas that are created by overlapping categories and conflicting explanations can be valuable, even essential, to good research. This paper will focus on some “messy data” that was collected in the early stages of a qualitative study of a bilingual program that serves both language majority and language minority elementary school students. A comparison is made between the ideal and the real in the context of a program which has been referred to as a “combination of pedagogy, ideology, and language action”.

DIANA BOXER, University of Pennsylvania

Indirect Complaints and Sequential Interaction: Increasing Opportunities for Negotiated Interaction

This paper presents the findings of dissertation research into the sociolinguistic patterning of a type of speech behavior termed “indirect complaint” (IC). This is defined as the expression of dissatisfaction to an interlocutor about something or someone that is not present. ICs have been found to be employed by native speakers in an attempt to establish solidarity with addressees. Japanese learners of English were taped in spontaneous conversation with native speakers to ascertain if they use ICs and rapport-establishing responses in similar or different ways from NSs. An analysis of NNS/NS interaction was undertaken, pointing up striking contrasts. These differences lead to the realization that learners are often unaware of how to successfully interact with native speakers in sequential interaction, resulting in missed opportunities for negotiated interaction.

By becoming aware of how to use ICs as a strategy and respond in an appropriate manner, learners can make use of such knowledge to go beyond the “acquaintance” stage with NS interlocutors. What should logically ensue is increased opportunity for learners to build on these friendships with native speaking peers to expand their linguistic abilities in the second language.

CRAIG CHAUDRON, University of Hawaii-Manoa

Units of Analysis in Classroom Interaction: The Source of Valid Observation

A major source of difficulty in comparing among studies of second language classroom research is the lack of uniformity in units chosen for analysis. Lessons, textbook units, activities, tasks, turns, utterances, speech acts, T-units, units of time, and many other terms are used throughout the literature as the basic segments for further qualitative or quantitative analysis. Both the lack of standardization of definitions or procedures for identifying these, and the adoption of different units across studies on sometimes similar topics, have led to unreliable and sometimes ungeneralizable findings. For example, analysis of teacher talk (or language use of any sort) in terms of turns may not reveal the actual amount of talk in terms of units of time, thus confounding analysis of the psychological reality of teacher talk for learners. Similarly, studies using units termed “activities” vary considerably in the sort of pedagogical or discourse unit involved. In this paper, a number of classroom research studies are discussed with respect to the basic units of analysis adopted in them, and to the resulting greater or lesser validity of their findings. Proposals for systematic procedures and categories for certain units (activities and utterances, in particular) will be made.
Morphological Uniformity, Null Subjects in English, and SLA

An area of keen interest in applying Chomsky's parameter-setting model to SLA has been the Pro-Drop or Null Subject Parameter (White 1985, 1987; Cyrino 1986; Hilles 1986; Phinney 1987). However, the nature of this parameter has changed dramatically with Jaeggli and Safir's (1989) proposal linking uniform morphological agreement paradigms with null subjects and Jaeggli and Fyam's (1987) application of this to first language acquisition theory. This paper reports on pilot data showing that on a grammaticality-judgment task a number of L2 learners exhibit knowledge that English is a [-uniform] language yet still accept English null subject sentences. This is inconsistent with the strongest predictions of the Morphological Uniformity Hypothesis and renders uncertain its applicability to SLA. While tentative, the results point to the necessity of exercising caution in assessing the possible role of the parameter-setting model in an overall theory of SLA, let alone positing it as a theory of SLA in its own right.

Crosscultural Interpretations in the English Interaction of Puerto Rican and American Adults

Currently, English is often used for communication between Puerto Ricans and Anglo-Americans in social, educational, political and business contexts. Yet, despite the fact that English is taught in Puerto Rico throughout the educational process, Puerto Rican/American English interaction remains problematic (Morris, 1981; Ebsworth, 1988).

Based on natural observation and interviews, a questionnaire was developed in which Puerto Rican and American responses to potentially sensitive situations were rated by 125 members of each group on 21 semantic differential scales. Post-hoc interviews serve to elucidate differences in perceptions of appropriateness and effectiveness of responses along with the personal impressions they evoke.

Through the clarification of distinctive linguistic, pragmatic, and cultural norms, it is hoped that this research will contribute to better cross-cultural understanding and an appreciation of the values that pervade the respective realities of these two communities. Implications for second language teaching, teacher training and second language acquisition theory will be discussed.

Structural Subsets and Second Language Acquisition

The Subset Principle, proposed as a constraint on the ordering of hypotheses in first language acquisition (Berwick 1985), has been invoked in work by Wexler and Manzini (1987) to determine the order in which a child tests the various settings of a UG parameter. The thesis of this paper is that the a version of the Subset Principle can predict the order of acquisition of target-language structures in second-language acquisition (SLA). It is claimed that if a learner has acquired a given target structure, A, that learner will also have acquired all structures which are a subset of A, where the relevant subset relations are determined on the basis of the superficial constituent structure (s-structure) of A. Thus, according to this proposal, the Subset Principle pertains to parameters in first language acquisition, but applies to superficial structures in SLA. The consequences of this proposal are that it is possible to (1) predict that SLA data on relative clauses in languages such as English and Swedish will generally support the Accessibility Hierarchy (AH) (Gano 1979); (2) explain why some positions on the AH are out of order in SLA (Hyltenstam 1984); and (3) predict which types of principles of UG and language typology will hold for SLA.
MADELINE E. EHLMAN, Foreign Service Institute

Personality Factors in Second Language Acquisition

This presentation reports on the findings to date of a research project in progress at the Foreign Service Institute. This project investigates the relevance to adult second language learning of personality factors operationalized by the four Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) scales: extraversion/introversion, sensing/intuition, thinking/feeling, and judging/perceiving. The paper presents the MBTI model in the context of cognitive style concepts, describes the research project, discusses current results, and offers questions for future investigation. A major theme is the interaction of affective and cognitive factors in the language learning process.

MIRIAM R. EISENSTEIN, New York University

Moods and Modes in ESL: Investment in L2 Oral and Written Production

Investigations in second language acquisition have shown that L2 production varies as a result of many potential factors including conversational style, task, and context (Tarone, 1988; Young, 1987; Wolfram, 1985; Huebner, 1983). Affective factors associated with topic have also been found to condition L2 output (Lantolf and Khanji, 1983; Eisenstein and Starbuck, 1989).

This study investigates the influence of emotional investment in topic on the oral and written production of advanced English learners. Data is drawn from oral interviews and compositions produced under conditions of high and low investment. Preliminary results indicate a strong negative influence of emotional investment on grammatical accuracy in the L2 verb system. The effect of this affective component on the written mode is the focus of the current research.

Implications of this ongoing study for oral and written proficiency testing will be examined along with suggestions for second language pedagogy. Theoretical issues including the possible role of monitoring in the SLA process will also be addressed.

JOHN HEDGCOCK, University of Southern California

The Impact of Reading Genre on L1 Writing Performance

A considerable body of research in the area of literacy acquisition shows that reading positively affects L1 and L2 development in children and adults. Empirical investigations have demonstrated the existence of relationships between reading skills/habits on the one hand and measurements of writing performance on the other. This study tests a hypothesis which emerges from such work; that is, that particular text types have a differential impact upon learners and that certain text types have a more direct influence on written production than others. Data for the study included information concerning the reading habits of the 157 subjects (American students enrolled in Freshman Composition courses), as well as their proficiency rankings on a standard writing task. A stepwise (maxr) regression analysis revealed 1) that certain reading behaviors correlate highly with level of measured writing ability, and 2) that amount of time spent reading particular types of material may be a good predictor of writing performance.
Sociolinguistic Aspects of Text and the L2 Reader

This paper will report on the results of a two-year study of the reading comprehension of non-native speakers of English. Ten case study children were followed in order to discover what they did and did not understand as they read texts and talked aloud about them. The data indicate that the children had difficulty with specific types of sociolinguistic functions that are often taken for granted by authors of texts for native English speakers. The paper will discuss the sociolinguistic knowledge assumed by text, the aspects of sociolinguistic competence the second language readers brought to the reading situation, and how sociolinguistic expectations and knowledge impact on the understanding of text in a second language.

DONALD LORITZ, Georgetown University

Why Neurons only Learn Language at the I+1 Level

Parallel distributed processing theories of language (Rumelhart and McClellan, passim) fail to adequately explain categorical perception in infants, Peircean abduction and second language learning (as opposed to acquisition), and fossilization in adults. Mass action laws governing neuronal activity have been shown to explain numerous effects in visual perception and classical serial learning (Grossberg, 1968 et seq.). It will be shown how these laws can explain in considerable detail the preceding linguistic phenomena, Krashen’s intuition that L2 learning/acquisition is confined to the i+1 level, and his concession that “learning is fast but acquisition is slow” (Krashen 1984).

PETER H. LOWENBERG, Georgetown University

Nonnative Varieties of English: Nativization vs. Interlanguage

“Nonnative varieties” of English (NNVs) have developed in former British and American territories (eg. India, the Philippines) where English is a widely used second language in a broad range of international domains. These varieties are characterized by nativization (Kachru 1986): systematic changes shared by a speech community in the forms and functions of English which result in new norms for English along its entire style range. Swengler (1989) claims that nativization also occurs in Interlanguage (IL). This paper, based on data from domains in which Standard English (SE) is called for in Malaysia, shows that nativization is a sociolinguistic phenomenon distinct from IL. A study of newspaper style sheets and government-published ESL textbooks reveals that certain morphosyntactic divergences from native speaker varieties of SE (eg. count/mass distinctions in nouns, prepositional collocations) have become new norms for SE in Malaysia. In contrast, analysis of English compositions written by Malaysian graduate students shows different systematic morphosyntactic divergences (eg. lack of tense inflections, and articles) that reflect incomplete acquisition of the norms of either a native speaker or the nonnative variety of SE. The former is nativization; the latter is IL. This study thus refutes analyses of NNVs that regard nativization as part of IL.
ETHNIC IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT: PERSONAL PERSPECTIVES FROM A PUERTO RICAN COMMUNITY

One of the goals of many maintenance-oriented bilingual/bicultural programs is the fostering in students of a strong ethnic identity because of the perceived influence of ethnic identity on emotional security and language and cultural maintenance approaches throughout life. If such a goal is to be realized, however, educational program planners should gain insight into the process of ethnic identity development for the target population. What factors have aided or detracted from the development of ethnic identity by members of the community served by the bilingual program, and how do they define their ethnic identity?

This paper is based on a broader ethnographic study which examined ethnic maintenance and ethnic identity among residents of Philadelphia’s Puerto Rican community. It provides personal insights based on recorded interviews with second- and third-generation residents into personal, sociocultural, political and historical factors which have contributed to their present identity as Puerto Ricans, the life-long process of ethnic identity development reported by some interviewees, and the role of ethnic community organizations in the process. Finally, the paper discusses interviewees’ concepts of Puerto Rican identity and elements of Puerto Ricaness. The paper concludes with implications for bilingual program planning.

Teresa Pica, University of Pennsylvania
Ruth A. Kanagy & Joseph O. Falodun, University of Pennsylvania

CHOOSING AND USING COMMUNICATION TASKS FOR SECOND LANGUAGE RESEARCH AND INSTRUCTION

A typology of communication tasks is presented, through which tasks can be classified and compared implicationally across categories of interaction believed to affect comprehension, production, and feedback opportunities for second language (L2) acquisition. The categories cover general areas related to interaction—interactant roles and relationships, interactional processes, and interactional outcomes—and seven specific components within these general areas.

The seven components are used to identify, describe, and compare five task types—information-gap, jigsaw, problem-solving, decision-making, and opinion-giving. Actual tasks which have been employed in research and instruction are cited as examples of each type, together with a discussion of how they have informed questions about L2 acquisition and how they can facilitate classroom goals for language learning through interaction.

Dennis R. Preston, Eastern Michigan University

VARIABLE RULES, MARKEDNESS, AND INTERLANGUAGE

Variable rule analysis of interlanguage provides more than confirmation of the continuum hypothesis advanced by Tarone. First, it allows differentiation of “speech communities,” i.e., evidence that learners from different L1s significantly differ. Second, through error scores, it isolates tasks inappropriately used to elicit certain data and provides, therefore, clues to the construction of discrete-point tests. Third, it confirms the existence of marked and unmarked forms, a distinction which permits a reinterpretation of those items which run counter to the general rule that L2 forms are more frequently used in non-verbal styles. Finally, such findings suggest distinct pedagogical approaches to variables of different status.
Early and Late Stages in the Acquisition of Aspect

In studies of L1 and L2 acquisition it has been suggested that aspect is acquired before tense. That is, in early stages, learners use the verbal morphology to encode perfective and imperfective aspect before they use them to encode tense. This study will argue that if one looks at all the developmental stages during the acquisition of tense and aspect (from earliest stages to native-like use) and at each developmental stage in its entirety, the process looks different. Early and intermediate stages show lexical--and not grammatical--development. These stages show very few errors in the use of aspectual morphology. A later stage, where acquisition of aspect takes place, shows numerous, yet systematic, errors in the use of the morphology of the perfective and the imperfective. The last stage shows native-like usage.

Evidence of two types will be presented: 1) data from a cross-sectional study of 95 learners of Spanish L2, with all levels of proficiency (it includes quantifications on several types of errors; target and non-target use of several grammatical forms). 2) frequency counts on different types of discourse of both English and Spanish native speakers. These latter data will show that the frequency of certain types of verbs in the input determines the order in which they are acquired in early stages of acquisition.

Epithesis and Age in Second Language Phonology

This project examines two phonological processes, epithesis and deletion, that have been the subject of conflicting claims (Oller 1974; Tarone 1978, 1980; Christian, Wolfram, and Hatfield 1983; Sato 1987), and reconciles these claims by pointing to the significance of the "age" variable. Forty Vietnamese subjects are divided into 8 cells that include 4 "age" groups and 2 "length of residence" groups. Age and length of residence are independent variables, and epithesis and deletion are dependent variables. Data were collected in natural communication settings. Obligatory instances of target English obstruents are interpreted through a quantitative, variation approach. A two-way analysis of variance determines epithesis to be significantly related to age (p < .05). This finding is used to reconcile the conflicting claims of the studies cited above that did not isolate the age variable.

Ethno linguistic Dimensions of the Amish Community in Northeast Iowa

The Old Order Amish in northeastern Iowa have traditionally kept themselves separate from the general population; in addition to their emphasis on family values and self-sufficiency, they have maintained their linguistic identity. With respect to schooling, the Amish believe that their children, who would normally be classified as LEP students, should learn English along with basic reading, writing, and mathematics skills; however, they also believe that their children should not attend school beyond eighth grade. Through a compromise reached more than twenty years ago, Amish children are exempted, on an annual basis, from Iowa compulsory education laws: Amish children are permitted to leave school after eighth grade, and teachers in the small rural schools that Amish children attend need not have state certification requirements.

Recent economic trends (most notably the increasing scarcity of land) and a number of potential educational policy changes can be perceived as increasing the pressure on the Amish to acculturate and as threatening the community's linguistic and cultural survival. This paper presents the results of our investigation of these issues and examines the challenges faced by this community in the light of similar ethnolinguistic situations.
Gender Differences in the Acquisition of the Vocabulary of Emotion

Inner-state words spoken to children by fathers and mothers in a book reading situation were analyzed. The children were six sons and six daughters, ages two and three. Fathers spoke more words overall (9,138) compared to mothers (8,308). A total of 208 inner-state words were used, with mothers and fathers speaking almost twice as many inner-state words to their daughters ($\bar{x}=11.2$, $sd=8.7$) than to their sons ($\bar{x}=6.2$, $sd=4.4$) [p=.09]. Fathers and mothers' vocabularies overlapped in the use of 23 words, fathers using an additional 17 different words, mothers using only 6. Thus, daughters hear more inner-state words than sons from their parents, and fathers speak a wider set of inner-state words than mothers.

MARY SCHLEPPEGHELL, Center for Applied Linguistics

Subordination and Linguistic Complexity

Subordination, as an instance of embedding, is generally considered a complex use of language. This equation of subordination with complexity, and the further equation of linguistic complexity and cognitive skill in educational studies, suggest that an accurate analysis of subordination is an important issue for both educational and linguistic research. But adverbial clauses, in contrast to relative clauses and complement clauses, are not always clearly subordinate, or embedded in a superordinate clause.

This paper demonstrates that some "subordinators" are used paraactically in conversation, and that conjunctions play different roles in speech and writing. Evidence from interviews with children in an academic setting suggests that subordination should not be identified with particular conjunctions. The implications of this finding for linguistic analyses which identify subordinate clauses on the basis of lexical tokens such as conjunctions and use such results as measures of language complexity will be addressed. This has particular relevance for the increasing use of computer searches of databases in linguistics.

SUSANA SOTILLO, Montclair State College

Input and Interaction in the Bridge Classroom

The bridge classroom, a special section of a content course set aside for L2 learners of high intermediate and advanced English proficiency, is a potentially rich and challenging learning environment. Non-native speakers fearful of competing with native speakers in the mainstream content classroom could benefit by enrolling in bridge courses. The experience of learning in a bridge course benefits second language learners, who usually need a transitional step between the sheltered ESL classroom and the competitive atmosphere of the mainstream academic environment.

An important research question was formulated: Does the bridge classroom provide the kinds of input and interactional modifications which have been shown to facilitate comprehension, in non-instructional contexts, and are believed to promote second language acquisition? The results of a 15-week study of the linguistic adjustments, speech modifications, and interactional moves in teacher-student discourse, in two bridge courses, will be discussed in detail. The implications of this study will be examined in light of the popularity of expanding the use of bridge classrooms and promoting content learning through ESL. Suggestions for future research on bridge classrooms are proposed in view of the difficulties encountered in carrying out this type of research.
Parameters and the Acquisition of Japanese ZIBUN by English Speakers

Wehler & Manzini 1987 proposed that learners use positive evidence to set parameters of universal grammar governing the interpretation of reflexive pronouns. Thus Japanese but not English speakers learn to allow non-local (marked) as well as local (unmarked) antecedents for reflexives, while English but not Japanese speakers allow non-subject as well as subject antecedents. Finer & Broselow 1987, Thomas 1988 found that L2 learners of English have difficulty retreating to unmarked parameter settings. This study contributes to a parameter-setting model of L2 acquisition by examining new dimensions of the issue: by looking at English speakers learning Japanese as well as vice versa; by testing learners across different levels of L2 competence; by measuring L2 learners' knowledge of invariant (=fixed by UG) and parameterised constraints on reflexives. I find that L2 learners retreating from marked L1 parameter settings to unmarked L2 settings may end up with both underlying and superficial representations of L2 unlike those of native speakers, whereas in moving from unmarked to marked settings L2 learners may arrive at the correct underlying grammar without displaying native-like judgements in L2.

TAMARA M. VALENTINE, University of South Carolina-Spartanburg

Women's Ways with Words: A Non-Western Perspective

The major theme emerging from the research on "women's talk" is that the female style of interaction is based on solidarity, support, and cooperation. Studies show that female speakers express themselves in a way which negotiates a relationship of support and closeness with other speakers in an interactive situation. In order to strengthen group closeness in conversation, female speakers tend to establish themselves in terms of an interpersonal network, make an effort to identify with others by taking into account others' opinions and face, reveal a sense of creativity and humor, and maintain cooperative relationships by sharing and distributing power, discussing personal matters, and demonstrating active listening and supportive linguistic strategies. In this study, I describe several verbal interactions of female Hindi speakers--actual spoken data I recently collected in the urban and rural Hindi-speaking areas of India. I closely examine the interactive patterns recurring in Indian female conversations, consider how the patterns are similar or different to the major perspectives explored in Western studies, and discuss the importance of studying the role of gender in cross-cultural communication and the implications for the understanding of language use across cultures.

MOLLY WIELAND, University of Minnesota-Minneapolis

Narrative Production in French/American Cross-Cultural Conversation

In this paper, I will present the results of my study of narratives in conversations in French between native speakers of French and American advanced speakers of French. I have found that narratives are constructed differently by these two groups of speakers; despite an excellent command of French grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation, the American speakers produce narratives in French according to American norms. The data for this study consist of 4 dinner conversations that I recorded in France. I will present my analysis of 1) narrative structure, 2) frequency and length of narratives, and 3) the role of the listeners in narrative construction. Using data collected during play-back interviews with participants and non-participants in the dinner conversations, I will also discuss 1) what American and French speakers expect and appreciate in narratives and 2) the effect of each group's narrative style on the other group. Finally, pedagogical implications will be addressed.
Non-native speaker production varies in its intelligibility to native speakers. Undoubtedly, much of this problem is due to non-target-like phonological production. However, since pronunciation problems have frequently been found to be only minimally amenable to instruction, it may be more productive to determine other sources on non-intelligibility which might be more easily improved through instruction. This study seeks to ascertain some of these other sources, focusing in particular on discourse structure, by examining non-native speaker monologues under planned and unplanned conditions. The planned production was found to have far more extensive discourse marking and elaboration than the unplanned production, although syntactic and morphological accuracy differed only slightly. The planned production was evaluated as considerably more comprehensible than the unplanned by both novice and ESL expert judges. Native speaker baseline data, in contrast, showed little variation under the two conditions.
ABSTRACTS

of the American Dialect Society

regular papers
JOHN BAUGH, University of Texas-Austin

American Dialectology and the Pursuit of Social Equality

This paper examines some evolutionary research where dialectology has been instrumental to social applications. Studies by Beryl Bailey, Juanita Williamson, and Geneva Smitherman provide vivid examples of the interdisciplinary potential of dialectology, and how studies of language in social context can be used for scholarly and practical purposes, including the advancement of parity among linguistically disenfranchised groups.

The pioneering research by these African American scholars spawned and supported efforts by numerous other dialectologists and lexicographers to identify linguistic differences among culturally and geographically diverse speakers. This paper introduces some newer evidence, based on morphophonemic and lexical variation in English, that reinforces Bloomfield's suggestion that standard languages are restricted codes. The linguistic and educational implications of these results challenge Bernstein's hypotheses regarding elaborated and restricted codes.

The paper concludes with a tribute to the centennial celebration of the American Dialect Society, and the principles of cultural and linguistic equality that compose the fundamental ethos of serious linguistic inquiry.

TIM HABICK, Educational Testing Service

Consonantal and Vocalic Loci in Spectrographic Dialectology

The two-formant vowel graph is now a familiar method of representing the vocalic systems of speakers in dialect surveys. In this study, I discuss the possibility of representing two-formant data for some consonants on these same graphs. Although the first two formants are not the most prominent acoustic features of most consonants, the formants are often easily measured and provide clues concerning the placement of the articulators as they make the transition from vowel to consonant. The inhibitory and facilitating effects of consonants on certain diachronic movements of vowels are thus easily understood. Data are drawn from a spectrographic study of 40 speakers from a small midwestern town.

PEKKA A. HIRVONEN, University of Joensuu, Finland

Finnish to Finglish to English: That's How the Morphology Crumbles

This paper examines the morphological changes, especially the changes in case endings and possessive structures, that American Finnish undergoes in the course of three generations of speakers. The data consist of audio-recorded interviews and oral translation tasks gathered in Finnish enclaves in northern Minnesota between 1985 and 1989. The results of morphological analyses are discussed in the light of the hypothesis that the order in which various forms are lost in language attrition is the reverse of the order of acquisition. An attempt is also made to account for the variation in the rate of language loss by reference to family relationships and an index of "Finnish identification".

The paper concludes with a discussion of the inevitability of language shift from the ethnic language to English, given the absence of continuous reinforcement from new immigrants.
The Linguistic Variable in Dialect Studies: Fact and Fantasy

Although some notion of the "linguistic variable" guides most studies of dialect variation, there exist several operational definitions of this construct that are not necessarily compatible with each other. In one interpretation, a class of varying elements within a linguistically-defined set of some type is established as a kind of linguistic analogue of the social variable. Such a viewpoint, focused primarily on exhibiting co-varying linguistic and social distribution, may capture prominent patterns of social and linguistic co-variation, but it has little regard for the linguistic relationships of the variants of the variable. The notion of the linguistic variable as it evolved through so-called "variable rules", an extension of the notion of "optional rule" in language, was more tightly constrained by traditional notions of linguistic units and relationships. However, in this formulation, issues arise concerning the rightful status of co-varying social variables, or "social constraints on variability". The descriptive and methodological ramifications of alternate definitions of the linguistic variable are examined on the basis of several prominent examples found in empirical studies of language variation.
ABSTRACTS

of the North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences

regular papers
Chomsky and Skinner Thirty Years Later

B. F. Skinner's *Verbal Behavior* (1957) achieved instant notoriety in linguistic circles as a result of Chomsky's excoriating review in *Language* (1959). Skinner's work subsequently sank into what seemed a well-deserved and permanent oblivion. Thirty years later, a rereading of both the text and the review reveals certain insufficiencies in Chomsky's approach.

I shall argue that Skinner presents not some automaton-like account of verbal behavior but a richly nuanced and well-elaborated treatment of what is now called pragmatics—an approach that Chomsky's 1959 review might well be said to have programmatically exiled. Having fully integrated the study of the written language and literature into his account of verbal behavior, Skinner anticipates the post-structuralist complaint that linguistics has unprofitably separated the spoken from the written. Furthermore, advances in neurobiology have rendered obsolete Chomsky's statement that "independent neurophysiological evidence is not available" for understanding the causes and organization of behavior, verbal and otherwise. With the studies of Studdert-Kennedy, and the Parallel Distributed Processing models of language by Rumelhart and McClelland, it is now possible to reevaluate Skinner's approach to verbal behavior in a much more positive light.

LUCIA BINOTTI, University of California-Santa Barbara

A XVth C. Spanish Version of Guarino Veronese's Epistle on Latin

The manuscript S.I.13 of the Escorial Library (Madrid) contains a Castilian translation (ca.1480) of Dante's *Inferno*, first three Cantos. Preceding them, the anonymous translator places a linguistic prologue, in which he discusses the linguistic situation of Italy and Spain in the XVth century. The treatise establishes the influence of Tuscan and Castilian from Latin, but argues that Castilian is phonetically and morphologically closer to Latin. It recognizes, as well, the lexical debt that Castilian owes Arabic. Additionally, it recalls a series of linguistic and literary topics that will be widely treated during the Spanish Golden Age.

The importance of the prologue as the first known Spanish text to present a grammatical analysis of that language has been pointed out several times. In this paper I demonstrate that this text is an acute re-elaboration of a famous humanistic treatise on the origin of Latin: Guarino Veronese's *epistle De lingue latina differentiis*, a fact that has gone previously unnoticed. There has been much recent debate concerning the existence of a 'Pre-Renaissance' period in Spain and subsequent regarding the influence of Italian Latin Humanism on that period; the discovery presented here allows a new perspective on these discussions.

The paper provides an analysis of the Castilian prologue, comparing it to Guarino’s epistle, and illuminating the original contributions of the anonymous author: he applies the grammatical framework developed by Guarino for the Latin, remodeling it to suit the peculiarities of Castilian and adding appropriate examples to describe these pecularities.

KONRAD KOERNER, University of Ottawa

Linguistic Historiography--In Search of a Method

Since the early 1970s (e.g., Koerner 1972, Hymes 1974, Simone 1975) scholars interested in the history of linguistics as an academic specialty have endeavoured to propose guidelines for the proper conduct of historiographic research. At the time Thomas Kuhn's (1962) morphology of scientific revolutions had a considerable impact on the debate, leading Percival (1976) to argue against the search for 'paradigms' in linguistics though without offering a useful alternative route. Faler (1979) pointed out a variety of reasons why Kuhn had been so enthusiastically embraced by a variety of social and behavioral scientists, although his book was meant for the natural sciences, in particular theoretical physics. They include a lack of acquaintance with the work of other, earlier philosophers of science and historians, a lack of precision of many of Kuhn's definitions (allowing for differing interpretations of his argument), and his emphasis on the social dynamics involved in such changes (which appealed especially to social scientists). The early 1980s have seen a variety of studies offering alternative lines of historiographic conduct (e.g., Bahnor 1981; Grousch 1982; Schmitter 1982), and other works have entered the debate over the proper approach to the history of linguistics (e.g., Dutz & Kaczmarek 1985; Bokadorova 1986; Amsterdamska 1987; Currenmann 1987; Schmitter 1987; Elffers 1988). However, until today no common ground has been established as to how to proceed in linguistic historiography and indications are that the debate is going to continue for some time to come. The present paper analyzes the different positions and proposals that have been made by various authors and offers a wider framework within which research in the history of the language sciences should be undertaken and past developments in the field presented.
Medieval Arabic Morphological Theory

Arabic morphology is extraordinarily systematic, being the most highly developed and conservative example of the Semitic root and pattern system. Although it is possible to impose western morphological descriptions on Arabic, they are not congruent with the morphological classifications evolved by the Arabic grammarians themselves. The evolution of medieval Arabic morphological theory illustrates strikingly how a non-Indo-European culture conceived of categories of this particular natural phenomenon in the early Middle Ages. This paper will draw on the earliest statement on inflectional morphology (19zab), composed by the distinguished Arab grammarian and lexicographer, Al-Khalli lbn Ahmad (d. ca. 791).

JOSEPH SUBBIONDO, University of the Pacific

Bassett Jones' Theory of Rational Syntax: A Study of Hermæaelogium (1659)

Bassett Jones intended his Hermæaelogium; or an Essay at the Rationality of the Art of Speaking (1659) to supplement William Lilly's popular 16th-century Latin grammar, Written in English and Latin, Lilly's grammar through its many editions not only set the standard for Latin grammars; but it also established the style for the first and subsequent traditional English grammars. Jones realized that Lilly's grammatical model, with its emphasis solely on the arrangement and classification of material according to the classic paradigms for conjugation and declension, ignored the philosophy of grammar which was necessary for an understanding of the relationship of language and thought. His justification for his grammar was explicit: "There is a sort of grammar (such as Lillie's, &c.) compos'd on the mere force of authority; no way prying into the reason those authors had for their so speaking" (Hermæaelogium, A9).

MARIA TSIAPERA, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill

ARISTOTLE and the GRAMMAIRE GÉNÉRALE

Since the appearance of Cartesian Linguistics, the Grammaire générale et raisonnée of Arnauld and Lancelot has enjoyed a return to prominence. One could argue that the Grammaire set the course for the study of language in Europe from the time of its appearance in 1660 until the advent of historical linguistics in the early 19th century.

What is often overlooked is that the origins of the Grammaire can be found in works of earlier scholars, as well as in earlier works by Lancelot and Arnauld themselves. The sources of the Grammaire must be tied to the development of the Nouvelle méthode latine of Lancelot, and the Logique, ou l'art de penser of Arnauld (and Pierre Nicole). From these texts one can trace a continual line of thought from Port-Royal back to ancient Greece.

The influence of Aristotle is especially noteworthy. In the Logique, Arnauld seems to have used Aristotle primarily to show the mistakes that a great mind can make. Nonetheless, the presence of Aristotelian thought in the Grammaire is never far beneath the surface. This paper will explore the Aristotelian roots of the Port-Royal grammar.
Richard Verstegan on Etymology and the Origin of Language

Richard Verstegan (c. 1565-1620) was one of the most popular antiquarians in seventeenth-century England. His *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (1605) was reprinted six times during the century and contributed to interest in the study of OE and ME. He also deserves attention as an etymologist, as a comparative linguist, as an early and thoughtful critic of Joannes Goropius Becanus' thesis that German was the primitive language, and even as a folklorist (he was the first to record the legend of the Pied Piper). His achievement is especially remarkable because the persecution of Catholics forced him to spend much of his adult life outside England. His genius and eccentricity are evident when his etymologies are placed beside those of his better known predecessor William Camden and his more scientific successor Stephen Skinner.
ABSTRACTS

of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics

regular papers
Robert B. Allen, Jr., Hunter College-City University of New York

Betawi, Baba Malay, and Balinese: The Recreolization of Malay

The city of Jakarta (formerly Batavia) is home to an ethnic group calling itself 'Betawi Asli' ('Native Batavians'), or just 'Betawi'. Their language is a Malay-based creole which is quite distinct from both standard Indonesian (which is derived from the 'High' Malay of eastern Sumatra) and from other Malay-based pidgins and creoles. This paper examines the history and populating of Batavia under Dutch rule in the seventeenth century to determine what ethnic groups contributed to the make-up of the population which evolved into the Betawi ethnic group by the mid nineteenth century. This paper compares the Betawi language with the languages of two major contributing groups, the Peranakan Chinese and the Balinese.

There is clear evidence that the most likely scenario for the development of Betawi is that it is a recreolization of an early form of Baba Malay brought to Batavia by Malay-speaking Chinese from the Straits of Malacca, which subsequently underwent strong substrate influence from Balinese. The widespread use of Malayo-Portuguese in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Batavia does not appear to have been a factor in the development of Betawi, but its existence reflects the multilingual milieu which gave rise to the Betawi language.

Jacques Arends, Dutch State School of Translation

Towards a Gradualist Model of Creolization

The historical development of several related aspects of the syntax of Grona (copula, comparative, clefting, as described in Arends (1989)) as well as historical-demographic data on 18th and 19th century Suriname point towards the gradual (as opposed to instantaneous) character of the creolization process, at least in this particular case. After a brief survey of the database, consequences of these facts for a historically realistic model of creolization will be discussed. An attempt will be made to specify more precisely such a transgenerational model. Tentatively, some specific properties will be attributed to the concept of creolization, all of which should be seen as points on a scale rather than as absolute values. Nevertheless, significant differences with current views will become clear. Some of these properties are: creolization is gradual, it is carried out by adults, and it is the creative adaptation of a language rather than its acquisition (either as a first or as a second language).

Vladimir Belikov, Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow

The Hypostases of Russian-Chinese Pidgin

In the early days of Russian-Chinese trade contacts (1720-s or earlier) a Russian-based Pidgin emerged near the town of Kyachta. It gradually spread into Outer Mongolia and the contiguous parts of Siberia and China. From the end of the 19th century a slightly modified variety was used in Manchuria (up to the 1950s) and Ussuri region; in the latter area it was widely known by local Tungus-Manchu tribes. According to archive materials dating back to 1928-1935 the Russian language of the Chinese immigrants (200,000) was either this pidgin or an acrelact form of it. The same is true for the modern oldest generation of Nanai and Udehe peoples. The Chinese, Nanai-Udehe and Russian sociolects were readily understandable with each other, but not with Standard Russian. Grammatically similar Chinese-based pidgin (a case of relexification ?) was used in Chinese-Korean contacts in the region.
KENNETH BILEY, Johns Hopkins University

Latent Intervocalic Liquids in Aluku: Links to the Phonological Past of a Maroon Creole

All of the Suriname Maroon creoles (Saramaccan, Ndjuka, Matawai, Kwinti, Paramaccan, and Aluku) share a characteristic which sets them apart from the coastal language, Sranan: the deletion of intervocalic liquids in certain environments (when the two vowels are the same, e.g., proto-Sranan sillbi/sirib (sleep) vs. Ndjuka sillbi). Aluku, however, appears to differ from the other Maroon creoles in that it has retained such intervocalic liquids as a latent potential which surfaces from time to time in normal speech. Although such liquids are more often absent than not, they do frequently occur in Aluku (e.g., boló (blow), in free variation with bọọ). This paper discusses the question of what this feature may tell us about chronological stages in the development of the Surinamese creoles.

MARY C. BLACK, Southern Illinois University-Carbondale
GLENN G. GILBERT, Southern Illinois University-Carbondale

A Reexamination of Bickerton’s Language Phylogenesis Hypothesis

This paper reexamines Bickerton’s proposals regarding the genesis and evolution of human language as presented in the “Origins” chapter of Roots of Language. After a brief summary of B’s theory, we discuss the few reactions to his claims that have been forthcoming, including those of his reviewers, who largely dismiss the issue, and those of Bichakjian, and we offer possible reasons for this silence from the majority. We then examine B’s origins theory in light of the creole and acquisition data in Roots, for which there has been no dearth of reactions. Finally, we look at B’s proposals, with regard to Chomsky’s Government and Binding theory and that of Cognitive Grammar, with recommendations for further directions of research in this area.

CAROL BLACKSHIRE-BELAY, Ohio State University

Foreign Workers’ German: Is It a Pidgin?

Most languages which are considered pidgins share certain linguistic and non-linguistic features, regardless of the base language from which these pidgins have arisen. Foreign Workers’ German is the conventional name for a reduced and simplified variety of standard German which often has the label ‘pidgin’ attached to it. Amongst scholars in the field the appropriateness of the term ‘pidgin’ for Foreign Workers’ German has repeatedly been the subject of controversy. My paper proposes to closely examine the social setting of this speech community, as well as to pin-point some of the structural features that are characteristic of Foreign Workers’ German. These features will then, in turn, be compared with features attributed to ‘true’ pidgins. This presentation should shed interesting light on the status of Foreign Workers’ German in particular, as well as on the theoretical question surrounding known pidgins of the world in general.
Theta-Marking, Subjects, and Finiteness in Creole Languages

It has often been assumed that the concept [+finite] applies equally to all languages. Yet the construct is based primarily on the Indo-European tense/nontense opposition in subordinate clauses. However, many non-IE languages, such as creoles, are aspect-based languages, with tense being a moot point. As a result, these languages diverge markedly from patterns exhibited by tense-oriented languages. That creoles variably allow overt subjects to appear in subordinate settings is an example of this divergence.

Jan di Mari\textsubscript{j} pu l\textsubscript{i}i\textsubscript{j}/\emptyset\textsubscript{j} ala
(Haitian Creole)
John tell Mary COMP/for 3.sg. go
'John told Mary to go.'

The questions to be explored here are 1) the reliability of tense-based models to account for the kind of subject variation which aspect-based languages show; 2) the appropriateness of a finite/nonfinite distinction for creole languages; and 3) the interplay between theta-marking and tense, aspect or modality systems as a means of explaining the presence or absence of overt subordinate subjects.

Marie-Josée Cerol, University of Texas-Austin

The Bantu Lexical and Semantic Component of Guadeloupean Creole

The general trend, as far as French-related Creoles are concerned, is to deny or minimize the African input in the creation of these languages. This paper challenges directly such a view, and intends to show that the contribution of African languages, far from being insignificant, has been a major one. Contrary to what is usually stated and used as a major argument to refute the theoretical possibility of an African "substratum," it is clearly established that the Africans enslaved in Guadeloupe (and other French colonies) had, in fact, the full opportunity to speak their native languages. This paper deals more specifically with the Bantu languages influence from a lexical and semantic perspective. The lexicon of Guadeloupean is thought to be "French", and it is of particular interest to investigate very closely this part of the language. The research for this study focuses on the major coastal Bantu languages, in particular Kikongo and its dialects.

J. Clancy Clements, Indiana University

Foreigner Talk and the Origin and Development of the Indo-Portuguese Creoles

In this paper a new data stemming from Koral Creole Portuguese (KP), a recently discovered creole spoken near Bombay, are brought to bear on the question of the origin and development of the Indo-Portuguese (IP) creoles. To account for the observation that many Portuguese-based creoles display certain identical characteristics, such as the same tense-aspect markers ta, ja and lo, the use of the infinitive for all tenses and disjunctive pronouns for subject pronouns, Naro (1978) maintains that a Reconnaissance Language (RL), developed in Portugal and exhibiting these same characteristics, must have been introduced by merchants, first into Africa and then into Asia. Based on data from KP and a study on foreigner talk in Mühle\textsubscript{H}ürger (1986), it is argued that, although the existence of the RL is beyond dispute, it is doubtful that it played a crucial role in the formation of the IP creoles. Rather, the structures cited above and others typical of IP creoles most probably derived from foreigner talk. One key example is the use of disjunctive a mi 'to me' by certain KP speakers who have adopted it from the foreigner talk of the Portuguese-speaking priests, as in a mi ... kere (to me, want) 'I want'. The KP form is parrn kere (me want) 'I want', patterned after the Marathi dative-subject construction and very similar to the a mi attributed to foreigner talk. Numerous other examples are also presented and discussed.
CHARLES E. DeBOSE, New College of California

Re-Creolization: The Case of Papiamentu

A creole might, under certain conditions, spread to groups of speakers who use it as a lingua franca, and thus conform to the definition of a pidgin, only to subsequently undergo another round of nativization, i.e., re-creolize (DeBose 1975). The intriguing mixture of Spanish and Portuguese elements in the lexicon of Papiamentu may be accounted for by postulating the recreralization of a stable West African Portuguese pidgin which coexisted with Spanish, and other languages in the linguistic repertoire of Curacao during the era of Dutch rule (DeBose 1975). Creolists need to reexamine the role of nativization in pidgin-creole genesis and the possible role of African-Portuguese pidgin-creoles in the emergence of Papiamentu.

References:

JOHN HOLMY, City University of New York
CHRISTOPHER KEPTOU, University of Papua New Guinea

Tok Pisin I Kamap Pisin Gen? Is Tok Pisin Repidginizing?

It has been claimed that Tok Pisin is being repidginised as it moves into remote areas of Papua New Guinea where it was not used previously. Our fieldwork in an area of Southern Highlands Province which was not opened to the outside world until the 1950's indicates that the actual mechanism of the pidgin's spread was more complex, varying according to generation. Most people aged 65 and over do not speak Tok Pisin at all. Those aged about 50 to 65 who do speak Tok Pisin speak it as a second language acquired as an adult, often with reduced lexicon and syntax. Most people in their 40's and younger regularly speak Tok Pisin with Papua New Guineans from outside the region who do not understand the local languages; those who learned it as children have full competence in the pidgin, albeit with certain phonological and lexical features which distinguish their Tok Pisin from that of larger urban centers, where its use is more pervasive. Children in the area studied, particularly those growing up in small villages, do not learn Tok Pisin until they begin school. This study reveals a pattern of second language acquisition that seems likely to throw light on the spread of other restructured languages, including creoles as well as pidgins.

KATE HOWE, M&M Language Research Center

Haitian Creole as the Medium of Education in Haiti

Haitian Creole has traditionally been regarded by Haitians, monolinguals as well as French speaking bilinguals, as a non-language; French has always been, and continues to be, the prestige language. In 1979, Haitian Creole became both "instrument and object of instruction" during the first four years of schooling; this was not without a good deal of discussion and disagreement in all sectors of the population.

I propose to trace briefly the history of socio-cultural attitudes towards Haitian Creole, and the reflection of these attitudes in politics and law, particularly as they affect education; I will examine the arguments pro and con the use of Haitian Creole in the schools, based on government publications, published and unpublished articles of linguists and educators, interviews with teachers and pedagogy experts in Haiti, etc. Finally, I will give a short report on the present situation in the schools, with a review of the educational materials now available in Haitian Creole, based on the personal experiences of educators working in Haiti at the moment, along with their evaluation of the impact on the political awareness and participation of the Creole speaking population.

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ALEXANDER HULL, Duke University

The Transmission of Creole Languages

One crucial problem in the study of the history of Creole languages concerns the way by which they are transmitted from one region to another. It is usually assumed that similar Creoles occurring in widely separated regions result either from migrations (forced or otherwise) of Creole speakers or from independent genesis involving universal factors, or, less probably, from a pidgin or "Proto-Creole" spoken on the African coast. Although all of these may play a role, none explain satisfactorily why, for example, French-based Creoles in both the New World and the Indian Ocean show a pattern of close similarity down to crucial details not attributable to universal factors (special negative verb /vepa/ 'not to want' beside normal /vle/, /le/'to want'), yet differences in key areas (pre nominal vs. post nominal possessives, forms of subject pronouns) which appear to rule out direct transmission by "native speakers." Close study of "second-generation" Creoles, such as Louisianas and Mauritius, suggests that Europeans, using their own variety of Creole for communication with slaves, played an essential part in its transmission from one region to another.

GEORGE L. HUTTAR, University of Texas-Arlington
EVERT D. KOANTING, Summer Institute of Linguistics

Ndjuka Expressions of Comparison and Equality

Comparison is expressed in Ndjuka, a radical creole of Suriname, through a number of slightly different constructions, most of them putative serial verb constructions involving mco, 'surplus'. The paper describes the structure, distribution, and semantics of each of these constructions in relation to the sentence elements (S, V, O, etc.) being compared. Comparative sentences including more than one contrasting pair of elements are included, as well as correlative comparison and statements of (in)equality. Cliftings and other movement processes involving comparative constructions are also described. Implications are drawn for the category status of adjectives/stative verbs—and of mco itself, which in other syntactic environments acts as a transitive verb.

CHRISTINE JOURDAN, McGill University

Nativization or Creolization?

Evidence on Solomon Islands Pijin, as used by adults and children in an urban setting, is examined to assess the role of nativization in creolization. It is argued that creolization of an already stable and expanded pidgin occurs when it becomes the primary vehicle of urban life and culture, the primary linguistic medium of a speech community. Nativization may, as in the Solomons case, be a concomitant of this functional expansion; but it is not the primary mechanism of linguistic change. In the Solomons case, much of the innovation linguistically has come from the parental generation for whom Pijin is a second language.
RONALD KEITHART, University of North Florida

Of Ships and Sheep: Vowels in Carriacou Creole English

In Carriacou, Grenada, coexistence with Creole French has produced a Creole English which differs from other varieties in a number of ways. In phonology, the basic seven vowel system lacks the short-long contrasts and the exaggerated glided mid front and back vowels of, for example, Jamaican. At the same time, nasalized vowels are retained in words borrowed from Creole French. However, some speakers do acquire the short-long contrasts due to exposure to other varieties of Creole or metropolitan English. This paper describes the vowel system of Carriacou Creole English, focusing on some of the problems in analysis encountered by the author and ways in which these problems were or were not resolved.

CHANGWOOK LEE

On Korean Pidgin English in Hawaii

Korean Pidgin English (KPE) was once spoken on Hawaiian sugar plantations at the beginning of the 20th century. KPE, however, has gradually disappeared because its speakers moved to the cities to seek better lives.

In this paper I analyze the characteristics of KPE focus on the phonological and syntactical levels. I will focus on how the speakers' first language affected their Pidgin English pronunciation and grammar. For instance, /l/ and /r/ are allophones in Korean, so KPE speaker does not distinguish them clearly; English /v/ [θ][z] are not Korean consonants, so KPE speakers replaced them with other sounds; Korean has SOV word-order, which occurs in KPE; Korean is a topic-oriented language so that KPE speakers frequently delete the subject in discourse, etc.

ANTHONY R. LEWIS, University of the West Indies-Barbados

Sociolinguistic Variation in a Final Stage Post-Creole Speech Community

In creolinguistic literature, the Palenquero Creole (PQ) speech community represents a unique and previously untreated phenomenon, viz. a post-creole community that has evolved to its logical final stage in which may exist a standard speaking majority, a creole speaking minority and what seems to be a recrrealizing continuum of variation. This paper examines one feature of phonological variation – prenasalization of plain voiced stops – observed in the creole speech performance of Palenquero speakers, and attempts to identify the social mechanisms of this ongoing process of recrrealization.
Creole Verbs and the Particle TA: An Expanded Perspective

Most Spanish- and Portuguese-based creoles exhibit the verbal particle *ta*. This particle is usually assumed to derive from a reduction of the verb *estar*, or from the conjugated form *está*. Similarly, it is assumed that the accompanying verbal stem derives directly from the infinitive form. Closer scrutiny of the postulated routes of evolution, however, reveals a number of inconsistencies. The present study attempts a reanalysis of the evolution of *ta* among Ibero-Romance creoles, as well as proposing alternatives to the infinitive as the source for many creole verbs. It is claimed that *ta*, while probably deriving from *estar*, acquired the potential for becoming a verbal particle when *estar* extended its range to accept as predicate adjective derived verbs such as gerunds.

Antillean Creole on St. Barthelemy

The creole of the white population on the eastern half of the island of St. Barthelemy, FWI, has been assumed to be a variety of Guadeloupe Creole (Goodman 1964); however, St. Barth Creole is distinct from Guadeloupean in its system of determiners, possessives, reflexives and comparatives as well as in certain phonological and lexical features. These distinguishing features could be attributed to (1) decrcolization via greater contact with standard French, (2) the influence of other non-standard French varieties on the island, (3) isolation from other creole speakers resulting in a more conservative variety, or (4) the influence of geographically-proximate English varieties. Closer examination of the historical evidence suggests that St. Barth may reflect features of an early pan-Caribbean French creole, implied in Van Name 1869.

Creole Aspect and Morphological Typology

Bickerton's identification of the regularity of the creole "non-punctual" aspect is a major contribution to aspectology. His innatist explanation for these regularities, however, seems to conflict with typological, diachronic and ontogenetic evidence suggesting that neither perfective nor imperfective is innately privileged or universally "unmarked".

An alternative account of the predominance of imperfective forms in creoles is found in the correlations between morphological marking type and aspectual categories uncovered by Dahl's (1985) survey. The isolating morphosyntax of creoles is seen as underlying the presence of progressive, imperfective and perfect, but not perfective categories. A partial explanation for these correlations is offered in terms of the lexical sources of the respective aspectual morphemes: the categories created within creoles are those most readily derived by metonymic mapping from free-standing locative expressions.
PHILIPPE MAURER

Subjunctive Mood in Papiamentu

In some subordinate clauses, a zero-modification of the verb is possible or necessary (essentially in relative, conditional, concessive and paratactic clauses). In this contribution, I would like to present the different environments in which zero-marking is possible or necessary and show how this kind of marking is opposed to overt TMA-marking in Papiamentu (i.e., by ta, tabata, a and lo). I will also put forward arguments for the hypothesis that the zero-marking of the verb in the above mentioned environments is not just a deletion of the overt TMA-markers, but that it corresponds to a semantic category, i.e., a zero-morpheme, which I call "subjunctive".

SALIKOKO S. MURWENE, University of Georgia

Do Atlantic Creoles Have Possessive Pronouns?

Possessive pronouns are used here for words such as his/their in English that mark possessive function for pronouns, occupy the same position as determiners, but have been characterized by some grammarians as adjectives. In the basilects of most Atlantic creoles (AC), pronouns are invariant regardless of whether they have a subjective, objective, or possessive function, as may be observed in the following Haitian, Jamaican, and Gullah examples for 'his house' (as opposed to 'he came'): koz li(li vini, him house/him kom, hi he'ma/hi kom. To be sure, there is variation in basilectal Gullah: hi alternates with hze in the possessive function, and in the first person mi/me 'my/our' are more common than mi/me. Also, au 'his/her' but not a(li) 'he/him/she/her' is used in possessive function in Papiamentu, whereas mi/me/me/me remain invariant for all functions. Assuming that grammars need not be monolithically structured, this paper addresses the question of whether these data constitute enough evidence for claiming that ACs distinguish between possessive and nonpossessive pronouns. An alternative position derived from the way nouns in the same languages behave in the possessive function (e.g., mi he'na 'Al's house' in Gullah) is submitted: for some speakers and for most creoles there may be a subsystem where possessive pronouns do not exist and possession is expressed simply by syntactic position.

HEIMA PASCH, Universitat zu Kulin

Pidginization and Creolization Processes in Sango

The linguistic processes of pidginization and creolization in Sango can be deduced only from the comparison of Ngbandi, the base language, with modern Sango, as it is spoken in Bangi (CAR) today; a comparison which clearly shows retentions, losses, and innovations. Retentions are found in word order and - to a high degree - in the lexicon. Losses mainly occur in the field of derivational affixes, tonological rules, conjunctions and the lexicon. Finally, innovations include loans, again in the field of the lexicon, but - more importantly - that of a copula, a negative marker and its clause final position, and also serial verbal constructions, an innovation which appears to be a universal development.
STEPHEN MADRY PEEK, JR., University of California-Los Angeles  
Western Mande and West Atlantic Influences on Guinea-Casamance Kriol

A discussion of the origins of this unique African endogenous creole. Special attention will be given to the phonological, morphological and lexical influences of regional African autochthonous languages. Some lexico-semantic convergences will be highlighted. Particular areas focussed upon are the pronominal system, adverbal clauses, auxiliary verbs, comparatives, stative verbs, causative and passive morphology and the tense-mood-aspect system.

SUZANNE RONAYE, University of Oxford  
The Decline of Predicate Marking in Tok Pisin

Sankoff has discussed the process of grammaticalization which led to the cliticization of the preverbal predicate marker i in Tok Pisin. This seems to have reached its peak between the 1930's and 1950's. I will present data from 300 some speakers from rural and urban areas of Papua New Guinea, which show a reversal of this process, particularly in younger urban speakers, in particular grammatical environments (e.g. before and after tense/mood/aspect markers). The net effect of these changes is to bring about a new streamlining, but complex verb phrase, which may consist of a main verb modified both pre- and post- verbally by a number of makers of tense, mood and aspect tightly concatenated and not interrupted by the predicate marker.

CHARLENE J. SATO, University of Hawaii-Manoa  
Decreolization: A Longitudinal Study

This paper reports on a longitudinal study of decreolization in Hawai`i. The research seeks to expand the sparse literature on real-time change in creole settings, to reexamine the theoretical status of the creole continuum and to describe decreolization in individuals. Data from four Hawai`i Creole English speakers collected at two points over a 15-year period are analyzed with respect to the distribution of a number of linguistic and discoursal features. The aims of the analysis are (1) to identify differences in the rate and course of change of phonological, morphosyntactic and discoursal features; (2) to clarify the distinction between decreolizing and nondecreolizing change in post-creole continua; and (3) to determine the extent to which patterns of real-time change coincide with patterns reported in cross-sectional studies of decreolization.
"Irrealis" in the Columbian Creole Palenquero: How Real?

The monographs of Patrício Rosselli (1983) and Megenney (1986) are the only studies which seek to describe the complex tense/modality and aspect system of the lexically Spanish derived creole of Palenque (Colombia). Both acknowledge the presence of the preverbal "future" particle tan, but neither cites other irrealis markers (e.g., irrealis conditional) which typically accompany the Palenquero verbal system. Recent field work reveals, however, that this creole frequently makes use of an irrealis marker, namely ake (or the variants ke, k).

This paper will (a) discuss the syntax and combinability of ake with temporal morphemes, (b) delineate its multiple functions, (c) trace its (Afro-Portuguese?) origin, and (d) highlight its importance for comparative studies of creole verb systems. Furthermore, an attempt will be made to explain why Bickerton/Escalante, De Graada, Megenney, Lewis, and other specialists have overlooked or misinterpreted the true functions of ake.

DINGXU SHI, University of Southern California
Unique Pidgin Transmission and Its Possible Influence on Chinese Pidgin English

After its formation in the early 18th century, Chinese Pidgin English (CPE) quickly became a necessity for those Chinese involved in the lucrative trade with the British. A handbook was compiled in the middle 18th century to help them learn CPE on their own. The book looks like a Chinese-CPE dictionary with several hundred entries. Each word or phrase is first given in its Chinese form, then the CPE equivalent, represented by one or more Chinese characters, to be pronounced in Cantonese, the dialect of the trading port. A literate Cantonese speaker is supposed to learn the CPE word by memorizing the string of Cantonese sound.

There is evidence that many Cantonese learned CPE in this way before they started doing business with the British traders. The CPE they spoke was likely to have a Cantonese sound system instead of an English one. There is no sentence grammar in the handbook. People had to construct sentences in their own way with the CPE words they had learned. They were mostly likely to use the sentence structures of their native language. This could be, at least partially, the source of the strong influence of Cantonese phonology and syntax in the attested CPE data.

JEFF SIEGEL, University of New England, Australia
Pigdins and Creoles in Education in Australia and the Southwest Pacific

This paper reports on the current use of pigdins and creoles in formal education in Australia and the southwest Pacific. It discusses some of the developmental differences between pigdiny and creole languages in this part of the world and those in other areas, such as the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean, and the relevance of these differences to educational issues (as well as to theoretical issues in pidgin/creole studies). It also describes the initial stages of a project aimed at evaluating the effect of teaching literacy in pigdins or creoles on the acquisition of the standard form of their lexifier language (in all these cases, English) and on performance in other school subjects using English as the medium of instruction.
JOHN VICTOR SINGLER, New York University

Word-Final Consonants in Liberian English

Essentially, the Kru and Mande languages of Liberia do not permit syllable-final consonants. A few Mande languages do permit a tautosyllabic nasal, but otherwise every syllable in every language is obligatorily vowel-final. English, on the other hand, is rich in syllable-final consonants and consonant clusters. For pidginized Liberian English (LE) specifically with regard to syllable templates—the input from its substrate languages and that from its lexifier language clash.

LE's strategies for resolving the disparity involve extensive rules of cluster simplification (diachronically, so that one of the consonants in the cluster no longer obtains underlyingly) and consonant deletion (synchronously). In addition, there is a rule of vowel paragoge, primarily for verbs and primarily in the basilect (/tek/ [tek] 'take').

My paper will present a quantitative analysis of word-final consonants in LE verbs. I will look first at the environments that favor paragoge and then at those that favor cluster simplification and consonant deletion. I will compare the results to Akers's work on Jamaican, and I will bring my findings to bear on pidgin/creole phonology more generally and on competing formulations of the sonority hierarchy.

ARTHUR SPEARS, City University of New York

Haitian Creole POU

Koopman and Lerebvre (1981) claim that there is a preverbal marker pou in addition to the preposition pou and the complementizer pou. In Sterlin (1988) it is claimed that Haitian has a preposition pou and a modal pou, the latter with diverse properties. Notably, it can appear preverbally tout moun pou vini
'Everyone should come.'
or under COMP in sentences such as
Jan vle pou 1 vini
'John wants to come.'

This paper argues that (1) there are serious data problems in these analyses—a range of native speakers do not accept critical examples, (2) pou does not occur as a preverbal marker, and (3) pou is a preposition and a complementizer.

ANAND SYEWA, University of Manchester, England

Null Subject in Mauritian Creole and the Pro-Drop Parameter

Finite sentences in Mauritian Creole (MC) can occur without an overt subject when the verb is preceded by a preverbal tense, aspect or mood marker, as in

[3 spo fin kas so lakas]
ASP destroy his house 'His house has been destroyed'

And where such preverbal markers are absent, such sentences are not permitted. This paper argues that the possibility of null subject in the absence of any kind of verb agreement in MC is due to syntactic factors which, whilst significantly different from those operative in other Pro-drop languages, interact with universal characterization of empty categories to yield superficially similar phenomenon. This conclusion supports the view that the Pro-drop parameter is not in itself a primitive typological parameter but rather the result of the interplay between basic language-specific properties and principles of UG.
Adjectives, Statives, and Noun-Noun Structures in Tok Pisin and Its Substrate

In this paper, what have been called 'adjectives' in Tok Pisin (hereafter TP) are compared with similar items in several TP substrate languages: 1) to determine if they meet Dixon's (1982) criteria for 'adjectivity' and 2) to situate TP along Dixon's typological continuum of the world's languages, which stretches from 'strongly adjectival' languages (where adjectives play a major role, as in Dyirbal) to one pole of the continuum, to 'strongly verbal' at the other pole. In the process, it becomes apparent that any comprehensive understanding of the behavior of stative verbs and of the role of noun-noun constructions in TP is impossible without a clear understanding of how stative verbs and noun-noun constructions are used in TP substrate languages. The results of this study suggest that adjectives play a less prominent role in TP and its substrates than recent authors would have us believe and that the influence of substrate languages on pidgins and creoles may be found at the deepest levels of their semantics and grammar. Reference: Dixon, R.M.W. 1982. Where Have All the Adjectives Gone? Mouton.

JEFFREY PAYNE WILLIAMS, University of Sydney, Australia

Tanim Tok: The Varieties of Pidginized Yimas

Trade and exchange are cultural focus in many areas of Papua New Guinea. One sociolinguistic consequence of the trade consciousness in the Sepik River region has been the genesis of numerous indigenous Papuan-based pidgins (cf. Foley 1986; Conrad and Minch 1989; Williams 1989). The dyadic trading networks which existed between the village of Yimas and neighboring villages along the Karawari and Arafundi Rivers resulted in the development of multiple varieties of pidginized Yimas. This paper examines the social factors which promoted the rise of distinctive varieties of the single trade pidgin and also provides a linguistic description of those varieties.

DONALD WINFORD, Ohio State University

A Re-Examination of Auxiliary Ordering in Guyanese (and Jamaican) Creole

This paper examines the ordering of auxiliary verbs and particles in the verb complex of Guyanese Creole (GC) and draws parallels with patterns of auxiliary order in Jamaican Creole (JC). It is argued that previous analyses failed in various ways to provide an explicit account of permissible sequences. The paper takes issue specifically with Gibson's (1986) claim that modal verbs like kyan, moy and kyaan should be analyzed as "adverbs". Rather, it is argued that Bailey's (1966) treatment of auxiliary sequences is closer to the facts of TMA ordering in both GC and JC.

The paper further attempts to provide a more explicit account of combinatorial possibilities among modals and tense/aspect markers in GC than those appearing in Alleyne (1980) and Gibson (1986). A GPSG framework is employed for this purpose. Particular attention is paid to the role of auxiliaries like dag and de, the functions of which have not been fully explained in the literature. Results indicate that the patterns of auxiliary order are far less arbitrary than previous accounts seem to suggest.
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