MEETING HANDBOOK

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

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

BILTMORE HOTEL
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
7-10 JANUARY 1993
Acknowledgements

The LSA Secretariat has prepared this Meeting Handbook to serve as the official program for the 67th Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America (LSA). In addition, this handbook is the official program for a meeting of the American Dialect Society (ADS) and for the Annual Meetings of the North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences (NAAHoLS) and of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (SPCL).

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance provided by the LSA Program Committee (Salikoko Mufwene, Chair; Gennaro Chierchia; Stephen Crain; Matthew Dryer; Junko Ito; Catherine Ringen; and Peter Sells) and the help of the following members who served as consultants to the Program Committee: Philip Baldi, Sheila Blumstein, Diane Brentari, Michael Covington, Katherine Demuth, Lyn Frazier, Richard Janda, Mark Johnson, Karen Landahl, Loraine Obler, David Perlmutter, Ellen Prince, Geoffrey Pullum, Timothy Vance, Robert VanValin, Lydia White, and Donald Winford. We are also grateful to Douglas Kibbee (NAAHoLS); Allen Metcalf (ADS); and Armin Schwegler (SPCL) for their cooperation.

A special thank you to Geoffrey Pullum who not only read the program for typographical errors and noted infelicities of style but who suggested the abstracts of all papers presented during the meeting be published in strict alphabetical order.

We especially appreciate the help of the Los Angeles Local Arrangements Committee, chaired by Russell Schuh, and the contributions of the LSA Committee on Computing, for help in organizing the Computer Software Exhibit.

We hope this Meeting Handbook is a useful guide for those attending, as well as a permanent record of the 1993 Annual Meeting in Los Angeles, California.

January 1993
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</table>
General Meeting Information

Book Exhibit

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

- **Fri, 8 January**
  - 10:00 AM - 2:00 PM
  - 3:00 PM - 6:00 PM
- **Sat, 9 January**
  - 10:00 AM - 2:00 PM
  - 3:30 PM - 6:00 PM
- **Sun, 10 January**
  - 8:30 AM - 11:30 AM

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

Computer Software Exhibit

The LSA Committee on Computing is sponsoring a software exhibit on Friday, 8 January, 9:00 AM - 3:30 PM in the Biltmore Bowl. From 9:00 to 11:00 AM, members are invited to the poster session. Exhibitors will be there to talk about their projects. Presentations (20-minutes each) will be given 11:00 AM - 3:30 PM. The Software Exhibit Catalogue which contains the presentation schedule and abstracts of the programs to be demonstrated will be available in the Biltmore Bowl beginning at 9:00 AM.

Paper Copy Service

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

- **Fri, 8 January**
  - 8:00 AM - 4:00 PM
- **Sat, 9 January**
  - 8:00 AM - 2:00 PM

Only orders placed before 2:00 PM on Saturday, 9 January, will be accepted. To allow members to pick up orders placed earlier, the Service will be open on Sunday, 8:00 - 10:00 AM.

Job Placement Center

A Job Placement Center will be set up in the Regency Room during the Annual Meeting. On 8 and 9 January, the Center will be open 8:30 AM - 6:00 PM. It will also be open 9:00 - 11:30 AM on 10 January. Lists of openings will be available, and the staff will arrange interviews between applicants and employers. Interviewers are asked to list openings and check in with the Center so that an interview schedule can be arranged. Applicants should bring an adequate supply of curricula vitarum---enough to submit one copy to each interviewer. The Center will have no duplication facilities available.

S.N.A.P.

The Grecian Room 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 8 and 9 January, 9:00 AM - 6:00 PM and in the morning on 10 January until 11:30 AM.

Membership Status

Members wishing to renew their membership and/or register change of address will be able to do so on Friday and Saturday, 8-9 January, in the South Galleria near the registration desk.
Language Editor

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

Fri, 8 January 12:30 - 1:30 PM
Sat, 9 January 12:30 - 1:30 PM

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

National Science Foundation

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

Fri, 8 January 10:30 - 11:30 AM
3:30 - 4:30 PM
Sat, 9 January 10:30 - 11:30 AM
3:30 - 4:30 PM
Sun, 10 January 10:30 - 11:30 AM

Highlights

Thursday, 7 January

LSA Executive Committee Meeting

The Officers and Executive Committee (Arnold Zwicky, President; Lila Gleitman, Vice President-President Elect; Charles Fillmore, Past President; Frederick J. Newmeyer, Secretary-Treasurer; Sarah Thomason, Editor; Jill Beckman; Paul Hopper; Laurence Horn; Marianne Mithun; Ellen Prince; Ivan Sag; and Anthony Woodbury) will meet beginning at 9:00 AM.

Symposium

An invited symposium, "Preservation of North American Indian Languages," organized and chaired by Marianne Mithun and cosponsored by SSILA, will open the Annual Meeting. The symposium will be in the Biltmore Bowl, 7:00 - 9:10 PM.

Friday, 8 January

Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics

SPCL will meet, 9:00 AM - 5:00 PM, in the Corinthian Room and in the Athenian Room, 9:00 AM - 12:15 PM and 2:00 - 3:00 PM. The schedule of papers is on page xxv.

Special Open Meeting

Bloch Fellow Jill Beckman and LSA President Arnold Zwicky will host a special open meeting (12:00 noon in the Roman Room) for students and those concerned with the administration of linguistics programs. The meeting will focus on "Encouraging Diversity in the Community of Linguists." The program will feature short presentations on the current situation in the discipline; the issues, problems, and traps; addressing the issues facing women, ethnic/racial, and lesbian/gay/bisexual linguists; and ways to attract members of these groups to linguistics and keep them in the field. Barbara Partee will lead the discussion on recruiting and keeping ethnic/racial minorities in the field.

American Dialect Society

ADS will host a session in the Cordoban Room, 2:00 - 5:00 PM. The schedule of papers is on page xxiii.

Poster Session

The poster session will be in the Moroccan Room, 4:00 - 5:00 PM. For those who have never attended one: In a poster session, research results are presented in visual rather than in auditory form. This means that a number of colleagues can simultaneously present in the same room where attendees can circulate among them, browsing and talking to presenters as desired. All posters deal with psycholinguistics. Presenters will be available to talk about their projects.
LSA Business Meeting

The business meeting has been scheduled in the Biltmore Bowl, 5:00 - 7:00 PM. This meeting will be chaired by Arnold Zwicky, LSA President. The members of the Resolutions Committee include: Robert Stockwell, Chair; Ellen Prince; and Anthony Woodbury. The Rules for Motions and Resolutions may be found on page xvii.

Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics

COSWL will host an academic session in the Tiffany Room, 8:00 - 10:00 PM. Barrie Thorne, Professor of Sociology and Director of the Program for the Study of Women and Men in Society at USC will address the topic, "Postcards from the Socio Edge of Sociolinguistics: Rethinking Language-Gender Research." Her presentation will be followed by brief comments from panelists and by general discussion. M. Lynne Murphy (U IL-Urbana) will serve as panel moderator. Panelists will be Karen L. Adams (AZ SU), Marcylena Morgan (U CA-Los Angeles), and Elinor Ochs (U CA-Los Angeles).

Saturday, 9 January

North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences

NAAHoLS will meet in the Cordoban Room, 9:00 AM - 12:15 PM and 3:30 - 5:30 PM. The schedule of papers is on page xxiv. The business meeting, chaired by NAAHoLS President Daniel J. Taylor, will begin at 6:00 PM in the Cordoban Room.

Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics

SPCL will meet in the Corinthian Room and the Athenian Room, 9:00 AM - 12:15 PM. The schedule of papers is on page xxvi.

Language in the School Curriculum

The Language in the School Curriculum Committee will hold an open meeting, 12:00 - 1:00 PM, in the Moroccan Room.

Committee on Endangered Languages

The Committee on Endangered Languages will hold an open meeting, 1:00 - 2:00 PM, in the Florentine Room.

1992 Presidential Address

Arnold Zwicky, the 1992 LSA President, will deliver his presidential address at 2:00 PM in the Biltmore Bowl. The address is entitled "Mapping the ordinary into the rare: Basic/derived reasoning in theory construction."

Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics

COSWL will hold its open meeting 3:30 - 5:00 PM in the Athenian Room, immediately following the presidential address. Coffee and tea will be served. There will be brief business announcements at 4:00 PM.
Meeting Rooms Floor Plan

CONFERENCE/MEZZANINE LEVEL

GREGIAN
CORINTHIAN
ROMAN
ATHENIAN
MOROCCAN
FLORENTINE
CORSICAN

HALFWAY

MEDITERRANEAN

FLOOR TO MAIN GALLERY

SERVICE KITCHEN
Exhibit Hall Floor Plan
Heinsbergen Room

Exhibitors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Booth</th>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
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<td>5-6</td>
<td>University of Chicago Press</td>
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<td>Encyclopaedia Britannica, North America</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Kay Elemetrics</td>
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<td>9-10</td>
<td>Kluwer Academic Publishers</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Lawrence Erlbaum Associates</td>
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<td>15-16</td>
<td>The MIT Press</td>
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<td>3-4</td>
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Joint Book Exhibit

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<td>Ablex Publishing Corp.</td>
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<td>Ballantine Books</td>
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<td>University of California Press</td>
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<td>Chandler &amp; Sharp Publishers, Inc.</td>
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<td>Elsevier Science Publishers</td>
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<td>Linguistic Society of America</td>
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<td>Longman Publishing Co.</td>
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<td>Ohio State University Press</td>
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<td>Pergamon Press</td>
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<td>Slavica Publishers, Inc.</td>
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<td>Summer Institute of Linguistics</td>
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Working Papers

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<tr>
<td>Arizona State University</td>
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<td>University of California-Santa Barbara</td>
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Computer Software Exhibit Schedule

Friday, 8 January 1993
Biltmore Bowl

9-11 Poster Sessions

Dorothy Chun (U CA-Santa Barbara)
Signalize 2.22 (MAC)

Georgia M. Green & J. Michael Lake (Beckman Inst/U IL-Urbana)
Matrix 1.0

Stephen Schuetze-Coburn & Peter Ladefoged (U CA-Los Angeles)
The Sounds of a Course in Phonetics (MAC)

Presentations

11:00 Una Canger (U Copenhagen)
CoNDiP 2.0 (IBM)

11:30 Lee Hartman (S IL U)
PHONO (IBM)

12:00 D. Terence Langendoen (U AZ)
TWINCLE (The WINDowing Computational Linguistics Environment) (IBM)

An LFG parser for Arabic 1.0 (MAC)

1:00 Matthew Dryer (SUNY-Buffalo)
Word Order Database (MAC)

1:30 Randolph Valentine (U W Ont)
Ojibwe Dialect Survey (MAC)

2:00 Robert Trammell (FL Atlantic U)
Color Coding English Spelling for Pronunciation (MAC)

2:30 Andi Wu (U CA-Los Angeles)
A Minimalist Universal Parser (SUN)

3:00 Mary P. Harper (Purdue U)
PARSEC (A constraint-based parser with grammar development tools) (SUN)
Linguistic Society of America

Thursday, 7 January

Evening

Symposium: Preservation of North American Indian Languages
Cosponsored by SSILA

Organizer/Chair: Marianne Mithune (U CA-Santa Barbara)
Room: Biltmore Bowl
7:00 - 9:10 PM

Patricia Kwachka (U AK-Fairbanks): You are what you speak: Ethnic identity and language maintenance
Roseanna Thompson (Choctaw Tribal Schools, MS): Living with a dying language: Mississippi Choctaw
Akira Yamamoto (U KS): Language community, scientific community, and mutually supported community
Ofelia Zepe (U AZ): Tribal community needs and the roles and responsibilities of native speaking linguists

Friday, 8 January

Morning

* = 30 minute paper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session 1</th>
<th>Session 2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Romance Syntax</td>
<td>Syntax 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Philip Miller (OH SU) &amp; Ivan A. Sag (Stanford U): French clitic movement without clitics or movements</td>
<td>Thomas Stroik (Morehead SU): Case requirements on trace</td>
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<td>9:45</td>
<td>Rex A. Sprouse (Harvard U) &amp; Barbara Vance (Harvard U): Null subjects in Surselvan</td>
<td>Yafei Li (Cornell U): Barriers in terms of categories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:05</td>
<td>Alan Munn (U NC Chapel Hill) &amp; Christina Schmitt (U MD-College Park): Null objects in Brazilian Portuguese: A case of A'-pronouns</td>
<td>Rhang-Hye-Yun Kim Lee (U CT): Reconfiguration and the checking theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:25</td>
<td>Alex Alsina (Stanford U): Argument structure binding: Romance reflexive clitics</td>
<td>Almeida Jacques Teribio (Cornell U): Uniformity in movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Alfredo R. Arnaiz (USC): On the parallelism between n-words and wh-in-situ in Spanish</td>
<td>Brian D. Joseph (OH SU): On the absolute nature of the pro-drop parameter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:50</td>
<td>Maria-Eugenia Niño (Stanford U): VSO word order in Spanish declaratives</td>
<td>Roger A. Martin (U CT): Null Case and the distribution of PRO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>Veneeta Srivastav Dayal (Rutgers U): Negation in scope marking structures</td>
<td>Arsho Terzi (U Ottawa): Clitic climbing, from finite control structures</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### Phonology: Features

**Chair:** Donna Steriade (U CA-Los Angeles)
**Room:** Emerald

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Su-I Chen: Place-structure dependency in feature geometry</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Bert Vaux (Harvard U): Is ATR a laryngeal feature?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Joyce McDonough (U CA-Los Angeles): On the phonological representation of the feature 'lateral'</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Frederick Parkinson (OH SU): The feature [pharyngeal] in Rwali Arabic: A case for long distance multiple linking</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>Young-me Yu Cho (Stanford U): Directionality in labial disharmony in Cantonese and Taiwanese</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Peter Avery (U Toronto): The laryngeal specification of stop consonants in English</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Christine Kamprath (Memorial U, NFLD): Distinguishing high and low vowels in the feature hierarchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>*Mare Ni Chiosain (U C Dublin) &amp; Jaya Padgett (U CA-Santa Cruz): Consonant-vowel interaction and 'cross-tier' effects</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Historical Linguistics 1

**Chair:** Jay Jesuoff (Cornell U)
**Room:** Tiffany

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Elizabeth C. Traugott (Stanford U): The development of English that-complements: revisited</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Betty S. Phillips (IN SU): The origin of EModEng &quot;shortening&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Hyeree Kim (OH SU): Case-government of Old English compound verbs</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Mary Niepokuj (Purdue U): The distribution of reduplicated perfect stems in PIE</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>Elly van Gelderen (Groningen U): The introduction of AGRO</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Elise E. Morse-Gagne (U PA): Pronoun transfer and word order in Middle English</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Patricia C. Nichols (San Jose SU): Language contact and shift in early South Carolina</td>
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<td>11:20</td>
<td>Eduardo D. Paingold (U CA-Los Angeles): The development of the definite article from Latin to Spanish and Portuguese</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:40</td>
<td>Amarla Arvaniti (U Oxford) &amp; Brian D. Joseph (OH SU): The sociophonetics of nasal suppression in Greek: Sound change in progress</td>
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</table>

### Ethnography

**Chair:** Bethany Dumas (U TN Knoxville)
**Room:** Roman

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>*Bonnie McElhinney (Stanford U): Police reactions to domestic violence: A discourse account</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:45</td>
<td>Joseph E. Grimes (SIL): The size factor in language endangerment</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:05</td>
<td>Susan G. Guion (U TX Austin): The death of Texas German in Gillespie County</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:25</td>
<td>Cynthia Fox (SUNY-Albany) &amp; Louise Chabonneau (SUNY-Albany): Language contact and the lexicon: French and English in Cohoes, NY</td>
</tr>
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<td>10:45</td>
<td>Sherri L. Condon (U S LA) &amp; Pamela Pittman (U CRI OK): Language attitudes in French Louisianas</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:05</td>
<td>Scott A. Schwenker (U NM): Nonreciprocal T/V address revisited: Issues of theory and method</td>
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### Friday, 8 January

#### Afternoon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntax: Germanic/Finno-Ugric</th>
<th>Syntax 2</th>
<th>Chair:</th>
<th>Judith Aissen (U CA-Santa Cruz)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chair: Hilda Koopman (U CA-Los Angeles)</td>
<td>Room: Gold</td>
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<td>Room: Crystal</td>
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<td>2:00 Bernhard Ruhuber (U MA-Amherst): On the position of modals in English and Mainland Scandinavian</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:20 Joan Maling (Brandeis U): Lexical case in middle formation: German vs. Icelandic</td>
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<td>2:40 Höskuldur Thórinsson (Harvard U/ U Iceland): A versatile Icelandic head</td>
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<td>3:00 Susan Pintzuk: The syntax of Old English adverbs</td>
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<td>3:20 Diane Nelson (U Edinburgh): Functional heads and Case assignment in Finnish</td>
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<td>3:40 Erika Mitchell (Cornell U): ‘VP fronting, do-support, and extended IP in English</td>
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<td>4:00 Lorie Heggie (IL SU) &amp; James Yoon (U IL-Urbana): Topic-focus articulation in English and Hungarian</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantics</th>
<th>Chair:</th>
<th>James McCawley (U Chicago)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Room:</td>
<td>Emerald</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>*Lisa Green (Temple U): The habitual operator in African American English</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:15</td>
<td>Laura Michaelis (U CA-Berkeley): Evidence for the existence of a resultative perfect</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Julie Auger (U PA/U Chicago): Generativity and ça in colloquial French</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:45</td>
<td>Petra Hendriks (U Groningen): Multiple comparison and infinite regress</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:05</td>
<td>Christopher J. Piñon (Stanford U): A telicity and definiteness in Hungarian</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:25</td>
<td>*Barbara Abbott (MI SU) &amp; Larry Hauser (MI SU): A reappraisal of participles</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonology 1</th>
<th>Chair:</th>
<th>Bruce Hayes (U CA-Los Angeles)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Room:</td>
<td>Tiffany</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Stephen A. Wilson: A noncyclic approach to Vedic accent</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:15</td>
<td>Henry Churchyard (U TX-Austin): Discrepancies between the Tiberian Hebrew accentual and pausal systems</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Sharon Inkelas (U CA-Berkeley) &amp; Orhan Orgun (U CA-Berkeley): Turkish coda devoicing: A prosodic constraint on extrametricality</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:20</td>
<td>Mario Saltarelli (USC): Italian rhythm and accentuation: A parametric account</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:40</td>
<td>Robert L. Davis (U OR): The representation of markedness in stress contours: Evidence from Spanish</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
<td>Lisa Ferro (U CTY): Dasyllables and vowel movement in Yiddish</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:20</td>
<td>Kevin Russell (USC): The internal structure of feet: Generalized iambic in Cayuvava</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Historical Linguistics 2

Chair: Brian D. Joseph (OH SU)
Room: Roman

2:00 Spike Gildea (U OR): Syntactic and semantic explanations for the Caribbean split ergative

2:45 William H. Jacobsen, Jr. (U NV): Another look at Sapir's evidence for inclusion of Haida in Na-Dene

3:05 Andrew Garrett (U TX-Austin) & Mark Hale (Harvard U): The phonetics and phonology of Grimm's and Verner's Laws

3:25 Neil G. Jacobs (OH SU): Syncope and the reconstruction of foot structure in Pre-Athabaskan Hebrew

3:45 D. Gary Miller (U FL): Ancient scripts and phonological knowledge

4:05 Whitney Tabor (Stanford U): Rule frequency and syntactic innovation

Poster Session

Time: 4:00 - 5:00 PM
Room: Moroccan

Carol Braithwaite (U AZ): Onsets and glides in Spanish: An experimental look

Betina Mohr (U CA-Los Angeles), Friedemann Pulvermiller (U CA-Los Angeles), & Eran Zeidel (U CA-Los Angeles): Interhemispheric interaction in processing content words, function words, and pseudowords: A lexical decision study

Diane Meaden (U AZ) & Diane Ohala (U AZ): The status of ambiyllabicin in English

Gisela Reeder (Tilburg U): Discourse markers as attention cues to discourse structure

Business Meeting

Chair: Arnold Zwicky
Room: Biltmore Bowl
5:00 - 7:00 PM

Resolutions Committee: Robert Stockwell, Chair
Ellen Prince
Anthony Woodbury

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

Friday, 8 January

Evening

Chinese Syntax

Chair: Peter Sells (Stanford U)
Room: Roman

8:00 Ke Zou (USC): The syntax and morphology of the Chinese BA-construction

8:20 Thomas Ernst (U DE): Movement triggers and Chinese word order

Japanese Syntax


9:00 Yoshiko Matsumoto (Stanford U): Object honorifics in Japanese

9:20 Shigeko Okamoto (CA SU-Fresno): Unconditional conditionals in Japanese


10:00 Susan Strauss (U CA-Los Angeles): Japanese verbs of existence as viewed in the light of notion

Phonology/Morphology

Chair: Ellen Kisse (U WA)
Room: Corinthian

8:00 Don Weeda (U TX-Austin): Delete (operator)

8:20 Megan J. Crowhurst (U TX-Austin): Minimal quantity and template mapping in Sierra Miwok

8:40 Brian Potter (U CA-Los Angeles): Prosodic morphology and syllabification in Mohawk

9:00 Jin-Seong Lee (IN U) & Stuart Davis (IN U): A prosodic analysis of infixing reduplication in Korean ideophones

9:20 Daniel Dor (Stanford U): Deriving the conjugations of Modern Hebrew: A constraint-based approach

9:40 Lionel Wee (U CA-Berkeley): Extrametricality and minimality in Malay
Rules for Motions and Resolutions

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

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

2. Procedure Regarding Motions.

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

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

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

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

3. Procedure Regarding Resolutions.

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

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

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

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

**Recent Contributions to the Study of Gesture in the Context of Talk**

Organizer: Adam Kendon (U PA)  
Room: Crystal  
8:00 - 10:10 PM

**Part I**

David McNeill (U Chicago): Gestures and the growth points of utterances

Karl-Erik McCollough (U Chicago) & Susan Duncan (U Chicago): Gesture and linguistic typology in Mandarin Chinese

Sotaro Kita (U Chicago): Gesture and Japanese *giong* and *gitaiga* (sound/manner mimesics): An argument for mental image in the verbal process

**Part II**

Jurgen Streeck (U TX-Austin): The construction of conceptual imagery in gesture, language, and painting

Adam Kendon (U PA): Gestures as illocutionary and discourse structure markers in Italian conversation

Evelyn McClave (CA SU-Northridge): The use of gesture in establishing participant roles

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### Saturday, 9 January

**Morning**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Korean and Japanese Syntax</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Hajime Hoji (USC)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Room:</strong> Crystal</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

| 9:00 | Elizabeth Owen Bratt (Stanford U): Case-marking and constituent structure: Evidence from Korean |
| 9:20 | Daeho Chung (USC): Case licensing in the Korean ECM construction |
| 9:40 | Jong-Bok Kim (Stanford U): On Korean resultative constructions |
| 10:00 | Peter Sells (Stanford U): Nominative objects in Japanese and Korean |
| 10:20 | Hisatugu Kitahara (Harvard U): Floating numeral classifiers in Japanese and the specificity effect |
| 10:40 | Masatoshi Koizumi (MIT): Position of object Agr and the number of object positions |
| 11:00 | Tohru Noguchi (U MA-Amherst): Reflexive-marking in Japanese and the binding condition B |
| 11:20 | Natsumi Tsujimura: Structural differences of two restructuring cases in Japanese |
| 11:40 | Kumi Sadakane (U OR) & Masatoshi Koizumi (MIT): On the nature of particle *ni* in Japanese |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>South Asian Syntax</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Veneta Srivastav (Rutgers U)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Room:</strong> Gold</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 9:00 | Veena Dwivedi (U MA-Amherst): Topicization in Hindi and small PRO |
| 9:20 | Miriam Butt (Stanford U): Infinitive agreement in Urdu |
| 9:40 | Nalini Rau (U IL-Urbana): Under specification and agreement in Kannada: A unification-based account |
| 10:00 | Rosanne Pellatier (Yale U) & Heidi Harley (MIT): Functional categories in Telugu: The interaction between agreement and negation |
| 10:20 | Smita Joshi (Stanford U): Logical subject and object in Marathi: Implications for the argument structure |
| 10:40 | *Rakesh M. Bhat (U IL-Urbana): Nominative objects in Kashmiri |
**Phonology 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Orhan Orgun (U CA-Berkeley):</td>
<td>Alterable geminates and the release node</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Tim D. Sherer (U MA-Amherst): Geminates and homorganic clusters in Finnish</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Larry M. Hyman (U CA-Berkeley): The line-crossing constraint in autosegmental topology</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Linda Uyechi (Stanford U): Against wiggling and circling as movement in American Sign Language</td>
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<td>10:20</td>
<td>Kristin Hanson (U BC): The distinction between lexical and nonlexical words in English metrics</td>
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<td>10:40</td>
<td>Eunjoo Han (Stanford U): Prosodic compounding in Japanese and Korean</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Kathleen Hubbard (U CA-Berkeley): Durational evidence in momic theory: The representation of English onsets</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>Corey A. Miller (U PA): h/ and ambisyllabicity in American English</td>
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**Neurolinguistics**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Kathleen Ahrens (U CA-San Diego):</td>
<td>Classifier neutralization in bilingual aphasics</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Julie Ann Christiansen (Boston U): Coherence disturbance in Wernicke's aphasia</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Mary Tait (U Edinburgh): &amp; Richard Shillcock (U Edinburgh): A cross-linguistic perspective on functional category impairment in aphasia</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Nina Dronkers (VA Martinez/U CA-Davis), Robert Van Valin (SUNY-Buffalo), Johnna Shapiro (IL Wesleyan), Brenda Redfern (U CA-Davis), Jeri Jaeger (SUNY-Buffalo), &amp; David Wilkins (SUNY-Buffalo): Re-evaluating neuroanatomical models of language production</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>Aletta Haveman (U Utrecht): F0-declination in the spontaneous speech of Broca's aphasics</td>
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**Discourse/Pragmatics 1**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Shoichi Iwasaki (U CA-Los Angeles) &amp; Hongyn Tao (U CA-Santa Barbara): A comparative study of the structure of the intonation unit in English, Japanese, and Mandarin Chinese</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Li-Chiung Yang (Georgetown U): Prosodic variations in Mandarin discourse</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Marilyn A. Walker (U PA): When given information is accented: Repetition, paraphrase, and inference in dialogue</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Minako Ishikawa (Georgetown U): A developmental study of allo-repetition as a cohesive device in Japanese</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>Betty J. Birner (U WI-Milwaukee): Information status and English inversion</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Gregory L. Ward (Northwestern U) &amp; Betty J. Birner (U WI-Milwaukee): There isn't the definiteness effect to deal with anymore</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Alice F. Freed (Moncecair SC): The form and function of questions in informal dyadic conversation</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>Dornuta Dumitrescu (CA SU-Los Angeles): Rheochorical questions in Romanian</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:40</td>
<td>Joan Peresty Levinson (SUNY/Empire SC): The linguistic status of sentence-internal punctuation</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
## LSA Presidential Address

**Room:** Biltmore Bowl  
2:00 - 3:30 PM  
"Mapping the ordinary into the rare: Basic/derived reasoning in theory construction"  
Arnold Zvecky (OH SU)

## Prosodic Phonology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker/Institution</th>
<th>Title/Summary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Anthony Woodbury (U TX-Austin)</td>
<td>Against intonational phrases in Central Alaskan Yupik Eskimo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:15</td>
<td>Kari Swingle (U CA-Santa Cruz)</td>
<td>The role of prosody in right node raising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:35</td>
<td>Aaron Lass Halpern (OH SU)</td>
<td>Serbo-Croatian clitic &quot;fortresses&quot; and the mechanism of clitic placement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:55</td>
<td>Yuchu E. Haio (Ned Chengchui U)</td>
<td>Precompiled phrasal phonology and tonal phrasing in Taiwanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:15</td>
<td>Brian D. McHugh (Temple U)</td>
<td>Barriers to phonological phrasing in KiVanjo Chaga</td>
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</tbody>
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## Syntax 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker/Institution</th>
<th>Title/Summary</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Hamida Demirdache (MIT)</td>
<td>Resumptive pronouns and weak crossover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:15</td>
<td>J. Marc Aubauer (U Ottawa)</td>
<td>Echo-wh, quiz master-wh, and weak crossover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:35</td>
<td>Paul Law (U Quebec-Montreal)</td>
<td>On the base position of wh-adjuncts and extraction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:55</td>
<td>Carole Tenny Bosser (U CT)</td>
<td>The structure of quantified noun phrases: Evidence from ASL</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

## First Language Acquisition: Syntax and Semantics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker/Institution</th>
<th>Title/Summary</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Laurel LaPorte-Crimes (U CT)</td>
<td>IP acquisition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:50</td>
<td>Kenneth P. Drozd (U MA-Amherst)</td>
<td>Evidence of short-circuited implicature from child language operator constructions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:10</td>
<td>Rosalind Thornton (MIT)</td>
<td>Children who don't raise the negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:30</td>
<td>William Philip (U MA-Amherst)</td>
<td>Event quantification in preschooler Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:50</td>
<td>Dana McDaniels (U S ME), Bonnie Chiu (U S ME), &amp; Thomas Maxwell (U MA-Amherst)</td>
<td>Non-English wh-constructions in English-speaking children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:10</td>
<td>Sergey Avrutin (MIT) &amp; Rosalind Thornton (MIT)</td>
<td>The distributive operator: Evidence from binding theory in child grammars</td>
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## Celtic Syntax

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<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker/Institution</th>
<th>Title/Summary</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Laurie Zaring (IN U)</td>
<td>Two 'be', or not two 'be'?</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:15</td>
<td>Robin Schafer (U CA-Santa Cruz)</td>
<td>Agreement and the position of subjects in Breton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:35</td>
<td>Nathalie Schapansky (Simon Fraser U)</td>
<td>When existentiality meets unaccusativity, the case of Breton</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

## Slavic Syntax

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker/Institution</th>
<th>Title/Summary</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Tracy Holloway King (Stanford U)</td>
<td>Licensing left-edge focus in Russian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:20</td>
<td>Ljiljana Progovac (Wayne SU) &amp; Steven Francks (IN U)</td>
<td>Two types of sentential complements in Serbo-Croatian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:40</td>
<td>Katarzyna Dziwiensk (Simon Fraser U)</td>
<td>Is there a multiple dative restriction in Polish: ROVS mapping theory</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Norphology
Chair: Jorge Hankamer (U CA-Santa Cruz)
Room: Roman

3:30  *Steven G. Lapointe (U CA-Davis): Constraint on the morphological forms of gerundive nominalizations

4:15  Susan Stoele (U AZ): Towards a theory of morphological information

4:35  James K. Watters (Summer Inst Ling): The morphosyntax of verb-verb constructions in Tepethua

4:55  Mari Broman Olsen (Northwestern U): The right hand head rule and English “verb-forming” prefixes

Discourse/Pragmatics 2
Chair: Jef Verschueren (U Antwerp)

5:20  Yoko Collier-Sanuki (U CA-Los Angeles): Word order and grammar of relative clauses

5:40  Sai-Hua Kuo (Nat Tsing Hua U): The multiple uses of nagelwege in spoken Mandarin

6:00  Ritva Lauy (U CA-Santa Barbara): Third person pronouns without antecedents in spoken Finnish

Lexical Semantics
Chair: Adele Goldberg (U CA-San Diego)
Room: Corinthian

3:30  Susan Luperfey (MITRE Corp): A discourse functional analysis of plural one-anaphors

3:50  Eric Pederson (Max Planck Inst): Alternative spatial reference in Tamil

4:10  Jean-Pierre Koenig (U CA-Berkeley): The lexical semantics of scalar predicates: A unified account

4:30  Shoko Harano (U CA-Santa Cruz): On nouns and nominal adjectives in Japanese

4:50  Paul D. Dean (U Crl FL): On the semantic unity of over and other polysemous prepositions

5:10  Timothy C. Clausner (U MI): Metaphors, containers and the invariance hypothesis

Sunday, 10 January

Morning

Syntax and Semantics
Chair: Edward Keenan (U CA-Los Angeles)
Room: Crystal

9:00  *Sandra Chung (U CA-Santa Cruz), William A. Ladusaw (U CA-Santa Cruz), & James McCloskey (U CA-Santa Cruz): Stuicing and logical form

9:45  David Basilico (U AZ): Quantifiers, reconstruction and the copy theory of movement

10:05  Holzra Ullmann (U MA-Amherst): Scope ambiguities in how many questions

10:25  Frank Henry (U Pittsburgh) & Carol Tenny (U Pittsburgh): Core event structure and the scope of adverbs

10:45  Gillian Cariona Ramchand (Stanford U): Characteristic sentences and the stage/individual level contrast

11:05  Arild Heintz (U Stuttgar): The effect of subordination on strict identity interpretation of reflexives

11:25  Kai von Fintel (U MA-Amherst): Modal quantification and unless-conditionals

11:45  Chris Barker (OH SU): Covert argument structure and two kinds of relational nouns

Psycholinguistics
Chair: Eve Clark (Stanford U)
Room: Gold

9:00  Almeida Jacqueline Toribio (Cornell U) & James P. Lantolf (Cornell U): On the role of UG in adult second language acquisition: Evidence from pro-drop

9:20  *Lyn Frazier (U MA-Amherst) & Charles Clifton (U MA-Amherst): Construal and the processing of nonprimary relations

10:05  Megan J. Crowhurst (U TX-Austin) & Catharine H. Echols (U TX-Austin): Infants' perception of metrical rhythms

10:25  Susan M. Suzzman (U Witwatersrand): The discourse origin of agreement in Zulu

10:45  Suzanne Quay (U Cambridge): Bilingual evidence against the principle of contrast

Formal/Philosophical Approaches to Language
Chair: Lila Gleitman (U PA)

11:10  Andi Wu (U CA-Los Angeles): The P-parameter and the acquisition of word order

11:30  Leona F. Fass: Canonical (CF) grammars and natural language

11:50  *Geoffrey K. Pullum (U CA-Santa Cruz) & Barbara C. Scholz (U Toledo): Language, mind, and abstract objects
### Syntax

**Chair:** Joseph Aoun (USC)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker/Institution</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Georgia M. Green (U IL-Urbana) &amp; Jerry L. Morgan (U IL-Urbana); Auxiliary inversions and the notion 'default specification'</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Georgia M. Green (U IL-Urbana); Towards an HPSG account of so-called 'focus inversion'</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Johan Rooryck (IN U); Twenty years after: The intervention constraint revisited</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Philip H. Miller (U Lille); Nonlocal object agreement</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>*Samuel Bayer (Brown U); Coordination of unlikes: Wasow's generalization and beyond</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:05</td>
<td>Alan Muna (U NC-Chapel Hill); Syntactic asymmetries and semantic identity in coordinate structures</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:25</td>
<td>Peter Sells (Stanford U), John Rickford (Stanford U), &amp; Thomas Wasow (Stanford U); Negative inversion in African American Vernacular English (AAVE)</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:45</td>
<td>Donna B. Gerds (Simon Fraser U); Morphosyntactic argument positions and NP accessibility</td>
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### Typology

**Chair:** Bernard Comrie (USC)

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<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Johanna Nichols (U CA-Berkeley); Typological implications of lexical transitivity</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Maria Polinsky (USC); Oblique objects as terms: Evidence from Basque</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Carol Genetti (U CA-Santa Barbara); Split objectivity in Dolchka Hewari</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Valentina Apresjan (USC); Definite article in Armenian: Semantics, pragmatics, syntax</td>
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<td>10:20</td>
<td>C.R. Claramon (U MN-Minneapolis); Variability in a typology of nominal classification systems</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Ferdinand de Haan (USC); The interaction of modality and negation</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Matthew Dryer (SUNY-Buffalo); Modifying Hawkins' prepositional noun modifier hierarchy</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>*Orin D. Gensler (U CA-Berkeley); Insular Celtic syntax and Hartilo-Sentitic: Substrata and typology</td>
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### Phonetics/Phonology

**Chair:** Patricia Keating (U CA-Los Angeles)

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<th>Time</th>
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<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Elizabeth C. Zaiga (Haskins Labs/Yale U); Representing gradient assimilation</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Brenda I.L. Orser (U Victoria) &amp; Barry F. Carlson (U Victoria); Sonority in Spokane, Interior Salish pharyngeal resonants</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>Ian Maddieson (U CA-Los Angeles/U CA-Berkeley); Sequence in simultaneity: Phonetic 'enhancements' in Ewe doubly-articulated stops</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>James B. Long (U CA-Berkeley) &amp; Ian Maddieson (U CA-Los Angeles/U CA-Berkeley); Consensual evidence against the quantal theory</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>Sun-Ah Jun (OH SU) &amp; Mary E. Beckman (OH SU); A gestural-overlap analysis of vowel devoicing in Japanese and Korean</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Caroline L. Smith (U CA-Los Angeles); Modelling the coordination of vowel and consonant gestures</td>
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<td>11:00</td>
<td>Keith Johnson (U AL-Birmingham); Acoustic and auditory analysis of Xhosa clicks and pulmonics</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>Kenneth John de Jong (U CA-Los Angeles); Phonetic units and American English [ow]</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:40</td>
<td>Jean Ann (Purdue U); Markedness in Sign Language handshapes</td>
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### Sociolinguistics

**Chair:** Penelope Eckert (Inst Res Learn)

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Elizabeth Dayton (U PR); VAAE be1 and be2; Contrast or variation?</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>Marcyn Siegel (U CA-Los Angeles); The role of narrative shift audience in stylistic variation</td>
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<td>9:40</td>
<td>Walter F. Edwards (Wayne SU); Sociolinguistic features of rap lyrics: Comparisons with reggae</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>G. Tucker Childs (U Witwatersrand); Overreporting expressive language</td>
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<td>10:20</td>
<td>Daming Xu (U Ottawa); Social differentiation of the pronunciation of Mandarin nasal words</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Dwight Atkinson (USC); Socio-historical register variation in written scientific discourse: 1675-1975</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Alice Faber (Haskins Labs), Catherine T. Bui (Haskins Labs/Wesleyan U), &amp; Marjan Reza Di Paolo (U UT); Cross-dialectal perception of nearly merged forms</td>
<td></td>
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American Dialect Society
Friday, 8 January
Afternoon

Panel: The Making of American English: Origin and History
Organizer: Herbert Penzl (U CA-Berkeley)
Chair: Arthur Bronstein (U CA-Berkeley)
Room: Cordoban
2:00 - 5:00 PM

Daniel Brink (AZ SU): Is 17th-century Elizabethan English Proto-American English?
Discussants: Donka Minkova (U CA-Los Angeles)
Robert Stockwell (U CA-Los Angeles)
Herbert Penzl (U CA-Berkeley): The evidence for diglossia in American English (until 1900)
Discussant: Elizabeth C. Traugott (Stanford U)
Julian Boyd (U CA-Berkeley): Dialect and the colloquial style

BREAK

Joseph C. Finney (Monterey, CA): Phonology of Illinois American English in 1931-1933 as analyzed by a four to six year old boy
Discussants: Jean Berko Gleason (Boston U)
James D. McCawley (U Chicago)
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Morning</th>
<th>Afternoon</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Session 1</strong></td>
<td><strong>Session 3</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chair: Douglas A. Kibbee (U IL-Urbana)</td>
<td>Chair: Daniel J. Taylor (Lawrence U)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Room: Cordoba</td>
<td>Room: Cordoba</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:00  Maria Tsipera (U NC-Chapel Hill): Port Royal grammars as teaching manuals</td>
<td>3:30  George Wolf (U New Orleans): On the case of Saussure's French connection</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:30  Jaroslav Rudoycekyj: Lisienski's Hawaiian Dictionary of 1804</td>
<td>4:00  E.F. Konrad Koerner (U Ottawa): Jespersen's reception of the Cours de Linguistique Générale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00 Stephen A. Guice (Memphis SU): Early 19th-century American views on language change</td>
<td>4:30  Jan-Eric Widell (U Uppsala): Voloshinov's polemic attack on Saussurean linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30 Break</td>
<td>5:00  Regina Darnell (U W Ontario): Lévi-Strauss' transformations of Bosnian text-based ethnography: From Durkheim and Jakobson to an international structuralist tradition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Session 2</strong></td>
<td><strong>Business Meeting</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chair: E.F. Konrad Koerner (U Ottawa)</td>
<td>Chair: Daniel J. Taylor</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:45 Michael Mackert (AZ SU): Horatio Hale and the great US exploring expedition: A neglected chapter in the history of American linguistics</td>
<td>NAAHoLS president</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:15 Joan Leopold: The laurels of linguistic scholarship: The subject matter of the Prix Volney Essays, 1822-1877</td>
<td>6:00  Business Meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:45 John E. Joseph (U MD-College Park): Eliminating history: On the convergent aims of language standardization and linguistic theory</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
## Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics

### Friday, 8 January

#### Morning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diachrony</th>
<th>Phonology</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chair: John Rickford (Stanford U)</td>
<td>Chair: Kevin J. Rostett (IN U)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Room: Corinthian</td>
<td>Room: Athenian</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:00 Glenn Gilbert (S II U-Carbondale): Popular Brazilian Portuguese: A convergence creole, derived from a dual source</td>
<td>9:00 Eduardo Faingold (U CA-Los Angeles): The reconstruction of phonological inventories: The case of Papuametau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30 Flore Zephir (U MO): De-Frenchification in Haitian Creole</td>
<td>9:30 William J. Samarin (U Toronto): Morphophonological 'complication' in creolization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00 Armin Schwегler (U CA-Irvine): On the pidgin or creole origins of popular Caribbean Spanish</td>
<td>10:00 John Victor Singler (NYU): The status of syllable-final consonants in Liberian Setler English</td>
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<tr>
<th>(Morpho-)Syntax</th>
<th>Processes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chair: G. Tucker Childs (U Witwatersrand)</td>
<td>Chair: Salikoko Mufwene (U Chicago)</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:45 Beth Craig (CUNY Grad Cc): The syntax of the pronoun element he in an historical dialect of American Indian English</td>
<td>10:45 Genevieve Escure (U MN-Minneapolis): Local shifts and gender in a creole continuum (Belize)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:45 Michel F. DeGraff (U PA): A resumptive nonverbal pro-predicate in the grammar of Haitian</td>
<td>11:45 Hirokuni Masuda (U HI-Manoa): TSR formation as discourse transparency</td>
</tr>
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#### Friday, 8 January

### Afternoon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Dimension</th>
<th>Negerhollands/Angolar</th>
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<tr>
<td>Chair: Flore Zephir (U MO)</td>
<td>Chair: Armin Schwегler (U CA-Irvine)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Room: Corinthian</td>
<td>Room: Athenian</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:00 Charles C. Mann (U Edinburgh): Nigerian Pidgin: A sociopsychological survey of Southern Nigerian</td>
<td>2:00 Robin Sabino (Auburn U): Negerhollands origins: A reappraisal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:30 John McWhorter (Stanford U): Diffusion, Spanish colonialization, and a new perspective on the creolization context</td>
<td>2:30 Philippe Maurer (U Zurich): Serial pe 'to put' as a locative in Angolar (Gulf of Guinea)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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**Panel: Research Methods in Pidgin and Creole Studies**

Organizer: Charlene Sato (U HI-Manoa)  
Moderator: Roger Andersen (U CA-Los Angeles)  
Room: Corinthian  
3:15 - 5:00

Suzanne Romaine (Merton C, U Oxford)  
John Rickford (Stanford U)  
Salikoko Mufwene (U Chicago)  
Charlene Sato (U HI-Manoa)
### Saturday, 9 January

#### Morning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diachrony</th>
<th>French Creoles</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Chair:</strong> John McWhorter (Stanford U)</td>
<td><strong>Chair:</strong> William J. Samarin (U Toronto)</td>
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<td><strong>Room:</strong> Cerinthian</td>
<td><strong>Room:</strong> Athenian</td>
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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Topic</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Sivja Kouwenberg (U W Indies):</td>
<td>The study of language attrition in contemporary Berbice Dutch Creole</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mark L. Louden (U TX-Austin):</td>
<td>The evolution of prepositional complementizers: Parallels between English-based creoles and Germanic</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Shoba Sasyenath:</td>
<td>The issue of rule ordering in variable phonology: (daz) in Guyanese</td>
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<tr>
<th>(Morpho)-Syntax</th>
<th>Mixed Languages</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Suzanne Romaine (Merton C, U Oxford)</td>
<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Charlone Sato (U HI Manos)</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>Gregory Ossu Sim'ire (U Nice):</td>
<td>Regional variation in Anglo-Nigerian pidgin</td>
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<td>11:15</td>
<td>Anrienne Broun (U Amsterdam):</td>
<td>The determiner system in 18th-century Sranan</td>
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<td>11:45</td>
<td>Tonjes Van der (U Amsterdam):</td>
<td>Aspect phrases in Saramaccan</td>
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<td>9:00</td>
<td>Colleen Fitzgerald (U AZ):</td>
<td>Topicalization in Guadeloupean and Martiniquian Creole</td>
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<td>9:30</td>
<td>Kevin J. Rottet (IN U):</td>
<td>Functional categories and verb raising in Louisiana Creole</td>
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<td>10:00</td>
<td>Anjani Kumar Sinha &amp; Rekesh Ranjan:</td>
<td>Reduplication in Mauritian Creole</td>
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<td>10:45</td>
<td>Michael Aceto (U TX-Austin):</td>
<td>The Kromanti link: A lexical examination of Twi/Ashanti data</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:15</td>
<td>G. Tucker Childs (U Witswatersrand):</td>
<td>Isicatho: An Nguni-based urban vernacular</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:45</td>
<td>Irina Sekevina (CUNY Grad Ctr):</td>
<td>Copper Island (Medny) Aleut (CIA): A mixed language</td>
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Abstracts of Regular Papers
Statement from the Program Committee

The abstracts which appear in this Meeting Handbook are photocopies of the originals submitted to the LSA Program Committee. Infelicities of style, grammar, punctuation, and spelling are the responsibility of the authors.
Counterexamples to the Partitive Constraint like *That book could belong to one of three people* (Ladusaw 1982) have been claimed to require a specific interpretation for the embedded NP, perhaps 'referential' in the sense of Focor & Sag 1982. I show first that embedded nonreferential indefinites are allowed in partitives, e.g. *if 3 or more of some prof's books get published, the University benefits.* Secondly I point out that the analysis of Roberts 1987 does not have the PC as a consequence. Rather it predicts two kinds of partitives, depending on whether the embedded NP has a group interpretation, as above, or a distributive interpretation as in *One third of every book Chomsky writes consists of footnotes.* I argue that this is correct, and that deviant examples cited in the literature are only pragmatically odd. Finally I point out that embedded bare NPs are semantically excluded in partitives (*some of pencils/water*). Combining Carlson's analysis of bare NPs with Link's analysis of plurals and mass terms, this falls out with one natural stipulation -- that the kinds denoted by bare NPs are not atoms.

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Michael Aceto (University of Texas-Austin)

The Kromanti link: A lexical examination of Twi/Ashanti data in Jamaican and Surinamese Creoles

This paper will explore historical and linguistic evidence which demonstrates that an Akan language, known as Kromanti, was used as a fully functional language among African slaves in the Americas. Gold Coast languages have exerted a considerable yet practically unexplored influence in the formation of the Anglophone Atlantic creoles, and this paper will examine Twi/Ashanti data found in the creoles of Jamaica and Suriname as well as the Kromanti language itself in the light of the demographics and history of the Atlantic slave trade. This paper will gather data regarding Kromanti lexical items from several sources and use them to illustrate the thesis that Gold Coast peoples, including perhaps even a Kromanti people, and their languages figured prominently within the componential matrix of several Anglophone creoles. Furthermore, this paper will consider (within the theoretical framework of Le Page and Tabourel-Keller (1985)) that a shared Kromanti heritage between slaves in Suriname and Maroons in Jamaica is at least partly responsible for the convergence of linguistic forms displayed by Maroon Spirit Language.

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Kathleen Ahrens (University of California-San Diego)

Classifier neutralization in bilingual aphasics

Tseng et al. propose that errors manifested by B’s aphasics involve areas of the anterior cortex that are in charge of the maintenance of lexical and morphological alternatives. Damage to these regions would mean that the subject must choose frequent forms that are easy to access and produce. The review of the above data suggests that not only are the Broca's aphasics selecting the neutral classifier, they are in fact selecting a very frequent lexical item. Tseng et al. also propose that W's errors of crossing semantic classes are compatible with a theory of attentional processes that assign alerting and filtering roles to the posterior regions of the brain. The reanalysis of the data suggests that Wernicke's aphasics are not crossing semantic classes, instead there is code-mixing occurring, with the Taiwanese form of the classifier occurring in Mandarin speech. Thus this data sheds new light on attentional processing in bilingual aphasics, and suggests that future research on the hemispheric organization of language can benefit from studies of bilingual aphasia.
Alex Alsina (Stanford University)

*Argument structure binding: Romance reflexive clitics*

The Romance construction with a reflexive clitic (RC) is analyzed by some researchers (e.g., Rizzi 1986) as having the same argument structure as its non-reflexivized counterpart, and by other researchers (e.g., Grimshaw 1990) as having a suppressed external argument, as in passive constructions. I show that neither of the two approaches can account for the full range of facts.

First, evidence such as nominalizations of infinitives with a RC argues conclusively for treating the RC not as a syntactic argument, but as an argument structure operation with a valence-reducing effect. Second, certain facts such as auxiliary selection show that reflexivized constructions pattern with unaccusatives and that their subject must be an internal argument. Third, contrasting with this, facts such as re-cliticization and subject selection with ditransitives show that they pattern with transitives and unergatives and that their subject must be an external argument.

I resolve this paradox within a theory of the mapping of argument roles to grammatical functions by allowing two argument roles to map onto the same function if and only if they have the same linking index, and by treating the RC as an argument structure operation that requires two argument roles to have the same index. Thus, the RC has a valence-reducing effect and the subject of reflexivized constructions is the expression at the same time of an external and an internal argument.

Jean Ann (Purdue University)

*Markedness in Sign Language handshapes*

Much of the literature about sign language handshapes has assumed that some handshapes are more "common" than others. Specifically, two claims have been made: (i) a given handshape might be rare within a particular sign language and (ii) a given handshape might be rare across sign languages. Till now these claims have not been substantiated statistically for any given sign language or across sign languages. However, they have been explained by another assertion, namely that (iii) some handshapes are relatively "easy" and some handshapes are "difficult", based on assumed physiological or perceptual factors. Till now no explicit model of relative ease has been proposed in the literature. In order to see whether the intuitively pleasing assertions in (i)-(iii) can be maintained. This paper first proposes a set of physiological factors which decide whether a given handshape is "easy" or "difficult". Second, having established the criteria for relative ease, I test the assertion that the "easy" handshapes are more common than the "difficult" handshapes within one sign language, Taiwan Sign Language (TSL). The results show that the "difficult" handshapes occur less often than the "easy" handshapes.

Valentina Apresjan (University of Southern California)

*Definite article in Armenian: Semantics, pragmatics, syntax*

The paper analyzes the rules governing the distribution of the definite article in Armenian. This article is postposed and has two morphophonemic shapes [ ] and [n], as in (1a) axic- jekav 'The girl came.': (1b) asakertusi-n indz sirum e 'The student likes me.' The following features, in combination, govern the use of the article: 1) definite/indefinite (semantic); 2) referential/non-referential (semantic); 3) contrastive topic/topic/focus (pragmatic); 4) subject/non subject (syntactic). Those NPs that are semantically and/or pragmatically most prominent are always marked regardless of their grammatical relation. Thus, the following rules obtain: I. A referential definite NP must be marked by the definite article regardless of its syntactic and pragmatic function. II. An NP in the contrastive topic position must be marked by the definite article regardless of its semantic and syntactic function. Those cases which deviate from I and II, follow rules III-V. III. An indefinite NP is marked by the definite article if it is subject and topic; IV. An NP which does not have a specific referent is marked by the definite article if it denotes entities in a limited set where each entity is familiar to the speaker. This is a common case for nominals modified by a quantifier or a numeral.
Alfredo R. Arnaiz (University of Southern California)  
*On the parallelism between n-words and wh-in-situ in Spanish*  
(FRI MORN: Crystal)

In this paper, I show that there is a strong parallelism in the behavior of Wh-in-situ and n-words (negative quantifiers or negative polarity items), behavior that differs in several aspects from that of instances of overt Wh-extraction. At the same time, I will show that the existence of a Subjunctive Effect (SE) provides evidence that suggests the inadequacy of a movement/ECP analysis for these elements in the language in question.

Based on the treatment of Wh-elements in Chinese proposed by Aoun and Li (to appear) and on the proposal of Progovac (1988) concerning polarity sensitivity, I will suggest a uniform account for these phenomena that treat Wh-elements in-situ and n-words as polarity items (in the sense that they are subject to specific locality and licensing constraints, their occurrence is restricted to specific environments that always presuppose the presence of certain operators). I propose that Wh-in-situ as well as n-words are not subject to LF movement and stand in an operator-variable relation with their potential licensors, and are better treated as Á-anaphors in the sense of the Generalized Binding theory (see Aoun (1985,1986)).

Amalia Arvaniti (University of Oxford)  
Brian D. Joseph (Ohio State University)  
*The sociophonetics of nasal suppression in Greek: Sound change in progress*  
(FRI MORN: Tiffany)

Ancient Greek clusters of nasal (N) plus voiceless unaspirated stop (T) and of nasal plus voiced stop (D) merged to ND in Middle Greek, later yielding ND or D in different dialects. Simplification to D takes place in ND dialects in casual speech, and D dialects have acquired ND pronunciations through the influence of the conservative "puristic" variety of Greek (katharevousa). Moreover, recent studies have revealed that this stylistic variation depends also on gender, age, and education, with female, older, and more educated speakers using a higher percentage of ND. However, the significance of the age factor in conjunction with dramatic changes in the status of katharevousa in the past 20 years suggests the likelihood of concomitant changes in the status of ND/D variation (hereafter: (ND)).

Our experimental study based on the speech of 30 speakers revealed age and place of origin as the most important factors, with non-Athenian speakers using more ND than Athenians, and speakers under 40 in both groups using dramatically less ND than older speakers. This change in apparent time suggests a real sound change in progress away from a previously stable pattern of variation.

Further support for this view comes from (1) the presence of younger speakers in our sample with 100% D realization, (2) evidence of spread of D-realization of (ND) from word to junctural contexts in the youngest speakers, and (3) the availability of a clear auditory motivation for the change, as an instance of hypocorrection sound change (Ohala 1988).

Dwight Atkinson (University of Southern California)  
*Sociohistorical register variation in written scientific discourse: 1675-1975*  
(SUN MORN: Corinthian)

The linguistic evolution of specific registers has been of interest to linguists (e.g., Halliday 1988; Hiltunen 1990) in recent years. The present study applied Biber's Multidimensional analysis to the diachronic examination of one such register: English scientific research writing. Development of this register was investigated across 67 linguistic features in a corpus of 70 research articles covering the period 1675-1975. Results show that over this period research articles became: 1) highly "nominal" and informational (as marked by increasing numbers of co-occurring nouns, prepositions, attributive adjectives, longer words and varied lexicon, and decreases in co-occurring present-tense and private verbs and main clause be-verbs, 1st and 2nd person personal pronouns, and emphatics and amplifiers); 2) progressively less narrative (decreasing numbers of co-occurring past tense and perfect aspect verbs, public verbs and 3rd person personal pronouns); and 3) highly endophoric and explicit in terms of reference (increasing numbers of three types of relative clause constructions and nominalizations, and decreasing numbers of time and place adverbs). These findings are interpreted in light of the changing norms of scientific activity across this period in the scientific communities from which the articles under study emanated.
Julie Auger (University of Pennsylvania/University of Chicago) (FRI AFT: Emerald)

Genericity and ça in colloquial French

Based on data coming from Colloquial French (CF), this paper argues against the recent tendency to apply the label "generic" to sentences containing no generic NPs; it shows, instead, that a quite restricted notion of genericity is more appropriate for that language. CF possesses an element ça c' which combines with a potentially generic NP to force a generic reading of a sentence:
(1) Un chien/les chiens des chiens ça-jappe 'Dogs bark'
(2) J'aime ça les pièces de théâtre 'I like plays'

I first show that ça can be used only with NPs representing kinds, not individuals; this argues against Carlson's 1982 165 proposal that generics and habituals should be grouped under the heading "gnomic."
(3) a. Les chats c'est gentil 'Cats are nice' b. Mon chat c'est gentil 'My cat is nice'

I then go on to support Carlson's claim that intensionality is a crucial ingredient in the interpretation of generic sentences, thus offering an explanation for the contrast between the use of ça and that of elle(s) /il(s).
(4) a. Les géraniums c'est rouge 'Geraniums are red' b. Les géraniums ils-sont rouges 'The geraniums are red'

I conclude that the overt morphological evidence provided by CF ça offers support for restricting the semantic notion of genericity to sentences containing NPs which express groups that are both recognizable as kinds (e.g. Workers often smoke vs. My friends often smoke) and interpreted intentionally.

J.-Marc Authier (University of Ottawa) (SAT AFT: Gold)

Echo-wh, quiz master-wh, and weak crossover

Based on the absence of weak crossover (WCO) effects in parasitic gaps constructions, tough-movement constructions (1a) and topicalization constructions (1b), Lasnik and Stowell (1991) argue that WCO effects are not exclusively tied to the structural configuration of A'-binding but are dependent on the logical status of the phrase in the A'-position.
(1) a. Mary; will be easy [NOz [PRo to get [her sister to vouch for ej]]
b. This book; I want [its author] to burn ej

Lasnik and Stowell's claim is that only "true quantifier phrases," that is, phrases quantifying over a possibly nonsingleton set, can trigger WCO effects. Since in the sentences in (1) the A'-binder is either a logically vacuous null operator bound by an external antecedent (1a) or a referential NP (1b), the configuration does not meet the semantic requirement on WCO, hence the absence of WCO effects is expected. In this paper, I will discuss the absence of WCO effects in two types of non-genuine wh-questions; namely, echo questions and quiz master questions. I will argue that the facts pertaining to the first type further support Lasnik and Stowell's (1991) hypothesis, while the facts encountered in the second type suggest that WCO phenomena can be sensitive to non-truth-conditional aspects of meaning known as conventional implicatures.

Peter Avery (University of Toronto) (FRI MORN: Emerald)

The laryngeal specification of stop consonants in English

Phonologists generally assume that in two-term voice systems, the voiceless stops are unmarked and the voiced stops are marked for [voice] (Kiparsky 1982). Phonologists have, however, pointed out that it is the voiceless stops that involve an additional laryngeal gesture (Brownman & Goldstein 1989). In this paper, phonological evidence is presented from English that the voiceless stops are marked as being laryngeal while the voiced stops are unmarked with respect to laryngeal features. The laryngeal (i.e. voiceless) stops are underlyingly marked with a Laryngeal node with the laryngeal features being the result of default fill-in. The voicing properties of the non-laryngeal set are contextually determined. The analysis allows for a straightforward account of the allophonic variation found among the stop consonants of English. It also extends to other languages that, like English, have a laryngeal/non-laryngeal distinction as opposed to a voiced/voiceless distinction.

The basic account is as follows. Voiceless stops, which have a Laryngeal node, can be realized as segments involving the laryngeal gesture of aspiration or glottalization. Voiced stops do not participate in this alternation as they do not have a Laryngeal node and thus cannot take laryngeal dependents.

In conclusion, I argue that contrary to the general assumption, voicelessness may be the marked state, with voiceless stops bearing a Laryngeal node. This analysis is superior to the alternative in that the allophonic variation found among the stops of English can be derived directly from the nature of the representation of these segments.
(SAT AFI: Emerald)

Sergey Avrutin (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
Rosalind Thornton (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
The distributive operator: Evidence from binding theory in child grammars

Heim, Lasnik and May (1991) (HLM) propose that the distributive interpretation of a plural NP is represented at LF by a silent operator, D, that attaches to the plural NP. On this interpretation the pronoun in (1) is a bound variable. When the plural NP is interpreted collectively, the relationship between the plural NP and pronoun is one of coreference. We provide evidence for HLM's theory of plural pronouns by testing it on children, many of whom distinguish between bound variable anaphora and coreference, rejecting "Every bear is washing her" (where every bear washes herself) but accepting "Mama Bear is washing her" (where Mama Bear washes herself) (Chien and Waxler, 1990). We predicted these children would reject (1) on the distributive interpretation, but accept it when Kermit and Snuffy were interpreted collectively.

(1) Kermit and Snuffy dried them.
(2) I know how many bugs they have. Two/Four (Each of 'them' has 2 bugs)

We identify a group of children whose responses patterned according to our predictions. All children's responses to (1) were correlated with their preference for a collective or distributive on (2). Those children who accepted both collective and distributive interpretations of (1) were found only to allow a collective interpretation of (2).

Chris Barker (Ohio State University)

Covert argument structure and two kinds of relational nouns

Partee (1989) shows that the second semantic argument of a relational noun can be bound by a quantifier even when that argument is covert, that is, even when that argument not syntactically expressed. For instance, Every soldier confronted an enemy is a stranger has an interpretation which entails that each soldier confronted a person who was an enemy (a stranger) relative to that particular soldier.

(1) a. John's enemy = the_e \_ enemy-of(j, x)
   b. an enemy of John = a_e \_ enemy-of(j, x)
(2) a. John's stranger
   b. *a stranger of John

But although the second semantic argument of enemy (friend, lover, etc.) can always optionally be syntactically expressed by a pronominal possessive as in (1a), or by a postnominal genitive of phrase as in (1b), the covert argument of stranger (fugitive, outcast, etc.) cannot, as shown in (2). This means that the syntactic argument structure of a noun cannot be predicted from its semantic properties, nor vice-versa.

E. Rush Barrett (University of Texas-Austin)

K'iche' Maya truncation and the prosodic hierarchy

According to prosodic hierarchy theory, (Nespor and Vogel 1986, Hayes 1989), a hierarchy of phrasal units provides the domains for the application of post-lexical phonological rules. Within this theory, prosodic boundary phenomena refer to levels in the hierarchy and have no access to other parts of grammar. An alternative model of postlexical prosody has been proposed (Liberman, Mclemore, and Woodbury 1991) in which prosodic phenomena need only refer to syntax, discourse structure and pragmatics, rather than to abstract phonological phrasal domains. This paper examines the ability of these models to account for the distribution of a post-lexical truncation in K'iche' Maya. An analysis of natural language texts shows that while the distribution of this phenomenon can be easily explained in terms of syntax and pragmatics, the distribution does not correspond with any of the traditional levels found in the prosodic hierarchy.
David Basilico (University of Arizona)

Quantifiers, reconstruction and the copy theory of movement (SUN MORN: Crystal)

This paper modifies and extends the 'copy' theory of A-bar movement (Chomsky, 1992) to account for reconstruction effects (Chomsky, 1976; van Riemsdijk and Williams, 1981; Barse, 1986; LeBeaux, 1988) with quantified noun phrases and gives a semantics for the resulting LF representations. In this way, the proposal that the Binding Theory applies at LF can be maintained (Chomsky, 1992). For example, in (1) 'he' and 'John' cannot be coreferential. At LF, the object NP would QR and adjoin to IP and the pronoun would not c-command 'John'; there would be no Principle C violation:

(1) He saw most pictures of John.

I modify the Chomsky (1992) 'copy' theory by allowing the restriction on a quantifier to appear in operator position as well as copy position. The LF for (1) would be:

(2) \[ \gamma_{\text{most}} \{ \text{pictures of John} \} \; [he \; \gamma_{\text{saw}} \{ \text{pictures of John} \}] \]

The pronoun c-commands 'John' and there is a Principle C violation. I interpret this LF as in (3). The innovation here is that the VP is interpreted as a conjunction of the verb phrase predicate and noun phrase predicate of the copy:

(3) \[ \gamma_{\text{most}}(x) \{ \text{pictures of John}(x) \} \; \text{he saw} (x) \; \& \{ \text{pictures of John}(x) \} \]

The conservativity property of determiners (Barwise and Cooper, 1981) will allow this interpretation to be equivalent to the more usual 'most(x) [pictures of John(x)] he saw(x)'.

Samuel Bayer (Brown University)

Coordination of unlikes: Wasow's generalization and beyond (SUN MORN: Emerald)

The account of coordination in Categorial Grammar (CG) has enjoyed notable success, especially in its account of nonconstituent coordination (cf. Dowty 1988). However, it has yet to be extended to the coordination of unlikes; furthermore, existing accounts of the coordination of unlikes fail to extend to cases of phonological resolution of syntactic feature conflict documented by Pullum and Zwicky 1986:

(1) I certainly will, and you already have, set the record straight.

In this paper, I will extend the CG account of coordination to cover the full range of coordination cases described here. My account will rely on a strictly functional interpretation of CG (Jacobson 1991), in which the functional categories of CG are given a mathematically functional interpretation. I define operations of category union, category intersection and category membership, and rely on the observation that categories are closed under coordination to provide a natural account of the coordination of unlikes.

Robert Belvin (University of Southern California)

The \( \theta \)-hierarchy and the causation-hierarchy (FRI AFT: Gold)

In addition to the well-known \( \theta \)-hierarchy governing the cooccurrence of \( \theta \)-roles within a predicate, there is another hierarchy which constrains the embedding of causative predicates under other causative predicates. This hierarchy is as follows: event causation, action causation, state causation. On closer inspection, however, it can be shown that the causation hierarchy is derivable from the \( \theta \)-hierarchy. This is due to the fact that for each type of causation mentioned, the semantic embedded subject (the \texttt{cause}) moves a step higher on the \( \theta \)-hierarchy. Thus, states typically have as their causee \texttt{theme}, actions typically have as their causee \texttt{actor}, and events typically have as their causee \texttt{agent}. The \texttt{causer} and \texttt{causee} must obey the \( \theta \)-hierarchy since they function as co-arguments of the cause predicate. The result is the causation hierarchy.
Rakesh M. Bhatt (University of Illinois-Urbana)  
Nominaive objects in Kashmiri

Recently, Koopman & Sportiche (1991) [K&S] and Georgopoulos (1992) [G] have argued against AGR phrases claiming that Spec-Head coindexing is sufficient to represent agreement (within IP =subject agreement; within VP =object agreement). In this paper I will present evidence showing that nominative objects in Kashmiri Quirky Constructions [KQC] must move out of VP for Case-theoretic reasons to a position between IP and VP. This position (say, Spec of Xmax) cannot be the VP-adjoined position proposed by K&S since assuming that we do not get the required Subject-nominaive Object-Adverb order. The presence of this extra layer of structure, Xmax, thus provides the configurational space required for obligatory object fronting for nominative Case in Kashmiri (A-movement) and Inuit (A'-movement), and for analyzing the German-Icelandic quirky NP contrast. I will argue that in KQC the nominative objects, interpreted as specific, cannot be bound by existential closure (cf. Diesing 1992), and as such, must move (over a VP-adjoined adverb) to a position above VP but, crucially, lower than IP, to Spec-Xmax since the quirky NP occupies the IP-Spec (showing all subject-like properties). In a theory (like K&S, or G) that does not allow a projection like Xmax between I0 and VP, the KQC data will remain unaddressed. Assuming Xmax projection also allows a natural account of Object movement (to Spec of Xmax), Case (via D and agreement (Spec-Head coindexing in IP and Xmax) in Inuit, and Icelandic-German contrast: Icelandic quirky subjects are in the Spec of IP (AGRsP), whereas German quirky NPs are analyzed as being in Spec of Xmax (presumably AGmP).

Betty J. Birner (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)  
Information status and English inversion

This paper presents a discourse-functional account of English inversion, based on an empirical study of a large corpus of natural data. Drawing on work by Prince (1992), who distinguishes between hearer-familiarity and discourse-familiarity, I argue that inversion serves to link relatively unfamiliar information to the prior context via the clause-initial placement of information which is relatively familiar in the discourse. Felicitous inversion, then, depends on the relative discourse-familiarity of the information represented by the preposed and postposed constituents. Moreover, the data indicate that evoked and inerrable information are treated alike with respect to inversion; both are treated as discourse-old information. Finally, the results of this study are compared with those of Prince (1992), who found that discourse-old entities tend to be represented by subject NPs in canonical-word-order sentences. The preposed constituent in an inversion, rather than the postposed subject, patterns with canonical-word-order subjects, suggesting that discourse-familiarity correlates not with subjecthood, but rather with relative sentence position.

José Bonneau (McGill University)  
Mihoko Zushi (McGill University)  
Quantifier climbing, clitic climbing and restructuring in Romance

This paper discusses the interaction of Quantifier Climbing and Clitic Climbing (Cl-C1) in Argentine Spanish (AS) and French. The following contrast is our main focus.

1a. Ella todos quiera leerlos.  
   b. Ella todos los quiera leer.

2a. Elle a tous voulu les lire.  
   b. Elle les a tous voulu lire.

The generalization drawn from the data is that floated quantifier (FQ) and Cl can be split only in French, which is reminiscent of the 'split clitics' discussed in Kayne (1991). This fact can be explained by assuming that FQs are heads base-generated in functional heads (Bonneau 1989), and by positing two different positions for FQs: AGRs in AS and T in French under the clause structure proposed by Chomsky (1989). In AS, in order for FQ to move up to the matrix clause, it is forced to first move to T by ECP, and bring along the Cl in T; hence Cl-C1. In French, FQ(T) can move independently to the matrix clause. We propose that the reason why FQs can climb where Cls cannot in French comes from the pro-drop parameter, i.e. the 'strength' of T (Kayne 1991), and restructuring which, we assume, implies the coindexation of the matrix and embedded Ts.
Carole Tenny Boster (University of Connecticut)  
*The structure of quantified noun phrases: Evidence from ASL*

This study examines constructions in American Sign Language (ASL) where a numeric quantifier (NQ) is separated from the noun phrase (NP) it quantifies over, such as "BOOK, I WANT THREE", and shows how these can best be accounted for as instances of A'-movement (topicalization) of the NP from a Quantifier Phrase (QP). The findings support a recent proposal (by Abney (1987), Contreras (1989) and others) that a quantified noun phrase is a maximal projection of Q rather than N. Evidence in support of a movement analysis includes the following: 1) NPs in object position can separate from NQs but those in subject position cannot; 2) extraction is allowed from within argument PPs but not adjunct PPs; 3) 'long-distance' separation of an NP from an NQ in an embedded clause obeys Wh-movement constraints. A similar split involving separation of a quantificational Wh-element from its associated NP, as in "HOW-MANY YOU WANT BOOK?" is argued to be a separate type of movement phenomenon, as it generalizes to non-quantificational Wh-elements including WHICH and WH-COLOR. Preliminary evidence indicates that the account given for the NQ-NP split extends to other classes of ASL quantifiers including ALL, ALOT, NONE, FEW.

Julian Boyd (University of California-Berkeley)  
*Dialect and the colloquial style*

It has been noted by several scholars that there is a peculiarly colloquial American literary prose style which owes its distinctness to a stylization of 19th-century dialect writing. I will explore certain features of this stylization.

Carol Braithwaite (University of Arizona)  
*Onsets and glides in Spanish: An experimental look*

The nature and status of phonemes or segments, and particularly onsets and rimes, has been the topic of much discussion in linguistics. It is unclear exactly what "counts" as the onset or rime of words. For example, Harris (1983) claims that in Spanish a prevocalic glide in a word such a [swi] (s/he went) is part of the rime. Harris’s claim is controversial and such consonants are usually thought to affiliate with the onset. One of the purposes of this experiment is to examine these claims.

Treiman (1985) proposes several experiments that shed light on the question of onsets vs. rimes in English. In the current study, one of Treiman’s experimental techniques is used as a basis for testing the status of onsets and prevocalic glides in Spanish. It is notable that most of the work that has been done on issues dealing with "segmentalism" has been done primarily in English. Therefore, the goals of this work are two-fold. (1) to verify Treiman’s findings cross-linguistically and (2) to look for evidence that will help determine the status of prevocalic glides in Spanish.
Elizabeth Owen Bratt (Stanford University)

Case-marking and constituent structure: Evidence from Korean

Syntactic theories which emphasize the role of the lexicon in accounting for linguistic regularities strive to maximize the information which is lexically specified, and have provided lexically-based analyses of complex case marking phenomena (e.g., Sag, Karttunen, and Goldberg 1992). However, I present here evidence from Korean that, in some instances, case marking necessarily relies on the constituent structure, making complete lexical handling of case marking facts impossible. The relevant data concerns optional case marking on duration and frequency adverbials, which can bear accusative case only if the verb is non-stative (Maling 1989). In the periphrastic causative of a stative verb, we have a constituent structure where the arguments from both the stative verb and the causative auxiliary are sisters to a verbal complex formed syntactically by the two verbs (Sells & Cho 1991, Bratt 1992). Here, an adverbial modifying the ‘lower’ stative verb may in fact be marked accusative, reflecting its constituent structure sisterhood to the verbal complex headed by the non-stative causative auxiliary. A purely lexical case marking system could not apply to adverbials inherited in the syntax by the non-stative verbal complex, nor could the lexical entry for the causative auxiliary separate out in a principled way purely the case value for any adverbials it might inherit. Thus, it is necessary for any theory to include constituent structure-based case marking in addition to any lexical case specifications.

Daniel Brink (Arizona State University)

Is 17th-century Elizabethan English Proto-American English?

The unrestricted affirmative answer of the handbooks assumes a greater uniformity of early American English than historical data show. The early settlers included many “non-speakers” of Elizabethan English; even the Pilgrim fathers had to struggle against foreign-language influence (Dutch). And the language of later immigrants (e.g. that of John Bate in the 18th century) cannot easily be derived from known types of Elizabethan English, nor can surviving modern creole dialects such as Gullah.

Adrienne Bruyn (University of Amsterdam)

The determiner system in 18th-century Sranan

The usage of articles and demonstratives in 18th-century Sranan differs both from the usage of their modern counterparts and from their English source forms. One conspicuous aspect is the abundance of nouns with no determiner. The distribution of these corresponds neither with the category nonspecific as formulated by Bickerton (1981 i.a.), nor with the environments described in Kramen (1983), to account for zero-articles in Schumann’s *Wörtl. Buch*. And although the notion of pragmatically old information may be helpful to some extent, it does not seem possible to relate the absence of articles with this notion in a straightforward manner. It will be argued that the non-systematic occurrence of bare nouns, the unclear status of *an* as numeral versus indefinite article, and of *de* as demonstrative versus definite article, are interrelated phenomena, resulting from the grammaticalization—in-progress of the determiner system.
Miriam Butt (Stanford University)

_Infinite agreement in Urdu_

Although verb agreement in Urdu is generally clause bound, there are cases of 'long distance agreement' out of embedded infinitive clauses. Davison (1991) analyses this class of exceptions as a percolation of agreement features out of a CP. Mohajan (1990) treats the agreement between an embedded object and a finite matrix verb as long distance NP movement. I argue that infinitive constituents in Urdu must be NPs, not CPs or VPs, and that long distance agreement is actually a case of local agreement.

A finite matrix verb agrees with its nominative NP. This same generalization can be applied straightforwardly to infinitive agreement under the view that infinitive constituents are NPs. The embedded infinitive agrees with its nominative NP, the embedded object. The finite matrix verb in turn agrees with its (infinitive) argument NP. Successive local agreement thus gives rise to a superficial effect of long distance agreement between the finite verb and the embedded object. As infinitive constituents are NPs, infinitive agreement is neither a case of long distance agreement which violates clause boundaries, nor does it require long distance NP movement.

Su-I Chen (State University of New York-Stony Brook)

_Place-stricture dependency in feature geometry_

In this paper, I propose a feature dependency in which the place node is dominated by the stricture node. The first argument comes from the sensitivity of nasal place assimilation to stops and affricates, but not fricatives, as in Zoque and Lithuanian, and the standard theory has no straightforward account of this phenomenon. Another argument involves concurrent place loss with stricture delinking, as in Basque and Yucatec Maya. A third argument involves place assimilation without stricture assimilation and the rarity of stricture spread without place spread. I argue that cases of apparent spread of stricture alone should be analyzed as phonetic rather than phonological processes.

Lynn Cherny (Stanford University)

_Government and modality in Palawan_

Palawan 'WH-Agreement' is the morphological change in the verb that occurs when arguments are preposed; it occurs on all verbs c-commanded by the preposed argument. Rather than assume free adjunction of operators to clauses with case agreement between verbs and variables, as in Georgopoulos (1991), I show that assuming there are local operators in each intermediate Comp with local WH-Agreement triggered by the binder in Comp provides a less stipulative account of the phenomenon. Verb raising to a functional head triggered by the local A' binder causes the morphological change. WH-Agreement on each verb surfaces differently depending on whether the variable or phrase containing the variable is within VP or SAgP. I claim that a property of A' binding in Palawan is local binding into an argument position, either internal or external, and the agreement effect is sensitive to which argument position the operator binds into. Supporting evidence comes from the optionality of WH-Agreement when adjuncts are extracted. I propose a revision of Relativized Minimality that captures the difference between antecedent and head government into VP versus into SAgP.
G. Tucker Childs (University of the Witwatersrand)  
Isciamtho: An Nguni-based urban vernacular

This paper presents data and analysis from ongoing research on the vernacular of young Sowetan males known to many of its speakers as "Isciamtho". Often claimed (e.g., Mfenyane 1977) to be a descendant of Tsotsitaal, an Afrikaans-lexified pidgin (Holm 1989:351) become urban vernacular (Lanham 1978:26), Iscamtho has a distinct and separate history from Tsotsitaal, e.g., Mtshangase 1991. Clearly based on Nguni languages (Zulu, Sotho, etc.), Iscamtho's most important predecessor is not Tsotsitaal but rather Shalomombo, an argot spoken by criminal gangs in the 1930s and 1940s (Glaer 1950:37). A comparison of the Zulu-based variety of Iscamtho with Afrikaans, Tsotsitaal, and Zulu shows it has a linguistic distance from the first two and its undisputed Nguni roots. Although Tsotsitaal has close functional parallels with Iscamtho and may be undergoing relexification from Nguni making it linguistically similar to Iscamtho, Iscamtho constitutes a separate and distinct variety on the basis of both historical and linguistic evidence.

G. Tucker Childs (University of the Witwatersrand)  
Overreporting expressive language

Throughout Africa expressiveness is encoded in an expansive and phonologically irregular word class known as ideophones. These words typically appear only in certain genres and are known and used in differing degrees by members of a speech community. This paper offers an account for conflicting data evaluating the knowledge and use of ideophones among Zulu speakers. At issue was the social conditioning of ideophones. On the basis of nearly unanimous answers to in-depth ethnographic interviews, it was expected that women more than men, the old more than the young, and the rural more than the urban would know and use ideophones. Tsotsitaal, and Zulu shows it has a quantitatively oriented measure in which only rusticity emerged as a significant factor in the predicted direction. An account for these results references the gerontocratic orientation of Zulu culture, asymmetrical sex/gender roles, the concept of local identity and language change (Labov, e.g., 1966), and the disruption to traditional culture caused by urbanization.

Young-mee Yu Cho (Stanford University)  
Directionality in labial disharmony in Cantonese and Taiwanese

What is most puzzling in Labial disharmony in Cantonese and Taiwanese is the fact that there is an asymmetry in the constraint on vowel-consonant vs. consonant-vowel sequences such that a coda labial is not allowed (*tup/* but an onset labial can be followed by a round vowel(/bo/). Similarly, a round glide blocks a coda labial(*tup/ but not an onset labial(/paou/). Yip(1986) and Steriade(1987) propose a cooccurrence restriction on the Labial node, which interacts with syllabification and redundancy rules. These analyses, however, make incorrect predictions in disallowing such well-formed examples as /paou/ and /maou/ while allowing such ill-formed sequences as /ou/ and /tou/.

Though empirically more adequate, Lin's (1989) proposal also suffers from two major problems: 1) two unrelated constraints are needed to account for a unified prohibition on Labial, 2) the two conditions require different notions of identity.

This paper argues for a unifying account where the notion of directionality, needed elsewhere in phonology, is recognized in computing identity. For the labial disharmony case in question, a directionality parameter of right-to-left is proposed, which accounts for the asymmetry between the onset and the coda.

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Julie Ann Christiansen (Boston University)

Coherence disturbance in Wernicke's aphasia

In previous research, aphasics subjects taken as a group have been credited with producing coherent narratives, despite their multiple surface structure violations (Huber, 1990; Ulatowska, Freedman-Stern, Doyel, Macaluso-Haynes, and North, 1983; Ulatowska, North, and Macaluso-Haynes, 1981). The current study shows that when aphasics narratives are analyzed by subtype (Broca's, anomic, conduction, Wernicke's), the Wernicke's aphasics produce all of the essential propositions needed for their narratives, but also produce significantly more irrelevant and illogical propositions (p < 0.0001) than either normal controls or other aphasics. Unlike the other aphasics groups, the Wernicke's aphasics seem unable to determine relevance to a narrative plot. Therefore, they produce all possible propositions — essential and irrelevant. These results are interpreted as a strategy employed by the Wernicke's aphasics to compensate for an underlying coherence deficit in narrative production.

Dacho Chung (University of Southern California)

Case licensing in the Korean ECM construction

This paper investigates the behavior of the ECM in Korean which is subject to three previously unexplained restrictions.

(I) CLAUSAL TYPES. A clause bearing case morphology does not allow its subject to be ECMed. Either the clause or its subject would be unlicensed, assuming a la Chomsky (1989) that a structural Case is licensed via SPEC-Head (AGRs/AGRo) relation.

(II) ECM PREDICATES. Indirect speech verbs, which subcategorize for an NP plus a CP, do not allow ECM. The NP prevents the embedded subject from being raised due to produce significantly. (III) EMBEDDED PREDICATES. In finite clauses, subject of I(individual level) but not of S(tate level)- predicates can be ECMed. S- but not I- predicates have an event argument (Kratzer 1989). Lack of the ECM with S-predicates, then, follows with the following assumptions: event arg must be bound by Tense in its minimal finite clause; Case feature of AGRs is forced only when Tense is incorporated into it. An S-predicate requires Tense to bind its event arg. Thus raising of the subject of S-predicates would leave the Case feature of [IAGR- Tense] undischarged. In case of non-finite clauses S- as well as I- predicates allow their subject to be ECMed. This poses no problem since the minimal finite clause is the higher tensed clause, where the event arg is bound by Tense.

Sandra Chung (University of California-Santa Cruz)
William A. Ladusaw (University of California-Santa Cruz)
James McCloskey (University of California-Santa Cruz)

Sluicing and logical form

Heim (1982/1988) proposed that indefinite NP's lack inherent quantificational force; instead they introduce free variables, which are available for various types of binding. We present an account of Sluicing that supports Heim's theory of indefinites (extended to all weak NP's).

Sluicing is an ellipsis construction containing a stranded wh-phrase, as in

(I) I know I want to eat something, but I don't know what.

Assuming the ban on vacuous quantification, the stranded wh-phrase must bind a variable in LF. We claim this variable is supplied by LF copying of an antecedent IP, which must contain a free variable. Our proposal accounts for the ability of the variable to be supplied by (i) a wide-scope indefinite or other weak NP or (ii) an implicit argument or optional adverbial (see Ross 1969, Levin 1982) as long as these are (iii) not unselectively bound by a sentential operator. We develop a theory of argument structure that predicts these facts and the more general observation that the copied IP is a monotonic extension of the argument structure of the predicate of the antecedent IP.
Discrepancies between the Tiberian Hebrew accentual and pausal systems

This paper discusses discrepancies between two types of prosodic phenomena in Tiberian Hebrew which reflect prosodic phrasing, supporting recent theories in which there may be several different parallel and independent systems of phonological phrasing in a language, responding to different syntactic, prosodic, discourse, or text-structuring factors (rather than a single prosodic hierarchy which governs all phrase-level phonology). One type of prosodic constituency can be deduced from the system of ‘accents’ (ṣaamlim), which provide a complete unlabeled hierarchical Immediate Constituent parse for the entire corpus of the Hebrew Scriptures. This parse generally follows the syntax, but the syntactic constituency is modified to meet the requirements of prosodic structure (e.g. the parse is somewhat ‘flattened’ where the syntactic structure is deeply embedded). The second type of indication of prosodic structure in the Tiberian Hebrew orthography comes from various ‘pausal’ phonological processes which apply to the last (most prominent) word of a phrase. The constituency revealed by ‘pausal’ processes can conflict with the ‘accentual’ constituency of the ṣaamlim, as in the following transcription of Ruth 3:9, where it is the new information of Ruth’s proposal of marriage which is ‘pausal’ (italicized), rather than the the old information of your-maidervant, which appears before the more important phrasic break:

And she said “I (am) Ruth your-maidervant; spread your-cloak over your-maidervant for next-of-kin (are) you.”

Variability in a typology of nominal classification systems

Variability in class allocation is found across a typologically wide range of languages. I argue that two kinds of variability need to be considered in a typology of nominal classification, one based on grammatical information, the other on pragmatic information. If only variability based on information in the grammar is considered, languages with pragmatically based variability are characterized incorrectly. Serizkio (1982) assumes that nominal classification systems can be ordered with respect to grammaticality, semanticity, and variability. On his continuum, gender languages have a high degree of grammaticality and a low degree of semanticity, relative to noun class and classifier languages. But he assumes that variability correlates directly with semanticity and mistakenly predicts that gender languages will have zero variability. I argue that there is actually a difference in the nature of variability across the continuum, that in languages with a higher degree of semanticity, variability is based on grammatical information, while in languages with a lower degree of semanticity, it is based on pragmatic information.

Metaphors, containers and the invariance hypothesis

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) provide an analysis of metaphor in which concepts from concrete physical domains of experience map onto abstract domains of knowledge. The Invariance Hypothesis (IH) is a systematic constraint on possible metaphor mappings, limiting what components of the source and target domains are preserved in the mapping (Lakoff 1990, Turner 1990, Brugman 1990). Consequently, metaphors having the source domain CONTAINER are constrained to import those properties of the CONTAINER which do not conflict with the structure of the target domain. The IH as applied to container metaphors fails to predict mapping constraints for the topological structure of CONTAINER. Analysis of the words from the metaphor expressions reveals that some metaphors map aspects of SPATIAL CONTAINMENT but not elements of the 3D CONTAINER OBJECT, and some metaphors do the converse. The IH predicts that elements of both spatial containment and the container itself will map onto target structures not inconsistent with them. Container metaphors exhibit two inconsistent mappings of container properties. Therefore, the IH is a necessary but not sufficient constraint on possible metaphor mappings.
Yoko Collier-Sanuki (University of California-Los Angeles)  (SAT AFT: Roman)
Word order and grammar of relative clauses

An examination of three pairs of English and Japanese translations revealed that relative clauses (RCs) were used twice as frequently in Japanese (19.8/1000 words) than in English (9.8/1000 words). Further comparisons also showed that three quarters of the Japanese RCs and one-half of the English RCs were expressed in the other language using other discourse strategies. For example, Lambrecht (1988) points out that the continuative RC (Jespersen 1924) and the presentational RC are structurally similar but differ semantically and pragmatically. I will show that grammaticality and acceptability of Japanese RCs, which precede their head nouns, reflect these characteristics due to their reversed order compared to English. Hwang also (1990) found similar phenomena in Korean, which is structurally similar to Japanese. The word order difference between Japanese and English is also responsible for the preference for certain types of RCs. While English RCs tend to be Object-head/Object-relatives (50%) no such preference was found in Japanese (19%). Rather, Subject-relatives are by far prominent in Japanese (43%). Based on Fox and Thompson (1990) I hypothesize that this is due to their difference in word order, which affect “information flow” (chafe 1976, 1987) and the mechanisms of grounding (Prince 1981). This hypothesis supports Matsumoto (1988, 1990) who claims that Japanese RCs cannot be explained solely by a syntactic gap and that context and pragmatics play significant role in their construal.

Sherri L. Condon (University of Southwestern Louisiana)  (FRI MORN: Roman)
Pamela Pittman (University of Central Oklahoma)
Language attitudes in French Louisiana

A matched guise technique is employed to test the hypothesis that Cajun English (CE) and Cajun French (CF) will be evaluated similarly compared to Standard English (SE). In addition, given Ryan’s (1979) view that the solidarity function of speech is the primary reason for the survival of non-standard varieties, evaluations of status oriented qualities, such as general knowledge, are compared to those of solidarity oriented qualities, such as friendliness. Judges were 278 people living in 11 French-speaking parishes of Southern Louisiana. They represent a broad range of ages, which makes it possible to compare the influence of age on evaluations as well. CF and CE guises received very similar evaluations overall, with evaluations of solidarity oriented qualities much closer to those of the SE guise than evaluations of status oriented qualities. In fact, the youngest and oldest judges rated the CE and CF guises higher than the SE guise for several solidarity oriented qualities. In contrast, judges aged 21-30 produced differences between ratings of the Cajun guises and the SE guise that exceed those from the sample as a whole in all categories. Therefore, while the solidarity function may be a factor for some age groups, neither solidarity nor the increasing popularity of Cajun culture seems to influence the evaluations of the 21-30 age group. It is hypothesized that this group is most concerned with upward mobility and perceptions that Standard English is preferred in the area’s largest industries.

Beth Craig (City University of New York Graduate Center)  (FRI MORN: Corinthian)
The syntax of the pronominal element he in an historical dialect of American Indian English

In this paper, the status of the pronominal subject element, he, in an historical dialect of American Indian English (AIE) will be analyzed in a principles and parameters framework. The dialect of English developing from around 1830-1930 in the territory that became Oklahoma will be represented in works by Indian authors from that area. In traditional literature on AIE, it has been assumed that constructions with this pronominal element are topic/comment, or topicalization, structures. It will be argued that the pronominal element is, rather, a functional head in AIE, and the accompanying noun phrase is in an argument position, and thus, not a dislocated topic, or adjunct. The distribution of he will be compared to the distributions predicted by the structures that have been proposed for a) subject clitics in French and dialects of Italian and b) the pronominal morphology of languages that would have provided substratal influence on AIE. Crucial evidence for the nonargumental status of he in AIE will include the following: 1) its appearance with non-referential NPs (e.g. Everybody he celebrate); 2) its compatibility with a wh-subject trace (e.g. I am read story 'bout Indian man what he got it a drunk); 3) its appearance in contexts in which an argumental theta role is not assigned (e.g. He don’t much cold); and 4) data suggesting that it appears to block subject-aux inversion (e.g. Whad kind study you boy he make at them college vs. How do peoples raise um them beans unnyway?).
Megan J. Crowhurst (University of Texas-Austin)  
Minimal quantity and template mapping in Sierra Miwok  
(FRI EVE: Corinthian)

This paper argues that in addition to canonical structure requirements imposed by prosodic templates (McCarthy & Prince 1986, 1990; Archangeli 1991; etc.), operations of template mapping may also be conditioned by a minimal quantity requirement. The argument is based on data from the root-and-pattern templatic system of Sierra Miwok (Penutian; Freeland 1951; Callaghan 1987). I argue that when a segmental melody is too small to satisfy ("fill") at least two morae of a foot template supplied by the morphology, the template mapping operation is derailed. Evidence is that in the relevant cases, characteristic patterns of epenthesis are absent: Instead of the expected canonical shape, what surfaces is a heavy syllable, a structure incompatible with the parameters of template association for Sierra Miwok. The finding that a minimal quantity requirement may be imposed on foot templates in morphology is significant for at least two reasons. First, it exposes a similarity with metrical systems, where feet are also subject to minimum quantity criteria (Prince 1990, Crowhurst 1991, Hayes 1991). Second, the tension between minimal quantity and canonical structure requirements on prosodic constituents in morphology indicates a need to more rigorously define the nature of constraints on templates, and their implications.

Megan J. Crowhurst (University of Texas-Austin)  
Catharine H. Echols (University of Texas-Austin)  
Infants’ perception of metrical rhythms  
(SUN MORN: Gold)

This paper reports on a study investigating infants’ perception of metrical patterns in language. Earlier work has argued that information about the location of stress in adult utterances may assist young children in initially identifying words. If this is the case, then pre-linguistic infants must be tuning to linguistic rhythms which reflect the stress pattern of the primary language. We investigated this hypothesis by presenting nine-month-old English-hearing infants with auditory stimuli reflecting three distinct metrical patterns. One of the patterns was highly typical, the others atypical for English. We predicted that if infants are tuning to native-like patterns, then they should attend differently to English-like than to non-English pattern(s). Results imply a familiarity effect: Infants ignored English-like sequences in favour of more novel patterns. Furthermore, trends in the data suggest that the degree to which each pattern was attended to was inversely related to the patterns’ typicality for English. These results will be discussed in light of their implications for the tuning of young infants to prosodic properties of the native language.

Christopher Culy (University of Iowa)  
Singular anaphors with split antecedents  
(FRI AFT: Gold)

Examples in the literature of anaphors with split antecedents have all contained plural anaphors. In this paper I will show that Fula and Dogon have singular anaphors which allow apparently split antecedents. I will then propose that these facts can be accommodated within existing theories of anaphoric binding by appealing to the morphological form of these anaphors: they are all periphrastic anaphors which contain a pronoun. A periphrastic anaphor will be of the form

\[ [\text{NP} \ldots \text{pronoun}_1 \ldots ] \],

where the anaphor as a whole is coindexed with the internal pronoun. Allowing the binding and agreement properties of the anaphor as a whole to be satisfied independently of the properties of the pronoun gives the effect of having split antecedents and allows us to retain the maximum generality in the properties and analyses of both pronouns and anaphors.
Regna Darnell (University of Western Ontario)  (SAT AFT: Cordoban)

Lévi-Strauss' transformations of Boasian text-based ethnography: From Durkheim and Jakobson to an international structuralism tradition

Perhaps inevitably, historians of science are constrained not only by disciplinary expertise but also by national boundaries. The structuralism of Claude Lévi-Strauss transcends both of these constraints and calls for an equally wide-ranging historiography. From a base in the French sociology of Émile Durkheim, Lévi-Strauss adapted the binary feature methodology of Prague School structuralist linguistics to the analysis of New World mythography. Lévi-Strauss's creative eclecticism of discipline and national tradition was most rigorously tested in his reworking of ethnographic and linguistic texts, particularly those of Franz Boas and his students. The Boasian tradition shared Lévi-Strauss' focus on culture as verbally articulated and accessible to historical reconstruction. It was a felicitous meeting of traditions. This paper will trace the above linkages in relation to the four volumes of Mythologies and La Voix des masques.

Robert L. Davis (University of Oregon)  (FRI AFT: Tiffany)

The representation of markedness in stress contours: Evidence from Spanish

The stress algorithm in Harris 1991 consists of a set of universal parameters that govern the construction of the metrical structure that is eventually interpreted as stress. In addition, his framework allows some language-specific rules in the stress algorithm and admits some cases of lexically marked stress contours that are not the result of the normal operation of a language's algorithm. These marked stress patterns in Spanish are said to be the result of the non-application of a Spanish-particular rule. This paper is a refinement of the framework of Harris 1991; it proposes that in Spanish, marked stress patterns are the result of including one kind of pre-specified metrical structure in lexical representations. The diacritic use of prespecified metrical structure explains why certain lexical items seem not to undergo Harris's language-specific rule. Also, it will be shown that the principles that govern association of prespecified material to the skeletal tier necessarily constrain the kinds of stress contours generated by the algorithm.

Veneeta Srivastav Dayal (Rutgers University)  (FRI MORN: Gold)

Negation in scope marking structures

The German scope marking structure does not allow matrix negation:

1) Was glaubst du (*nicht) mit wem Hans't gesprochen hat?  
   what believe you not with who Hans spoken has
   "With whom do you (not) believe Hans has spoken?"

Rizzi (1991) argues that negation blocks antecedent government between was, an A' expletive, and mit wem (the wh operator). Under relativized minimality antecedent government is not required when wh operators are extracted. Thus negation is possible in the corresponding extraction structure. But note that this is a case of Negation Raising, i.e. negation can be construed in the complement if the complement is in the scope of negation (Korn 1989). We argue that scope markers are expletive arguments that originate in object position and the actual complement is adjoined higher than negation. This explains the absence of negation cross-linguistically in scope marking structures. It also explains why negation is impossible in non-wh expletive Hindi structures, a fact Rizzi cannot:

2) [o,[tum yeh, (*nahiin) soc te ho][w,ki raam-ne anu-se baat kil]]
   you this not think that Ram-ERG Anu-with talk did
   "You (don't) think that Ram talked with Anu."

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Elizabeth Dayton (University of Puerto Rico-Mayaguez)  
VAQE bel and be2: Contrast or variation?  
(SUN MORN: Corinthian)  

Bel and be2 are elements of the Vernacular African American English (VAAE) tense/aspect system. Although linguists appear to have reached the consensus that there is contrast between bel and be2 in synchronic VAAE (Bailey & Maynor 1987, 1989; Dillard 1972; Fasold 1972; Rickford 1974; Stewart 1967, 1969; Wolfram 1969), they have also observed variation between bel and be2 (Labov et al. 1968; Labov 1972). This paper takes the position that there is no contrast between bel and be2 in VAAE. Instead, bel and be2 are two ways of "saying the same thing" (Labov 1972).

The argument draws on previous analyses of be2 (n=1320) and done (n=624) which revealed that 1) be2 and indefinite frequency adverbs co-occur while done and cardinal count adverbs co-occur (Dayton 1988), and 2) stativity forms the semantic core of be2 (Dayton 1992).

The present paper argues that be2, but not bel, enters into a system of grammatical opposition with done in which be2 asserts unboundedness. Thus, bel and be2 are chosen according to whether the speaker wishes to grammaticalize stativity-unboundedness (be2) or not (bel). This paper contributes to research on both VAAE tense/aspect and linguistic variation.

Michel DeGraff (University of Pennsylvania)  
A resumptive non-verbal pro-predicate in the grammar of Haitian  
(FRI MORN: Corinthian)  

In Haitian (HA), the morpheme ye typically occurs when questioning or clefting non-verbal constituents from predicate position. Such constituents include prepositional and nominal predicates and wh-phrases. Clefting of verbal predicates obeys a different strategy which involves duplicating the predicate head in focus position and in situ. Object movement differs from predicate movement in allowing the trace left by movement to remain phonetically empty.

I critique possible analyses of ye. Then I propose that ye is a resumptive non-verbal pro-predicate. More precisely, I argue that ye is a pro-form bound by a [−V] predicate in the position of an operator. At syntax, ye spells out the trace left by A-movement of a prepositional, nominal or interrogative predicate. Such spell-out is contrasted with the process of predicate-copying used with verbal predicates. I motivate the surfacing of ye from theta-theoretical assumptions and cross-linguistic observations. Finally, my theta-theoretical assumptions are strengthened by showing that they explain independent phenomena in the grammar of HA.

Ferdinand de Haan (University of Southern California)  
The interaction of modality and negation  
(SUN MORN: Tiffany)  

This paper argues for the existence of two types of languages, as far as the interaction of Modality and Negation is concerned. In the first type, called Type A, the difference between wide and narrow scope of the negation is expressed by means of suppletive verbs. An example is English need not vs. must not. The second type is characterized by the fact that there are two slots for the negation, as shown in Russian ne dozhen "needn't" vs. dozhen ne "mustn't".

It is shown that these language type behave differently when the tests of Klima (1964) for the determination of sentence negation are applied to them. In Type A languages, both sentences with wide and narrow scope of the negation are grammatical. In Type B languages, the sentence with wide scope is grammatical, but the sentence with narrow scope is ungrammatical. The potential ambiguities are resolved semantically in Type A languages, but syntactically in Type B languages.
Kenneth John de Jong (University of California-Los Angeles)

*Phonetic units and American English (ow)*

Gay's (1968) acoustic study found diphthongs to have a relatively invariant formant movement direction and rate. This result suggests that diphthongs are gestural constellations with relatively invariant internal time relations. Here, a corpus of X-ray microbeam records of American English speaking subjects producing the vowel [ow] are analyzed to determine the internal gestural structure of diphthongs. Results suggest that [ow] consists of vowel gestures followed at about 90 degrees by a complex gesture involving labial and dorsal movements. Within this complex, the labial component appears even when the dorsal component is obscured. Also, for some subjects, labial protrusion and dorsal retraction are negatively correlated, suggesting that the lip and tongue are yoked together to compensate for one another during production. The value and location of the F2 minimum in the tokens is dependant on both the dorsal and labial movements, suggesting that, while gestural primitives are useful for modeling the temporal relations between speech actions, the goals of at least some gestures should be expressed in terms of the acoustic effects of the actions.

Paul D. Deane (University of Central Florida)

*On the semantic unity of over and other polysemous prepositions*

OVER and other polysemous prepositions have been used to argue for loosely structured Wittgensteinian family resemblance networks (cf. Brugman 1981, Lakoff & Brugman 1988). This paper argues that the meanings of OVER and other spatial prepositions can be derived from single prototypes which yield divergent interpretations in context. The key to the analysis lies in postulating multiple complementary representations of a single three dimensional scene. For example, prototypical OVER can be viewed from above, in which a relation of occlusion or covering holds, or from the side at close or near vs. distant or far perspective. These are visual representations; it is also possible to represent OVER kinesthetically as movement to a new "interaction zone". The polysemy of OVER and other prepositions derives by discarding one or more of the complementary representations. For example, OVER in its 'covering' sense is motivated by the from-above image alone, which makes it very different from OVER in its 'across' sense, which is motivated by the kinesthetic or force-dynamic schema.

Hamida Demirdache (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

*Resumptive pronouns and weak crossover*

I propose that the resumptive pronoun strategy in relativisation (in languages like Hebrew) is the equivalent of wh-in-situ in question formation. Under this proposal, a resumptive pronoun in a Hebrew relative clause is analysed on a par with a null operator in an English relative clause: as an operator that moves to an A'-position leaving a trace in the relativized position. It differs from a null operator in two respects: 1) the level at which movement takes place: LF vs S-structure; and 2) whereas a null operator is a pronoun with a null phonological matrix, a resumptive pronoun has overt phonological features. I then argue, contrary to what has been assumed in the literature, that resumptive pronouns do trigger Weak Crossover effects (WCO). We cannot see the WCO because: a) there are two pronouns (either one can be the relative operator or the coreferential pronoun); and b) A'-movement of the operator takes place at LF. I show that when we identify either the relative operator by fronting it at S-structure or the coreferential pronoun by replacing it with an anaphoric epithet, WCO becomes visible. Finally, I derive WCO from the assumption that A'-bound pronouns and traces are subject to different locality conditions: traces must be locally bound, pronouns need not be.
Daniel Dor (Stanford University)
Deriving the conjugations of Modern Hebrew: A constraint-based approach

(FRI EVE: Corinthian)

In this paper I suggest a constraint-based approach to the derivation of the verbal system of Modern Hebrew (MH). In line with Bat-El (1987), and contrary to the traditional view (most recently defended by Inkelas (1992)), I claim that (CV or prosodic) templates are not needed for the derivation. Instead, I suggest that the characteristic prosodic shapes of the verbal paradigm (the Semitic Conjugations, or Binyanim) are best accounted for using (i) a minimal set of constraints on possible consonant clusters, and (ii) vocalic underspecification. The constraints narrow down the set of possible syllabifications for each form, and the templatic shapes are generated by the constraint driven insertion of the underspecified vowel /a/. The analysis is summarized below:

1. A set of constraints on possible clusters is specified for the verbal system (i.e. *@CC; *CC#; *CC; *#V).
2. No templates and no vocalic tiers are specified for the conjugations; each conjugation specifies its own paradigm of inflectional morphemes; consonantal roots are lexically specified.
3. The different inflectional morphemes linearize with the consonantal roots to produce a primary output, which violates the constraints imposed on the system.
4. Then, the underspecified vowel /a/ is inserted with the sole purpose of preventing the violations. The output is a well-formed word, and is thus syllabifiable.

Nina Dronkers (VA Martinez/University of California-Davis) (SAT MORN: Tiffany)
Robert Van Valin (State University of New York-Buffalo); Johanna Shapira (Illinois Wesleyan University); Brenda Redfern (University of California-Davis); Jeri Jaeger (State University of New York-Buffalo);
David Wilkins (State University of New York-Buffalo)
Reevaluating neuroanatomical models of language production

Linguists have generally accepted a neuroanatomical model of linguistic production which was inherited from the exceptional work of Geschwind. Roughly, this model holds that production of a sentence involves the calling up of lexical items in Wernicke's area, sending them across the arcuate fasciculus to Broca's area where they are clothed in their phonological forms, organized grammatically and then sent to the articulators for production. In this model, syntax and semantics are handled in distinct parts of the left hemisphere, which fits well with the prevailing view in linguistic theory that syntax is autonomous from semantics. This paper presents data derived from a new technique for analyzing neuro-imaging data which call this model into question. The technique involves reconstructing the CT and/or MRI scans of aphasic patients onto standardized templates and entering them into a computer; common lesion sites for each deficit are obtained by grouping patients with similar disorders and analyzing the resulting overlap in lesions. It will be shown that there are patients with lesions encompassing Broca's area who do not have Broca's aphasia as well as patients with no damage to Broca's area who nevertheless present a persisting Broca's aphasia. These results, showing a dissociation between Broca's area and Broca's aphasia, run strongly counter to the predictions of this model, which assumes that grammar is processed in Broca's area and that damage to it results in Broca's aphasia. Thus, these data, taken from a large number of patients, suggest strongly that the standard model is in need of revision; moreover, they point toward a new model in which both grammatical processing and semantic processing take place in the posterior regions of the brain.

Kenneth F. Drozd (University of Massachusetts-Amherst) (SAT AFT: Emerald)
Evidence of short-circuited implicature from child language operator constructions

We present a discourse analysis of child English (CE) metalinguistic operator constructions, e.g., No the sun shining, Why not me careless?. We argue that the echoic property exhibited by these constructions is due to children's interpretation of the echoic target as a 'short-circuited' implicature (Morgan 1978). Under Morgan's theory, an utterance, e.g., 'Can you X' commonly used to express an implied meaning, e.g., 'Please X' can be short-circuited to its implicatum by convention, without calculating the meaning of the utterance or its original purpose. We hypothesized that if CE operator constructions were responses to short-circuits, we should find (1) that echoic targets are a specific utterance type (Y/N question) and (2) that the echoic property holds across all operator construction tokens. Our inspection of the operator constructions from the CHILDES transcripts of 5 CE speakers revealed that 54% of the 'no' construction targets were Y/N questions and 48% of the 'why not' construction targets were 'because' adjuncts. In addition, 70% of the 'no' complements and 100% of the 'why not' complements were echoic of previous utterances, in support of our hypothesis.
Matthew Dryer (State University of New York-Buffalo)

Modifying Hawkins' prepositional noun modifier hierarchy

Hawkins (1983) proposes the following hierarchy of noun modifiers in languages with prepositions:

{ Demonstrative, Numeral } > Adj > Gen > Relative Clause

He claims that if a noun modifier α occurs to the left of a noun modifier β on this hierarchy, then if a given language normally places modifiers of type α after the noun, then it will normally place modifiers of type β after the noun as well. This paper proposes a number of modifications to Hawkins' proposals.

Evidence is presented for the existence of exceptions to many of the implications based on this hierarchy. Despite the existence of these exceptions, evidence is presented, based on a sample of over 600 languages, that the hierarchy nevertheless represents a valid statistical generalization. As such, it turns out to be possible to order numerals to the left of demonstratives on the hierarchy: languages which are Pr&NumN&Dem are significantly more common than languages which are Pr&NN&Num&DemN. In addition, evidence is presented for adding two more types of modifiers to this hierarchy: articles and plural words. The revised hierarchy is as follows:

{ Article, Plural/Word, Numeral } > Dem > Adj > Gen > Rel

Domnita Dumitrescu (California State University-Los Angeles)

Rhetorical questions in Romanian

This paper will make a contribution to the understanding of the communicative function in spoken Romanian of certain "non-standard" interrogative-sentence types, which - by virtue of their repetitive nature - represent dispreferred second turns to adjacent pairs with a diversity of discourse functions in context. The focus will be on rhetorical questions [REQ], that is on "echo questions raised to a second power in response to the rhetorical questions," as Suk-Jin Chank who coined the term for Korean in 1982 - define them. The syntactic structure and discourse function of Romanian sentential echo questions [SEQ] and rhetorical repetitive questions [REQ] - of which the REQ is a hybrid - will also be addressed. The main claim of the paper is that rhetorical questions "undo" the effect of the strong assertion encoded in the rhetorical question they repeat, reversing the latter's intended polarity, and therefore "reconstructing" the original presupposition of the triggering utterance. Unlike REQs, which strongly discourage a follow-up from the interlocutor, REQs strongly encourage the selection of the prior speaker as next, and this different discourse function of two apparently so "similar" reproductive questions is clearly marked through special linguistic devices, which will be examined as well. An example of REQ is (c) below: Nu ți-e teamă? not-to-you-Is fear
Cum (o) să-ti fie teamă? how (future-marker) SUBJ-markerto-me be-3pers. fear
Cum cum/ce/de ce să-ti fie teamă? how how/what/whv SUBJ-marker-to you be-3pers. fear

Melynda Dunigan (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

Citilcation and Case assignment in Wolof causatives

Wolof is a double accusative language with morphological causatives that allow both a causee subject and a direct object of the base verb to appear in transitive causatives without any special case-marking on the causee subject. If the base verb is bi-transitive, however, assigning its Case to two object NPs, the causee subject must obligatorily appear as a clitic on the matrix verb.

This paper will argue that the cliticization process is necessary in order to provide the bi-transitive causee subject with Case: a clitic obtains Case from the causative affix it raises to rather than from the NP position it has moved from. In this respect, then, pronominal clitic movement is like NP movement in that it is motivated to provide the head of the chain created by movement with Case.
Veena Dwivedi (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
Topicalisation in Hindi and small PRO

Topicalisation in Hindi is standardly assumed to be an instance of wh-movement (Mahajan 1990, Srivastav 1991). In this paper I argue that in contrast to topicalisation in general, (referential) NP-topicalisation is an instance of Left Dislocation (LD), where the resumptive pronoun is small pro. The relation between the NP topic and its empty category is contrasted with that of the wh-element and its trace. I argue that the reason why NP topics may escape strong islands and not show weak cross over effects is because the empty category related to the topic is not a trace created by movement. It is a base generated null argument pro which comes to be A' bound by an NP. This straightforward analysis predicts that there should be no locality restrictions (cf. Cinque 1990) between referential NPs and the empty categories with which they are associated. An apparent counterexample is the extraposed CP relative clause which does not allow LD, posing a potential island violation. I argue that this apparent locality effect is actually a c-command violation. Suppose that a pronoun must be c-commanded by its left dislocated topic. The prediction is that if there is a construction where pro is not in the c-command domain of the NP topic, left dislocation should be impossible. I claim that the right-adjointed relative is just this case.

Katarzyna Dziwirek (Simon Fraser University/University of Washington)
Is there a multiple dative restriction in Polish: RGVs mapping theory

The paper compares RG and MT (Mapping Theory, Gerdts 1992) accounts of a previously unnoticed restriction which bars multiple dative nominals in Polish. The restriction is evidenced by the fact that productive constructions which introduce "additional datives" are consistently ungrammatical when formed on sentences containing dative nominals. It is also manifested in 3-2 advancement clauses which resist additional datives even though they do not contain another dative. RG's account of these data is a restriction allowing only one 3-arc per clause. While it accounts for all the data, the RG solution requires postulating an essentially ad hoc constraint, Under MT, GAs are linked to MAP's (ordered, morphosyntactically-licensed argument positions). In Polish, MAPs are licensed by NOM, ACC, and DAT morphology and being dative means being linked to the last NP. The ungrammaticality of sentences with multiple datives follows from the universal Bini uniqueness Principle which rules out multiple GAs linked to a single MAP. The ungrammaticality of 3-2 sentences with additional datives follows from an independently motivated constraint which prohibits multiple non-canonical associations in a single clause. Thus under MT the Polish data follow from a universal principle and an independently motivated constraint. As MT does not need to invoke a special restriction, it emerges as the more explanatory of the two frameworks.

Walter F. Edwards (Wayne State University)
Sociolinguistic features of rap lyrics: Comparisons with reggae

Rap music has become as a major vehicle for social commentary the African American community in the United States. This paper is an initial attempt to provide a sociolinguistic study of rap. In it I shall review the lyrics of forty rap pieces. I will show that both male and rappers "run it down" on a wide range of social issues, engage in "woofin" talk, bragging, and sexual wooing; but that there is a marked difference in the kind of quantity of profanities and sexual explicitness between the male and female rappers. I take this to indicate that gender roles are still operative in the topics and lexical choices of males and females in the African American community. The paper will examine the lyrics for incidence of such typical Black English features as perfect don, distributive and invariant be, remote phase BIN, negative concord, and t/d deletion. I will show that tokens of the first three features are virtually non-existent in all the lyrics, I will use these findings to suggest that rappers typically style-shift to what John Baugh (1983) would characterize Black English appropriate for use in the public domain with strangers. I shall contrast this stylistic characteristic of rap lyrics with that of reggae. Finally, the paper will examine a typical rap song to show that the rap lacks the typical intonation pattern, rhythm, and pitch level of conversational talk.

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Chinese is often assumed to be underlingly head-final, with preverbal adjuncts, but the existence of certain postverbal adjuncts has long been troublesome for this view. I show here that this is (largely) accounted for if they are postposed from preverbal position, the movement being forced by a morphological requirement of these adjuncts. This supports the notions (1) that adjuncts move only when forced, (2) that morphological requirements play an important role as movement triggers, and (3) that head movement (as for inflection) is not the only way to satisfy such requirements.

One class of postverbal adjuncts, duration/frequency expressions (as in Ta dengle san tion 'He waited three days') can originate postverbally by virtue of receiving inherent Case. Postverbal manner and resultative phrases, e.g. Ta shuo de hen man 'He speak slowly', always have the marker de, which requires obligatory cliticization to the verb; postposing is thus triggered by this requirement. But no other adjunct has such a superficial requirement forcing movement to postverbal position. Independent evidence for this comes from (A) the fact that negation is normally blocked with these adjuncts ('*Ta bu shuo de hen man 'He not speak slowly'), since attachment of bu 'not' to the verb is blocked by a trace (Ernst 1992); and (B) the fact that no other adjunct cooccurs postverbally with the manner/resultatives: if the latter must postpone beyond any other postverbal adjunct, de would be blocked from attaching to V.

Genevieve Escure (University of Minnesota-Minneapolis)

Lectal shifts and gender in a creole continuum (Belize)

This study explores the role of gender as a social variable in the diffusion of language change in a creole continuum (Belize), and in particular the claim that women initiate change but only in the direction of standard speech, whereas men lead in the use of vernacular forms. This issue is crucial in creole studies because the process of decreolization is widely assumed to be affecting West Indian creoles. The above claims predict that women promote decreolization by removing basilectal from their repertoires. But a gender-sensitive study of sociolinguistic variation in a Belizean community finds that women in fact exhibit greater style-shifting than men, that is, they use both basilectal and mesolectal. (Escure 1991). Women are also found to be more sensitive to syntactic constraints on lectal shift (Escure forthcoming): in mesolects the locative context is more likely to be affected by the substitution of BE for the creole morpheme DE, and women implement BE-addition more actively than men. Women's apparent bi-polarity, and their sensitivity to syntactic conditioning is now tested with reference to TENSE marking (especially PAST/AFTER) in lectal variation. (This type of analysis requires a rigorous assessment of individual repertoires for both men and women, since reference to a single speech sample per individual may create the fallacious impression that this person always performs at that level. Thus this study also questions standard methodological procedures).

Alice Faber (Haskins Laboratories)

Catherine T. Best (Haskins Laboratories/Wesleyan University)

Marianna Di Paolo (University of Utah)

Cross-dialect perception of nearly merged forms

The contrasts between cognate tense and lax vowels before /l/ are reduced in the Salt Lake Valley of Utah, compared with other American English dialects (Di Paolo & Faber 1990). While their nuclei are not always distinct in F1/F2 space alone, they are, unlike their Connecticut counterparts, distinct in a multidimensional derived space based on spectral slope as well as on F1/F2 values (Faber & Di Paolo 1992). These contrasts thus constitute apparent mergers, as described by Labov, Karen, & Miller (1991), who suggest that such near-merged contrasts may be easier for "outsiders" to distinguish than they are for listeners who themselves have the apparent mergers. The present study examines this suggestion. Northeastern listeners were asked to label tokens of pool-pull, heel-hill, and pale-pell produced by Connecticut and Utah natives, and their responses were compared with those of Utah listeners to the Utah tokens in an earlier study. The results are as follows. First, as expected, northeastern listeners can better label CT tokens than UT tokens. Second, contrary to the prediction based on Labov, et al. (1991), Utahns can label UT vowels as well as or better than northeasterners can. These results suggest a refined characterization of cross-dialect perception of near mergers, taking into account the dimensions along which particular contrasts are manifested in different dialects. If, as in Labov et al.'s Philadelphia ferry-furry, the near-merged contrast exploits the same phonetic dimensions (albeit to a lesser extent) that are used in other dialects, outsiders may well understand insiders better than outsiders do. In our case, however, the UT contrasts utilize different dimensions than their CT counterparts. And, as a result, outsiders have no comprehension advantage over insiders.
Eduardo D. Faingold (University of California-Los Angeles)
*The development of the definite article from Latin to Spanish and Portuguese*

This paper studies the emergence of the definite article in language history from Classical Latin to Vulgar Latin, Spanish, and Portuguese. Definite articles are created anew from demonstratives (Latin *ille*, *illos*, *illem*, *ille* → Vulgar Latin *il*, *ilos*, *illum*, *ille*) and accusatives (Latin *illum*, *illos*, *illum*, *illos* → Vulgar Latin *lo*, *lum*, *lum*, *lum* → Portuguese *a*, *os*, *as*). The use of demonstratives as a source of definite articles has been commonly characterized as a universal of language, since most languages seem to prefer this pathway of development. Yet, as the Portuguese data shows, other pathways are also possible. The development of the definite article is explained in terms of discourse factors such as the focusing function of demonstratives and the structural similarity between demonstratives and accusatives in Vulgar Latin.

Eduardo Faingold (University of California-Los Angeles)
*The reconstruction of phonological inventories: The case of Papiamentu*

In their description of creole languages, some authors fail to include relevant external information, such as dates and numbers of population movements (labour recruitment, migration), type of contact, etc. Such sociolinguistic information is essential for explaining and reconstructing the development of creole languages. Another problem arises with data collected by linguists and anthropologists who are concerned with abstract systems and choose to disregard social variation and the effect of time on linguistic systems. This means that in many cases only broadly phonemic data are available, and phonetic variation in space and time is systematically ignored, to achieve a 'next' description at the expense of observational adequacy. We are often compelled to use synchronic data for the study of diachronic processes. In some instances, a diachronic reconstruction of the language can be obtained from synchronic data supplemented by sociolinguistic information from various sources. In the case of Papiamentu (Netherlands Antilles), a widely studied language with a long literary history, it is plausible to describe the development of its segmental inventory.

Leona F. Fass
*Canonical (CF) grammars and natural language*

A canonical context-free (CF) grammar is the minimal backwards-deterministic CF grammar (CFG) generating a CF language (CFL) with a specified phrase-structure S. The canonical CFG for a CFL with structure S is obtainable from a given structurally-equivalent CFG, an appropriate recognitive device, or a suitable, structured language sample. It is unique, up to isomorphism. We describe our development of this grammatical concept (based on the original suggestion of Levy and Joshi) in connection with our work in grammatical inference and language learnability. We discuss relationships between the "canonical" view of language generation and popular parsing techniques, and between canonical-CFG learning and natural language learnability.
Lisa Ferro (University of Connecticut)

Disyllables and vowel movement in Yidin

This paper presents a syllable structure analysis of Yidin vowel length and syllable reduction. As shown in Dixon (1977), in every Yidin word with an odd number of syllables, the penultimate vowel lengthens: bama ‘person,’ bamsa-gu ‘person-purposive.’ In addition, final suffixes and the final syllable of a class of trisyllabic roots reduce, creating even-syllabled words from underlying odd-syllabled ones: madinda-puwa-nda -> madindawu ‘go-past,’ gindaunu -> gindaan ‘walk-up-dative-subordinate.’ This reduction does not delete whole morphemes or leave behind final voiced obstructions. Following Hayes (1982), I propose that Yidin is parameterized for a disyllabic organization. I then depart from Hayes’ context-dependent rule account and analyze penultimate vowel lengthening and final syllable reduction as the result of a single context-free movement rule. E.g., the underspecified final /U/ in ‘gininda+U/ moves into the penultimate syllable, creating ‘ginindaUn/, /U/ then receives specification for its features at the rime level and assimilates to the nucleus vowel. This movement analysis is consistent with analyses of right-edge phenomena such as umlaut plurals in German (Michaels 1991), and vowel harmony (Nemoto 1990). The analysis I propose for Yidin represents a significant departure from a traditional rule-based approach, since it is conducted within a principle and parameters syllable structure theory that contains only one rule (move-α) and universal principles of syllabification.

Hana Filip (University of California-Berkeley)

Habitual and generic sentences: A case study in Czech

The semantics of habitual and generic sentences has been discussed in many recent works (Dahl 1975, 1985; Carlson 1977, 1979, 1982, 1989; Kucera 1981; Schubert & Pelletier 1986; Krifka 1987; Carlson & Pelletier, to appear). In contrast to English, which has been the focus of these works, Czech has a formal distinguishing feature for habitual and certain generic sentences, namely the suffix -va- (henceforth ‘habitual suffix’) on the main imperfective verb. It is attached to (simple and derived) imperfective verbs: (i) V sobou Pavel hrával šachy (lit.: on Saturday Paul played-HAB-3sg chess) ‘On Saturday, Paul used to play chess.’ Apart from the meaning of regularity, habituality, or mere sporadic occurrence, such past tense verbs as hrával in (i) can signal remote past. The main points of this presentation are as follows: (i) the habitual suffix -va- functions as a quantifier that takes scope over the whole predication that can be best analyzed in terms of a tripartite structure (cf. Lewis 1975, Kemp 1981, Heim 1982); (2) (30) [HAB,(tx=Paul’, 0=Saturday’, O(t)), ‘play chess’ (x,t)]; (ii) this analysis is to be preferred to the analysis of Kucera (1981) in so far as it avoids the ‘unified account’ of all the various ways in which the quantification induced by -va- may manifest itself; the crucial advantage lies in the fact that (2) involves quantification over both individuals and ‘occasions’ (Lawler 1973); (iii) the suffix -va- in Czech grammaticalizes the distinction between two kinds of generics: (a) those associated with predicates that denote accidental or changeable properties of kinds and individuals, such as (by) felicity (‘to be’enjoyed’, and (b) those associated with predicates that denote essential or changeable properties of kinds and individuals; only the second group of predicates, but not the first one, has derived ‘habitual’ forms with the suffix -va-. While both (a) and (b) sentences are static and intensional, only those generic and habitual sentences that contain ‘habitual’ -va-predicators are non-monotonic and they can be based on lexically non-static predicates.

Joseph C. Finney

Phonology of Illinois American English in 1931-1933 as analyzed by a four-to-six-year-old boy

Dissatisfied with what was taught in kindergarten reading, the boy slowly did the task of classifying the sounds, intuitively using linguistic concepts for which he had no vocabulary. The 22 consonants were obvious but vowels posed problems. Beginning with saying words aloud and correlating the perceived sound with positions of tongue and lips, he decided that his idiolect had 7 simple vowels, 3 clear diphthongs, and 4 quasi-diphthongs (beat, bait, boat, boot). Valuing logical consistency, he moved imperceptibly from phonetic to more abstract approaches using phonemes and distinctive features.
Japanese Sign Language (JSL), like virtually all sign languages, has some verbs that take agreement and some that don’t. Of those that do, some take both subject and object agreement, while others agree with only one argument. Unlike most other sign languages, but like Taiwan Sign Language (TSL) to which it is related, JSL has both gender agreement and what Smith 1990 calls auxiliaries. In JSL, unlike TSL, there is only one auxiliary, a pure path verb, which carries subject and object agreement only when the verb cannot. Toriooe (1992) has pointed out that JSL has a kind of repeated pronoun that is different from that found in ASL (Padden 1983), since it permits both subject and object pronouns to be “copied”. Toriooe argues that both this pronoun repetition and the kind of phenomenon reported by Smith for TSL are spellouts of AGR-S and AGR-O. I argue against the unification of the two phenomena on the basis of two kinds of facts: first, the “copying” phenomenon can occur with any verb, while the auxiliary occurs only with non-agreeing verbs: sentences like BOY<sub>a</sub> GIRL<sub>b</sub> MEET<sub>b</sub> INDEX<sub>b</sub> are grammatical, but *BOY<sub>a</sub> GIRL<sub>b</sub> MEET<sub>b</sub> AUX<sub>b</sub> is ungrammatical. Secondly, the pronoun “copy” can co-occur with gender agreement, but the auxiliary cannot; that is, INDEX<sub>b</sub> female is possible but *AUX<sub>b</sub> female is not. I argue instead that while Toriooe’s analysis of the pronoun repetition may be a spellout of AGR-S and AGR-O, the auxiliary constitutes the sign language equivalent of do-support.

Colleen Fitzgerald (University of Arizona)
Topicalization in Guadeloupan and Martiniquan Creole

In this paper, I examine some of the various structures used to topicalize constituents in Guadeloupan and Martiniquan Creole (GMC), spoken on the islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique. The relation of topicalization to syntactic theory has been much discussed in the field; various syntactic constructions of topicalization have been extensively analyzed, such as Left-Dislocation, Predicate Clefting, and the Pseudo-Cleft Construction (see Rodman 1974, Gundel 1975, Cinque 1977, Larson and Lefebvre 1991, Higgins 1973 and others). GMC topolicalizes sentential elements by using several structures. By examining what a given structure allows to topicalize, I explore the problems presented by the data for current Government and Binding Theory (Chomsky 1986a, b, Rizzi 1990). I argue that the conditions for topicalization vary according to what kind of argument is to be topicalized and that this requires the grammar to specify arguments' types by their theta roles and make this information accessible to the topicalization processes.

Cynthia Fox (State University of New York-Albany)
Louise Charbonneau (State University of New York-Albany)
Language contact and the lexicon: French and English in Cohoes, New York

Although North American varieties of French (NAF) have often been characterized as "anglicized versions" of the language, recent work on the NAF lexicon has shown some of these claims to be exaggerated. For instance, Poplack et al.'s work on Ottawa-Hull indicates that the percent of borrowing ranges between 0.51% and 0.72% in Hull (Quebec), and 0.85% and 1.20% in Ottawa (Ontario). Poplack (1987, 1988). In Nova Scotia, Flikke (1989) has found averages varying between 1.8% and 5%

We extend the discussion to a previously unstudied bilingual community in NY State. Given the minority status of French there, we would expect to find a relatively more pronounced English influence on the lexicon. Our analysis, based on a corpus of sociolinguistic interviews with 15 speakers, shows that this is not the case. Anglicisms represent only .85% of the lexicon, and measures of their degree of integration into French indicate they are used to fill meaningful gaps in a highly idiosyncratic fashion.

Our findings indicate that a low rate of borrowing is not necessarily a sign of linguistic health. More importantly, they suggest that these striking signs of the influence of one language on another are misleading since their study reveals more about the status of the language within a community than about the state of the language itself.
Lyn Frazier (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
Charles Clifton (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

Construal and the processing of nonprimary relations

A new sentence processing theory is proposed for phrases which don't instantiate primary relations (roughly, relations other than the main subject-predicate, its arguments and obligatory dependents). Such phrases (YPs) are processed by Construal: (A) Associate YP into the current processing domain (the XMAX dominating the last theta assigner), and (B) interpret YP using nonstructural information to find the best host for YP in the current domain, e.g., using Gricean principles and a 'Referentiality' principle favoring hosts referring to discourse entities.

Experimental evidence from "because" clauses, adjunct predicates, adjunct extraction, and extraposed phrases support the theory (Frazier and Clifton, in progress). The present talk focuses on data from complex Spanish and English NPs (Gilboy, Sopena, Clifton and Frazier, ms.) in examples like "the daughter of the colonel who...". Gutiérrez and Mitchell, 1988. The argument structure of the head NP, together with Gricean and Referentiality principles, determine preferred interpretations of the relative, as predicted by Construal.

Alice F. Freed (Montclair State College)
The form and function of questions in informal dyadic conversation

This paper presents an analysis of 1275 question tokens which occur in seven hours of conversation between 12 pairs of same-sex friends talking in an experimental setting. The paper reviews a taxonomy of question functions previously reported on which illustrates how questions vary along an information-style continuum and presents new findings which show a notable correspondence between the pragmatic/social function of questions and their syntactic form as used in these informal dyadic conversations. The findings underscore several points about the analysis of naturally occurring speech. (1) The literal meaning as well as the pragmatic and/or social meaning of an utterance should be considered in determining what the utterance accomplishes in conversation. (2) Important connections between form and function can be uncovered by analyzing both the form and the function of utterances and then considering their interaction in discourse.

Andrew Garret (University of Texas-Austin)
Mark Hale (Harvard University)
The phonetics and phonology of Grimm's and Verner's Laws

Phonetic reconstruction is sometimes said to be impossible, or irrelevant in explaining linguistic change. We argue that it is possible and indeed crucial in explaining the type of phonological change known as 'sound change'. Our case study examines what are sometimes called 'exceptions' to Grimm's and Verner's Laws: Grimm's Law does not affect voiceless stops after obstruents, and Verner's Law does not affect fricatives after accented syllables. We explain these conditioning factors within a model of phonological change that revives the view that 'sound change' has no nonphonetic conditioning and proposes, in particular, that a type of change can be distinguished (and usefully called 'sound change') in which phonetic implementation processes are reanalyzed as phonological processes. We explain the unusual conditioning of Grimm's Law as a consequence of the distribution of aspiration at a previous phonetically aspirated stage. In the case of Verner's Law, we reconstruct for Proto-Germanic the accentual phonetics of the Rigveda: otherwise eligible fricatives that fail to undergo phonological voicing thus coincide precisely with the highest pitch in a word. F0 is known to affect voicing judgments, and we suggest that fricatives with high F0 were simply not reanalyzed as voiced. On this account Verner's Law is a relatively rare case of pitch inducing a secondary voicing contrast. Pitch and Verner's Law voicing were linked by Noyer 1992, but our analysis differs and we defend radically different assumptions about phonological change.
Carol Genetti (University of California-Santa Barbara)

**Split objectivity in Dolakha Newari**

Dryer, (1986) distinguishes between two types of syntactic patterns with regard to objects. The direct/indirect object distinction is the familiar pattern where patient arguments of both monotransitive and ditransitive verbs have the same morphosyntactic behavior in contrast to goal-like arguments of ditransitive verbs. In the other pattern, patient arguments of monosyntactic verbs are morphosyntactically grouped with goal-like arguments of ditransitive verbs, in contrast to the patient arguments of ditransitives. Dryer points out that the two groupings of arguments result in two systems with structures similar to nominative/accusative and ergative/absolutive systems. In another parallel to ergative systems, some languages show evidence of a split in their objective patterns. In Dryer's examples of split object systems, different rules within a single language are sensitive either to direct objectivity or to primary objectivity. In this paper I will present data for a different type of split object pattern, namely one where a single rule (the assignment of dative case) follows a split pattern.

This paper reports on a quantitative study of a corpus of narrative texts from the Dolakha Newari dialect. In Dolakha, the dative case marker is found on all goal-like arguments of ditransitives and some patients of monotransitives. The distribution of dative case on patients is based on semantic and discourse factors.

Orin D. Gensler (University of California-Berkeley)

**Insular Celtic syntax and Hamito-Semitic: Substrata and typology**

The special syntactic "out" of Insular Celtic within Indo-European has long been a puzzle to scholars. A great many (17-odd) structural features of Celtic deviate from the IE norm, but agree with Semitic and/or Egyptian and/or Berber (hereafter "Hamito-Semitic" = HS). Substratal or areal explanations have been proposed (Morris-Jones, Pokorny, H. Wagner); these have never found much favor with most historical linguists. The main crux has always been the question of coincidences: is there any basis beyond hunch for affirming or denying that the impressive roster of resemblances is (not) the result of mere chance parallel development? This paper approaches the question empirically and typologically, looking at a worldwide sample of some 40 languages to see how the Celtic/HS ("CHS") features actually pattern globally. The complex results show (inter alia) that nothing close to the CHS macrotype recurs in non-CHS languages, that the phenomenon is not an areal one, that the CHS macrotype does not correlate strongly with word order typology, and that for most individual features the CHS value represents the minority type globally. Thus the CHS type is a highly marked configuration; independent parallel development, while never disprovable, would be a remarkable coincidence indeed.

Donna B. Gerdts (Simon Fraser University)

**Morphosyntactic argument positions and NP accessibility**

There is considerable cross-linguistic variation in the accessibility of NPs to certain syntactic rules. For example, Japanese limits antecedents of reflexives to subjects, Nubian to subjects and direct objects, and Georgian to subjects, direct objects, and indirect objects. Similarly, Quantifiers can float only from subjects in Italian, from subjects and objects in Korean, and from subjects, objects, and indirect objects in Albanian. Heretofore, frameworks such as Relational Grammar have not addressed this difference in accessibility.

The accessibility of an NP is in fact largely predictable from another property: the NP is in a morphosyntactically-licensed argument position (MAP). That is, it agrees, takes structural case, or is adjacent to the verb. This paper presents a compilation of information concerning MAPs and the conditions on syntactic rules in thirty languages for which RG-compatible grammars are available. Since languages differ in the number of MAPs they have, they will also differ as to which NPs are accessible. This sample shows that the conditions on syntactic rules can be stated in one of two ways—MAP-orientation or subject-orientation—and suggests that other types of rules (for example, a rule limited to subjects and direct objects in a language where indirect objects are also MAPs) are ruled out universally.
Glenn Gilbert (Southern Illinois University-Carbondale)

Popular Brazilian Portuguese: A convergence creole, derived from a dual source

John Holm has suggested that creolists recognize a category of creole-like languages which he proposes to call "semi-creoles." Among other languages, he places into this category "Popular Brazilian Portuguese." My paper analyzes PBP, spoken in Brazil today, as the historical coalescence of the speech of two interacting groups -- one originally using early creole varieties of Portuguese, which have become progressively less-creole-like; the other representing the speech of persons of predominantly European descent, or closely affiliated with the Europeans, who have adopted in the course of time an increasing number of creole-like features from the creole-speaking group. Instead of being a "semi-creole," PBP is seen to be a "convergence creole," derived from a dual source, one segment of which never lost its continuing attachment to the superstrate.

Spike Gilda (University of Oregon)

Syntactic and semantic explanations for the Cariban split ergative

If an ergative split is conditioned by tense or aspect, Dixon (1979) claims that "the ergative marking is ALWAYS found in either past tense or perfective aspect." Comrie (1978) explains this universal as a function of the passive etymology of past/perfective ergatives, and DeLancey (1981) suggests that the semantic correlation between past, perfective, passive, and ergative is the assignment of terminal viewpoint. However, recently innovated split ergative systems in the Cariban family do not come from a passive etymology (Gildea 1992). Nevertheless, the evolution of the Cariban split provides further support for DeLancey’s theoretical position. The source construction for the innovative split-ergative tense-aspects was biclausal: when the subject of the superordinate clause was coreferential with A of the subordinate clause, the resultant alignment is nominative; when the subject of the superordinate clause was referential with any other argument in the subordinate clause, the resultant alignment is ergative. Besides conditioning the resultant morphosyntactic alignment, the subject of the source superordinate clause also represented the "topic" of the complex source construction (is assigned "viewpoint" in DeLancey’s terms). When the topic was O, this conditioned the terminal viewpoint tense-aspects (past/perfective). When the topic was non-O, the nonterminal viewpoint tense-aspects (e.g. future/habitual) occurred: with an A topic, we get the universal pattern of non-ergative alignment with non-terminal tense-aspects; with a non-A topic, we get the typologically rare combination of ergative alignment with nonterminal tense-aspects.

Georgia M. Green (University of Illinois-Urbana)

Towards an HPSG account of so-called focus inversion

Many analyses that have been offered to account for the formal and distributional properties of so-called ‘focus inversion’ constructions containing a preverbal predicative phrase, a main verb, and a postverbal noun phrase which is the semantic subject of that verb, have attempted to account for non-facts; main verb inversion (MVI) can appear negated, involve auxiliary verbs, and occur in subordinate clauses. Contrary to several of these analyses, the separation of the ‘preposed’ predicative phrase and the main verb does not involve an unbounded dependency, but only successive embedding of raising predicates. MVI have fewer syntactic constraints than presential there-insertion, so any analysis which derives MVI from there-constructions will fail to account for the full range of data, and accounts which assume the same descriptive apparatus as accounts for topicalisation and Wh-constructions predicts a much larger range of MVI constructions than actually occur. Levine’s 1989 account, whereby the preverbal phrase is the subject, and the semantic subject is a syntactic complement, is recast in a more lexicon-centered theory (HPSG). Unlike other accounts, this requires no ad hoc features, schemata, or principles, while allowing additional construction-specific constraints to be represented, and it throws into relief previously suspected ambiguities.
Taking the case of English auxiliary inversions as an example, this talk demonstrates how default specifications are built into the foundational assumptions of HPSG, rather than being arbitrarily stipulated, as in other current theories. Auxiliary inversions occur in 5-10 distinct constructions. The inversion is optional in most of these constructions, but required in if-less conditionals, negative topic UDCs and comparative topic UDCs. In theories where default specifications must be stipulated, default specification is identified with unmarked in the 'not functionally loaded' sense, but (eschewing notational tricks) is completely divorced from the notion 'not requiring specification.' Because HPSG is grounded in representation of information as sorted and participating in multiple-inheritance networks, it neither requires nor allows a notion of 'default specification.' The clauses where inversion is syntactically optional (ignoring functional value in context) are simply unspecified for a feature like [INV], and are thus literally unmarked. Constructions that require or disallow a [INV-] clause must specify this. In a few cases, Elsewhere, inversion specification is just a detail of subcategorisation on a lexical item. Having specific 'default' specifications does not lead to any economy of description. Where the notion 'unspecified' is identified with the notion 'predictable', as in HPSG, then the default is for no value to be specified, and thus to allow any value for any feature that is legitimately borne on a category.

Lisa Green (Temple University)
The habitual operator in African American English

Aspectual be sentences in African American English refer to generalizations with respect to eventualities which occur or hold on particular occasions. I argue that aspectual be is represented in the logical representations of sentences as a habitual operator (HAB) which binds temporal variables ranging over occasions or instances. The logical representations of aspectual be sentences consist of a tripartite structure in which there is a HAB operator, restrictive clause, and nuclear scope:

\[ \text{HAB}_b[\text{during class}, t] ((\text{Ex})(\text{book}(x) \land \text{read}(\text{Bruce}, x, t))] \]

'Habitually on occasions that are during class, there is a book that Bruce reads than.'

The HAB operator binds a temporal variable \( t \) in the restrictive clause and in the nuclear scope as a means of relating the event ('reading') in the nuclear scope to the restrictor ('during class') in the restrictive clause.

Joseph E. Grimes (Summer Institute of Linguistics)
The size factor in language endangerment

One language in seven has a small enough population to be considered CRITICALLY ENDANGERED. This is below Krauss's estimate in Hale et al. 1992, but is based on patterns of size distribution worldwide in the 5,520 population estimates in the 1992 Ethnologue. Major world regions show different critical levels, from 10% of the languages in Africa (2,000) and Asia (400) and 17% for Europe (5,000), to 34% for the Pacific (500), 35% for South America (200 and below), and 40% for North America plus Mexico (1,500). The critical level comes from examining population relative to size ranking, and noting that each language tends to have 1.0037 times as many speakers as its lower neighbor in the ranking; each region has its own average increment. Languages whose populations fall below what the average increment predicts are POTENTIALLY ENDANGERED, based on arguments by Jiirí and Simon (1977) concerning size rearrangements in demographic and economic takeovers. Of the potentially endangered languages, the place where the discrepancy \( (c - e)/e \) rises most rapidly coincides well with field reports of critical endangerment, so it is taken as the threshold. A caution: endangerment does not automatically mean extinction.
Stephen A. Guice (Memphis State University)
Early 19th-century American views on language change

In the early nineteenth century two very influential early American thinkers, John Pickering (1777-1846) and Noah Webster (1758-1843), clashed in print over the status and future of American English. In an 1816 book entitled A Vocabulary or collection of Words and Phrases which have been Supposed to be Peculiar to the United States of America Pickering began the debate, viewing the emergence of American English and its divergence from British English as undesirable and as an ongoing and increasing problem. Webster responded in 1817 with his book A Letter to the Honorable John Pickering on the Subject of his Vocabulary; or Collection of Phrases, supposed to be peculiar to the United States of America, which viewed this process as a desirable thing, the development of a better, national dialect, which found its roots in older dialectal forms. Their views regarding the future direction that this language change would take were also quite different. The particular focus of this paper is the extent to which Pickering and Webster were articulating extremely different views of the nature and process of language change.

Susan G. Guion (University of Texas-Austin)
The death of Texas German in Gillespie County

Although shared grammatical competence has traditionally been considered one of the defining characteristics of a speech community (Bloomfield 1933, Gumperz 1968), language death situations force us to rethink such a definition (Dorian 1982). During the spring of 1992, interviews consisting of free conversation and translation sections were conducted in the Fredericksburg area of Gillespie county. Analysis of these interviews revealed two groups of disparate grammatical competence: fluent speakers and semi-speakers (Dorian 1973).

All the speakers interviewed considered themselves to be part of and all were considered members of the same speech community. In fact, the semi-speakers' names were given to me by fluent speakers when I asked about other German speakers in the community. If we accept the idea that regarding oneself to be part of a speech community makes one such (Corder 1973), then the semi-speakers are part of the speech community, even though their grammatical competence is quite different from the fluent speakers'.

Analysis of the speech of these two groups demonstrates that we must reject shared grammatical competence as a defining characteristic of this speech community and instead look toward membership in the social group, in this case, Texans of German ancestry who speak German at some proficiency level.

Aaron Lars Halpern (Ohio State University)
Serbo-Croatian clitic "fortresses" and the mechanism of clitic placement

Recently, several arguments have been made for treating Wackernagel's position clitics (those coming after the first word of a clause) as the result of a late (post-syntactic) metathesis of the clitic, which is treated as syntactically outside the clause, and the first word of the clause (Taylor 1990, Sadock 1991, Halpern 1992). This paper addresses one challenge to this view and indeed all approaches to second position clitics, namely the existence of constructions inside of which a clitic may not appear, or "fortresses". I show that in Serbo-Croatian fortresses may be treated as prosodically determined, and derive their fortress-hood from conditions on prosodic structure, specifically the interaction of the construction of phonological phrases with the Strict Layer Hypothesis (Selkirk 1984). The resulting analysis provides support for the view that the metathesis which places the clitic after the first word is a prosodic phenomenon, rather than a syntactic one, as well as giving additional evidence for the existence of a prosodic structure distinct from syntactic structure, as per work on the prosodic hierarchy.
Shoko Hamano (University of California-Santa Cruz)  
*On nouns and nominal adjectives in Japanese*

Japanese has a subcategory of nouns known as nominal adjectives (e.g. *kirei na* 'beautiful'). Nominal adjectives differ from regular nouns in that they take *na* in prenominal position (e.g. *taira na tokoro* 'flat place'), whereas regular nouns take *no* (e.g. *gyaku no hokkoo* 'opposite direction').

The criterion for the choice between *na* and *no* in prenominal position is opaque from the English glosses. 'Healthy' is expressed in the form of a nominal adjective (*kenkoo no*), while its antonym 'sick' is expressed in the form of a regular noun (*byooki*). The task of distinguishing between nominal adjectives and regular nouns has been confounded by the fact that no diagnostic construction provides clear-cut distinctions. The semantic differences between nominal adjectives and ordinary nouns have been poorly understood. In the absence of a clear characterization, the use of *na* or *no* has been considered to be an idiosyncratic property of each noun.

This paper clarifies that the key to understanding nominal adjectives lies in the characterization of prototypical nouns around the semantic feature 'boundedness'. It is shown that those experiences and properties that are close to this prototype show up as regular nouns while those diverging from the prototype show up as nominal adjectives. The fact that there are forms that appear both as regular noun and as nominal adjective (e.g. *massugu na*/*no* 'straight') confirms this view of nouns as forming a continuum. The study of nominal adjectives thus proves to be crucial to the understanding of nouns in general.

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Eunjoo Han (Stanford University)  
*Prosodic compounding in Japanese and Korean*


In this paper, it is proposed that two lexical prosodic categories - the prosodic root (R) and the prosodic word (W) - must be recognized and accordingly there are two types of compounds in Japanese and Korean. One is the type of R-compounds and the other is the type of W-compounds. On the assumption that the constituents of a compound must be of the same prosodic type (Ito and Nester 1991 lecture), two prosodic compounding rules can be formalized à la Inkelas (1989) to accommodate the two types of compounds. The classification of compounds into two types gives proper prosodic conditions for *g/*, p/*h*, V/*∅* alternation in Japanese (McCawley 1968, Vance 1987) and it allows a straightforward account for n-insertion in Korean (Chung 1980, Kim 1970 and others).

Apparent counterexamples - the compounds that seem to be made up of the constituents of different types - actually confirm the present analysis. Thus, such compounds turn out to belong prosodically either to R-compounds or to W-compounds.

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Kristin Hanson (University of British Columbia)  
*The distinction between lexical and non-lexical words in English metrics*

Within the model of lexical phonology, the rules assigning stress to lexical and non-lexical words in English are taken to be distinct (Kiparsky 1982, Zec and Inkelas 1989). This distinction is reflected in the metrical practice of a variety of English poets in a variety of meters. In Donne's iambic meter, Swinburne's anapestic meter, Tennyson's mixed meter, and Sidney's quantitative meters, non-lexical words are systematically exempt from constraints which govern the disposition of lexical words. For example, in Swinburne's anapestic meter, nouns, verbs, adjectives and most adverbs conform to the generalization that a stressed syllable of a disyllabic word may occur as the first but not the second of the two weak syllables in a foot (Prince 1969), while the stressed syllables of disyllabic prepositions, conjunctions, pronouns, complements and certain adverbs occur freely as the second of the two weak syllables:

1. *We have all done amiss, choosing *
   "Dolores"
2. *We have all done amiss, divine Father*
   (construct)
3. *O wise among women and wisest*
   "Dolores"

The prevalence of this distinction in poets' practice provides support not only for the theory of lexical phonology but also for theories of poetics which hold that it is not acoustic properties but abstract linguistic structures which constitute the patterns of poetry (Jakobson 1960, Kiparsky 1973, 1987).
Alette Havemen (University of Utrecht)  
*FO-declination in the spontaneous speech of Broca's aphasics*

In oral reading, Broca's aphasics have been found to produce normal $F_0$-declinations in short sentences, but abnormally flat $F_0$-declinations in long sentences (Danly and Shapiro, 1982). From this finding, it was claimed that Broca's aphasics can only plan short utterances. The present study demonstrates that in spontaneous speech Broca's aphasics produce a normal slope in short (3-4 word) sentences, but a significantly flatter slope in the long (7-9 word) sentences when compared to normal controls. In addition, however, the Broca's aphasics also produced a significantly flatter $F_0$-declination in short elliptical utterances. The use of elliptical utterances may be a strategy used by the Broca's aphasics when they cannot formulate the syntactic frames necessary for a full sentence. These findings would indicate that Broca's aphasics do have a difficulty in sentence planning, however, this cannot solely be due to a length effect, but also to difficulty in accessing full grammatical frames.

Larie Heggie (Illinois State University)  
James Yoon (University of Illinois-Urbana)  
*Topic-focus articulation in English and Hungarian*

Kiss (forthcoming) analyzes H(ungarian) clause structure as containing two preverbal positions, a TOPIC filled by NP-movement and a FOCUS filled by WH-movement. TOPICS are in the Spec of a null functional head Tense/Mood, while FOCUS is in the Spec of VP:  

\[ TP \text{TOPIC} [T^* \text{T/M} [VP \text{FOCUS} [V^* \text{Verb} XP^* ]] ] ] \]

The obligatoriness of TOPIC and FOCUS in H, as opposed to their absence in English, is puzzling, and has been taken to indicate a difference between "discourse configurational" (like H) vs. "argument configurational" (like English) languages. In this paper, we argue that the discourse configurations of Topic-Focus are always correlated with the presence of the copula, drawing on parallels between copular constructions in English and H simple clauses. Additional data from Korean/Japanese are introduced which support our analysis.

Petra Hendriks (University of Groningen)  
*Multiple comparison and infinite regress*

In this paper I will discuss comparative constructions containing two of the comparison operators *more, fewer, less,* and *-er,* as in the following examples:

(i)  
*More dogs ate fewer rats than cats ate mice*

(ii)  
*Less land produces more corn than ever before*

Two different comparison operators are only possible in one comparative when the *than-*clause is a reduced clause. I will show that this follows from the relation between the two instances of comparison in these sentences (dependent or independent). In comparatives with a full *than-*clause, as in (i), the two instances of comparison (between dogs and cats, and between rats and mice) are mutually dependent (contra Von Stechow 1984); the result is infinite regress and hence an unacceptable sentence. In (ii), on the other hand, the two instances of comparison are independent of each other: because the compared elements are not (ovely or covertly) present in the *than-*clause, they must be inferred from the context, which means that their interpretation is not dependent on any material in the sentence.
Frank Heny (University of Pittsburgh)
Carol Tenny (University of Pittsburgh)
Core event structure and the scope of adverbs

Research by Lakoff, McConnell-Ginet, Larson, Pustejovsky, Smith etc has classified adverbs according to scope; they have often been regarded as sentence, VP or verb modifiers. Generally, verb modifiers like quickly or almost can also take scope over the VP. However, there is a sub-class which, when interacting with a “Measuring out” verb, standardizes the verb plus the head of the direct object, a fact which has not been noticed, and which has interesting consequences for semantic composition. This class, it will be argued, modifies the “core event” understood roughly in the sense of Hoens and Steedman. In (1) John ate the apple, eat is in the “Measuring out” class; the apple, diminishing along a distinct dimension, determines the endpoint of the eating event. When the apple has been consumed, (1) is true. An adverbial can be added: (2) John ate half the apple. What is modified, is the verb plus the head noun of the MEASURE phrase: half interacts with the dimension which serves to define the terminus of the event. Compare: (3) John half built a palace with (4) John half built an outhouse. The relevant components are [half [outhouse-built]] and [half [palace-built]]. Now add a quantifier to such a sentence: (5) John half ate 10 apples. In the normal reading the adverb half modifies [apple-eat]. Adverbs like almost act differently: (6) John almost ate 10 apples. Almost may, but does not have to, compose with the dimension determining the terminus of the core event. Event structure plays a significant role in determining the order of semantic composition.

Arild Hestvik (University of Stuttgart)
The effect of subordination on strict identity interpretation of reflexives

This paper concerns the issue of when reflexives can have strict identity interpretation under VP-ellipsis. It is shown that strict readings can be determined by several independent factors, such as pragmatics, morpho-syntax and syntactic structure. The focus is on the effect of syntactic structure. It is shown that when other factors are controlled for, strict reflexives are only possible if the ellipsis site is subordinated to the clause containing the antecedent VP, and not if in coordinated ellipsis, i.e. strict readings are marginal or impossible in John defended himself and Bill did too, and significantly better or perfect in John defended himself better than Bill did. It is shown that this effect can be predicted by any theory that treats reflexives as bound variables at the point of ellipsis reconstruction, and crucially where the operator binding the reflexive has scope over the ellipsis site (this is for example not a property of Williams (1977) theory, which fails to predict this effect).

Kaoru Horie (University of Southern California)
Where Japanese and Korean disagree: Internally headed relatives

This paper discusses a lexico-semantic condition on Internally Headed Relative Clauses (IHRCs), which accounts for the differential acceptability of IHRCs in Japanese and Korean. IHRCs in Japanese and Korean are characterized as having split heads -- a semantic head inside the clause and a nominal element occupying the position of an external syntactic head (Japanese no and Korean kes serve as syntactic heads).

I argue that IHRCs impose a semantic constraint on the way external syntactic heads are interpreted as coreferential to the internal heads. This constraint requires that the nominal element occupying an external syntactic head position should have as little independent lexico-semantic content as possible in order to facilitate the coreferential link with the internal semantic head.

The difference in acceptability between Korean IHRCs (acceptability varying considerably from speaker to speaker) and Japanese counterparts (acceptability constant across speakers) is attributable to the Korean nominalizer kes blocking the coreferential link with its semantic head, as it still retains its lexico-semantic meanings.
Yuchau E. Hsiao (National Chengchi University)
Precompiled phrasal phonology and tonal phrasing in Taiwanese

This paper employs a perspective rendered from Hayes' (1990) precompilation theory to re-investigate the nature of tonal phrasing in Taiwanese (or known as Xiamen). As the battle between the direct/indirect approaches to the syntax-phonology connection opens another front in Taiwanese, the phrasing of tonal domains becomes a focus of attention (cf. Chen 1987, 1992; Chung 1989; Hsiao 1991). In this paper, I propose to include Hayes’ (1990) precompilation theory in Taiwanese prosodic phonology. Hayes distinguishes precompiled rules from truly phrasal rules. The precompiled rules are a subset of lexical rules, which operating within the lexicon and derive multiple diacritically-marked allomorphs for presynactically insertion. The truly phrasal rules are sensitive to post-syntactic contexts and refer only to prosodic domains. In terms of Taiwanese tone sandhi, the unmarked readings can be derived by the precompiled rules, which insert base tone allomorphs at the right edge of non-adjunct XPs and sandhi tone allomorphs elsewhere. The truly phrasal rules then allow prosodic domains such the intonational phrase or the foot to confine tone sandhi and derive alternative readings. Our analysis incorporates both the theory of precompilation and the theory of prosodic hierarchy, in order resolve the conflict with the Strick Layer Hypothesis and eliminate problems resulted from arguments either exclusively for prosodic tone group or exclusively for syntactic m-command. It provides a complete account of the tonal phrasing in Taiwanese.

Kathleen Hubbard (University of California-Berkeley)
Durational evidence in moraic theory: The representation of English onsets

Theories of phonological timing (Clements and Keyser 1983) and weight (Hyman 1984) traditionally avoid discussion of the mapping from underlying representation to surface duration. Nonetheless, the representations proposed by such theories make different predictions about surface realization, which can be tested by examining phonetic duration. An issue of some dispute in moraic theory is the linking of onsets: do they attach to the mora or to the syllable? In this paper, I argue on phonetic grounds that onsets link to the syllable, while coda consonants link to the mora. I report on a phonetic study of English monosyllables, in which minimal sets such as sit – spit – split and desk – des – desks were compared to see whether increased complexity in the onset or coda shortened the duration of the nucleus vowel. The results, taking into account vowel quality, between-speaker differences, and the question of aspiration after voiceless stops, show that there is no significant effect on onset complexity on vowel duration. As for coda complexity, the effect is very small, but is many times greater than that of onset complexity. Given that English has no phonological monophthongal long vowels and no synchronic lengthening processes, this result represents a phonetic generalization: onsets and codas differ in their timing relationship to the vowel nucleus. This asymmetry, like weight asymmetries, should be represented in moraic structure. Though the relationship between underlying structure and surface phonetics is complex, it is systematic and must be addressed.

Larry M. Hyman (University of California-Berkeley)
The line-crossing constraint in autosegmental tonology

Of the original proposals in Goldsmith’s (1976) autosegmental tonology, none has withstood the test of time better than the prohibition against line-crossing. The line-crossing constraint (LCC) has been often invoked to keep a H tone spreading rule from crossing a L tone. In this paper we show that such a “line-crossing effect” is attested in Tuki and Luganda and then argue that with recent developments in tone features and tonal geometry, the LCC has at best a minor role to play in autosegmental tonology. Most of the discussion centers around Tuki (Bantu; Cameroon), where a H regularly spreads to the next vowel, e.g. A-mud-DINGA/ → [a-mu-dINGA] ’she loved’. Unexpectedly, however, the L tone prefix n- ‘me’ does not block H tone spreading (HTS). Instead, the H spreads and the L of the nasal conditions a downstep on the following (i.e. spread) H tone: A-mu-na-DINGA/ → [a-mu-n-DINGA] ’he loved me’. The major questions are: (i) How does the H spread across the L tone nasal prefix? (ii) How does the L cause downstep? Establishing first that nasals are not true tone-bearing units in Tuki, I argue that HTS targets the next VOCALIC mora (=TBU), rendering n- and its L tone irrelevant to the rule. Since H and L are on separate tiers, there is no line-crossing. I claim that H’s generally do not cross L’s because of adjacency conditions, not the LCC. Where a non-adjacent TBU is targeted (e.g. an ‘accented’ mora), a H may also go right through a L. I argue against 4 alternative analyses, cite extensive Tuki data, and document the relevant segmental effects of the n- prefix (e.g. [a-mu-RUINNA] / [a-mu-l-RUINNA] ’she hit (me)’. 

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Sharon Inkelas (University of California-Berkeley)
Orhan Orgun (University of California-Berkeley)

Turkish coda devoicing: A prosodic constraint on extrametricality

This paper demonstrates that the seemingly straightforward rule of coda obstruent stop devoicing in Turkish (Lees 1946, Kaise 1986, Rice 1990) is sensitive to prosodic word size. This is surprising because devoicing, a segmental rule, has no effect on the prosodic structure of words it applies to. Root-final obstruent stops normally devoice in coda position: kitap 'book', kitap-lar 'book-pl' vs. kitab-i 'book-sing'. Less well-known is the fact that the prosodic size of a word affects the applicability of coda devoicing: polysyllables, like kitap, undergo final devoicing but monosyllables systematically do not. Hence ad 'name', ad-lar 'name-pl', not *at or *at-lar.

We attribute the failure of coda devoicing in monosyllables to a bimoraic minimality condition on derived words (Ito and Hanksamer 1989, Orgun and Inkelas 1992). Devoicing affects only those consonants made extrametrical on the stem cycle (Rice 1990). And precisely because final consonants extrametricality would render a (C)VC word only monomoraic, extrametricality — and hence coda devoicing — is blocked by bimorality. A small number of exceptional monosyllables with final alternating consonants do exist, however: e.g. kap 'container', kab-i 'container-sing'. We represent these with an underlyingly extrametrical final consonant. Exceptional polysyllables also occur, e.g. jeolog 'geologist'. These are prespecified as phonologically words, thus evading stem-level extrametricality.

This analysis yields at least two theoretical implications: a) extrametricality is blocked by prosodic minimality, and b) prosodic constituency must be represented underlyingly on exceptional stems.

Minako Ishikawa (Georgetown University)

A developmental study of allo-repetition as a cohesive device in Japanese

One of the well-documented functions of repetition in both adults' and children's conversations is to establish coherence (e.g. Tannen 1989, McTear 1985). However, there has been no systematic study from a developmental perspective of repetition as a cohesive device in children's conversation. A close examination of the information structure built by repetition in children's conversations across different age groups gives us an understanding of an aspect of the ontogenesis of coherence. In this study I show two kinds of coherence established by what Tannen calls allo-repetition in the cross-sectional examination of Japanese children's conversations and their caregivers at a nursery school in Okinawa. Conversations by 4 year-olds demonstrate one kind of coherence: allo-repetition establishes given information and a novel element in the utterance introduces new information in their proposition. However, conversations by 2 and 3 year-olds show less developed coherence: children use allo-repetition to build a text, introducing new information without establishing given information. These findings have the implication that the development of information structures in discourse contributes to the development of coherence.

Shoichi Iwasaki (University of California-Los Angeles)
Hongyi Tao (University of California-Santa Barbara)

A comparative study of the structure of the intonation unit in English, Japanese, and Mandarin Chinese

The intonation unit (IU) has been identified as the prosodic unit of spoken discourse (e.g. Chafe 1987). Previous research on spoken English has suggested that the clause is grammatically representative of the intonation unit (Laver 1970, Chafe 1987), and has important organizational implications for discourse. In this paper, a cross-linguistic investigation on English, Japanese and Mandarin is conducted to verify the clause centrality hypothesis. Our results indicate that while the English intonation unit is overwhelmingly clausal (70%), both Japanese and Mandarin IUs are much less so (11% and 25% respectively). We find that while the packaging of propositional information with clauses seems of primary importance in spoken English, Japanese emphasizes speakers' epistemology and interaction, and Mandarin allows much independence of smaller units for referential manipulation and predating. Thus differences in the IU structure are attributable to differences in discourse functions that languages choose to grammaticalize.

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Neil G. Jacobs (Ohio State University)

*Syncope and the reconstruction of foot structure in Pre-Ashkenazic Hebrew*

In the evolution from Tiberial Hebrew (TH) to the subtratal Hebrew component in Yiddish, many changes date to an unattested intermediate period—post-TH, but pre-Y—called Pre-Ashkenazic Hebrew (PreAH). Some historically trisyllabic TH forms show syncope of medial-syllable vowel in their Y reflexes: TH *komefrin* 'guards', *tosis* 'treasures' > P[Yiddish] *tòmmim, *ôkros*. PreAH syncope is linked to the reorganization of word-internal stress in PreAH, from basic final stress in TH *šúlem* 'peace', *ganna:b* 'thieves' > initial or penultimate stress in P[Yiddish] *šùlem, *ganôvím;* however, no syncope when medial syllable emerges with main stress in PY *ganôvim vs. *ôkros (< TH ganna:b *šùlem, *ganôvím). Neither linear analysis of PreAH stress movement (Leibel 1965) nor syllable-based metrical analysis (Jacobs 1990) accounts for syncope. This paper posits the foot (Σ) as the domain for syncope. Basically, syncope occurred to the metrically weakest vowel in a doubly-branching Σ—i.e., to a terminal w dominated by an ə within a Σ. The problem is that in most cases it is unclear whether syncope operated upon the earlier TH Σ, or the historically later PreAH Σ. This paper shows that syncope occurred only after the change to left-dominant Σ in PreAH. Evidence is provided by instances where loss of original TH word boundary created doubly-branching Σ, as in TH *gari:šaβ # šina* 'reciting of the Shema' > PreAH *kriː-ašôma > *kriː-ôsôma > PY *kritôma*. In TH kók *žómer 'musician', TH žómer already had initial stress in TH; ze did not undergo syncope under the older structure, where it was metrically strong, but rather, in the new PreAH Σ structure, where ze was now metrically weakest in the Σ. Reconstruction of the PreAH Σ sheds light on several other pre-Y phonological developments.

William H. Jacobsen, Jr. (University of Nevada)

*Another look at Sapir’s evidence for inclusion of Haida in Na-Dene*

In 1915 Edward Sapir presented lexical comparisons intended to demonstrate the relationship of Athabaskan, Tlingit, and Haida to constitute the Na-Dene family. The inclusion of Haida has been questioned by Levine (1979) and defended by Greenberg (1987). A reconsideration separately of the Athabaskan-Tlingit and the Athabaskan-Haida pairs was carried out, looking at the compared words with identical meanings, using two measures: 1) proportion of meanings found on Bender’s (1969) or Swadesh’s (1955) basic lists, and 2) number of meanings found among Dolgopol’s (1964) diagnostic stable meanings or analogous inventories derived from Swadesh (1955) and Oswald (1971). The Athabaskan-Tlingit relationship decisively passes these tests; the Athabaskan-Haida relationship is not confirmed.

Keith Johnson (University of Alabama-Birmingham)

*Acoustic and auditory analyses of Xhosa clicks and pulmonics*

The acoustic/auditory properties of sound speech sometimes play an important role in phonological patterning. For instance, the post-alveolar series of clicks in Khoisan languages appears in Kho dialects as velar pulmonic consonants, a correspondence which Trail (1992) suggests it based on acoustic rather than articulatory similarity. A statistical analysis of acoustic spectral similarities among Xhosa click and pulmonic consonants supported Trail’s account in that the release burst of [k] was grouped with the post-alveolar click ([!]) burst. But the statistical procedure also grouped [x] with [1] and [s], [p] with [k] and [l], and [φ] with the dental and lateral clicks ([!] and [l]). So, place of articulation among the pulmonic consonants was not preserved in the analysis of acoustic spectra. A comparable analysis of auditory spectra was also performed. The auditory spectra were produced (using the same chunks of speech used to construct the acoustic spectra) by a bank of filters which simulated the frequency response characteristics of the human peripheral auditory system. The analysis of auditory spectra grouped [k] and [l] as in the analysis of acoustic spectra, but also grouped [x] with [k], and [φ] with [p]. This study supports Trail’s account of the Khoisan/Kho correspondence and shows that linguistically relevant aspects of speech sounds which remain hidden in acoustic spectra may be revealed auditory spectra.
Brian D. Joseph (Ohio State University)

(FRI MORN: Gold)

On the absolute nature of the pro-drop parameter

The Pro-Drop Parameter, is usually treated as an absolute binary setting—a language is either a Pro-Drop language or not. Morin 1985, however, claims Pro-Drop is lexically specified, arguing that the French deictics voici / voilà are present tense indicative verbs with obligatory Pro-Drop, a parameter setting not otherwise found for French. Bouchard 1988, though, observes that voici / voilà lack TENSE and AGREEMENT, and links obligatory Pro-Drop to this absence.

Modern Greek offers a more difficult exception to an absolute Pro-Drop. Generally a Pro-Drop language, Greek has sentence-types, an interrogative locative with πουν 'Where is?' and a deictic with πα 'Here is', that resist Pro-Drop, requiring special weak nominative forms, e.g. ΜΑΣC. SG πος (cf. πα πος 'Here is!') /πουν πος 'Where is?'. πος, etc. are clearly weak pronouns: they show no semantic emphasis, allow regular strong forms in their place with emphatic function, and cooccur with full NPs, like "Clinic Doubling" with weak object pronouns. The blocking of Pro-Drop here can't depend on a lack of AGR/TNS, although πα could be analyzed as lacking AGR/TNS, πος ostensibly encompasses these categories, since it is a reduced form of the 3SG PRES INDIC verb line is'.

Therefore, these MGk constructions show that Pro-Drop is "locally" parameterized, not absolute. Also, under this analysis, MGk is a language with a three-way distinction in pronouns, an uncommon type cross-linguistically, though found in Hitite.

John E. Joseph (University of Maryland-College Park)

(SAT MORN: Cordoban)

Eliminating history: On the convergent aims of language standardisation and linguistic theory

One of the key functions of the (now largely abandoned) core-periphery distinction in generative grammar was to separate out the products of 'nature' from those of 'history'. Core-periphery is merely the latest in a long line of attempts to institute such a distinction and promote it to 'scientific' status. These attempts within linguistic theory have a precise analogue within the political structure of language itself: the notion of 'standard language' and the means by which such languages are created are equally bound up with a project for the elimination of history, again as viewed anti-thetical to nature. The convergence of anti-historicist aims in language standardization and linguistic theory reinforces how superficial and illusory was the early 19th-century elimination of 'prescriptivism' from 'scientific linguistics'.

Smita Joshi (Stanford University)

(SAT MORN: Gold)

Local subject and object in Marathi: Implications for the argument structure

Many South Asian languages possess syntactic phenomena that refer to the logical subject (LS). As unaccusative subjects are LSs in these languages, the LS cannot be identified in terms of a specific structural position such as the 3-structure subject, or an initial one. Instead, many analyses define it as the highest argument on a hierarchically arranged argument structure (Kiparsky '87, Joshi '89, Mohanan '90). This definition of the LS has been taken as positive motivation for a hierarchical argument structure in certain models of grammatical function mapping: Bresnan and Kanerva ('89), Alsina (in progress).

Marathi, a South Asian language whose grammar refers to a LS, also possesses a complementary notion of logical object (LO). For example, prenominal past participles in Marathi target the grammatical object of transitives, but the grammatical subject of their passives. An explanatory account of the two notions should capture their complementary nature. An argument structure based definition of the LO would define it as the lowest argument on the argument structure. The dative NP in Marathi psych verbs, and the 'ingester' in verbs such as 'eat', 'drink' show properties of both LS-hood, and LO-hood. Definitions of the two notions based on a hierarchical argument structure would predict that in these transitive clauses an argument can be both the highest, and the lowest on the argument structure, a logical impossibility. The presence of the LO in Marathi removes a strong motivation for a hierarchical argument structure. The complementarity of the two notions can be captured in terms of Dowitian (91) proto-roles without logical inconsistency. The LS and the LO are arguments with the highest number of P-Agent and P-Patient properties, respectively.

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Christine Kamprath (Memorial University-Newfoundland)  (FRI MORN:  Emerald)

Distinguishing high and low vowels in the feature hierarchy

Much pioneering work on the hierarchy of phonological features has concentrated on either consonants or vowels, thus begging the question how the feature hierarchies of C and V participate and are affected when contiguous C and V structures interact, as in palatalization and V → G (glide) or G → C alternations. A proposal such as Clements’ (to appear), in which V and C appear in a single hierarchy, characterized by the same set of features, though an important step toward a unified model, falls short insofar as it fails to acknowledge or motivate a crucial two-way distinction between high and low Vs, namely that it is high Vs, not low ones, that alternate with Gs, and Gs that alternate with Cs.

This paper motivates this distinction by reference to the fact that only high Vs (and, significantly, also Cs) are articulated by severe constriction of the vocal tract. Low Vs are not “articulated” in the same sense. To give low Vs place (constriction) features similar to those for high Vs implies that they have the same semi-consonantal, i.e., glide alternation, behavior as high Vs. The paper proposes that the distinction be captured via a dependency/particle model in which only Cs and high Vs have place as their head. Non-high vowels have place also, to distinguish, say, [m] from [a], but not as a head; grades of openness are captured by particle “stacking”. Thus, high vowels are structurally a natural class and are structurally distinct from low vowels; the structural similarity between high V and C motivates G → C and V → G alternations and blocks low-V → G alternations. These proposals will be illustrated with data from languages (e.g., Catalan, Rast-O-Romansch, Romanian, etc.) in which such alternations occur.

Hisatsugu Kitahara (Harvard University)  (SAT MORN:  Crystal)

Floating numeral classifiers in Japanese and the specificity effect

In this paper, based on the results of Coordination and Pseudo-Cleft tests (Kamio (1983)), I first argue for a single-constituent analysis of NP and its floating Numerical Classifier (NC) (e.g. [DP [NamaP [NP hon-o ] 3-satu ] ] ‘book-Acc 3-Class’ (three books)). I then provide a new test for specific/non-specific interpretation of indefinite DP (Heim (1982)) which indicates theme objects and ergative subjects can receive either specific or non-specific interpretation while non-theme objects and both transitive and intransitive subjects obligatorily receive specific interpretation. The constraint on extraction from the nominal phrase (e.g. scrambling of NCs (Miyagawa (1989))) is then shown to be a Specificity Effect (Chomsky (1973), Fiengo and Higginbotham (1981)). Finally, this Specificity Effect is reduced to the ECP within the framework of Checking Theory (Chomsky (1992), Mahajan (1992)).

Hyeree Kim (Ohio State University)  (FRI MORN:  Tiffany)

Case-government of Old English compound verbs

In this paper, I will argue that, contrary to the general assumption that the head determines the syntactic properties of the compound, the case-government of the compound verb in Old English is determined not only by the stem-verb but also by the preverb (i.e. preposition compounded). One of the examples is wið-bregdan “to restrain [dat.] from [gen.]” where the government of the genitive is due to the preverb wið, not to the stem-verb bregdan, because neither the stem-verb itself, nor any combination with other prepositions that do not take the genitive, can take the genitive case. The apparent exceptions to my argument (i.e. when the preposition does not take the genitive complement synchronically (e.g. ofer)) are actually explained in a diachronic study by means of a comparative study of Gothic and other ancient IE languages where that preposition in question takes the genitive complement. This suggests that the compound verb is more resistant to case-government changes than the proposition and thus the compound verb tends to show archaism rather than the preposition. My study contributes to accounting for the genitive case in OE poem Deor (i.e. þæs ofereode, þisses swa maegl (Deor 7, 13, 17, 20, 27, 42)) in which the case is used so idiosyncratically that there has been disagreement in accounting for the use.
Jong-Bok Kim (Stanford University)  
On Korean resultative constructions

The main goal of this paper is to examine the syntactic and semantic aspects of Korean resultative constructions. First, I propose that Korean transitive and unergative resultatives have different syntactic structures; transitives a ternary VP structure and unergatives a binary VP structure. Evidence for this comes from different acceptability in passive, case-marking difference, and differences in constituency. Second I propose that resultatives are formed by lexical rules which change the argument structure of an original predicate and add a causative relation to it. And finally, as a semantic generalization for the resultatives I will provide data which shows that the argument that the resultant XP is predicated of bears the thematic role of Theme.

Karn B. King (University of California-Los Angeles)  
Dialectal variation in Swahili relative clauses

Relative clause constructions are compared in two dialects of Swahili: KiUnguja, spoken on Zanzibar, and KMvita, spoken in Mombasa. In KiUnguja, three relative clause strategies are available, depending on the tense and aspect of the verb in the relativized clause: agreement with relativized NP marked on an overt complementizer, Inf or the verb. KMvita allows these strategies to cooccur. KiUnguja relative clauses are derived by movement of Inf to C. Evidence for head movement comes from agreement facts, the surface position of the subject, and the blocking effects of tense on aspect. KMvita relative clauses are derived without head movement; agreement with the relativized head is a result of operator movement as shown by the island effects which occur.

Tracy Holloway King (Stanford University)  
Licensing left-edge focus in Russian

In this paper I discuss the licensing of left-edge focus in Russian li questions. Russian encodes discourse functions structurally: topics normally appear in sentence initial position and foci in sentence final position. However li yes-no questions have the focused element at the left-edge of the clause. If a specific XP is questioned, it is focused and appears in initial position, e.g., knigu in (1). If the entire sentence is questioned, the verb appears in initial position, (2). li clitics onto the first phonological word.

(1) knigu li ona pilitala  (2) pilitala li ona knigu
book Q she read  read she book
Was it a book-FOC that she read?  Did she read the book?

The primary difficulty with constructions like (1) is why the left-edge XP is interpreted as focus, not topic. I argue that it contains an inherent focus feature that it discharges (I assume that it is a [+wh] complementizer). With focused verbs, (2), the focus feature licenses head-to-head movement of the verb from INFL to COMP, to which it head-joins. The focus feature is then associated with the verb, (3). Since the verb is the head of the clause, the entire IP is questioned. li can also discharge its focus feature via Spec-head agreement. Once Spec-head agreement occurs, an XP must move into SpecCP to license the focus feature. Thus, in (1) Spec-head agreement has occurred and the NP knigu moves into SpecCP, receiving focus interpretation, (4).

(3) [CP [ε ] c pilitala] [c li+[FOC]] [iP ona [i [t1 , t2 ] . . . ]]]  (4) [CP knigu, [ε ] c li+[FOC]] [iP ...t1 , t2 ...]]

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Jean-Pierre Koenig (University of California-Berkeley)  
The lexical semantics of scalar predicates: A unified account

This paper extends the study of lexical conceptual structure found in Talmy (1985) or Jackendoff (1990, 1991) beyond event-structure and spatial location to extract the shared conceptual structure of all scalar predicates, whatever their ontological type, adjectives (soft), verbs (love), nouns (enthusiasm), generalized quantifiers (many) or prepositions (after).

First, it is argued that scales are an intrinsic part of the denotation of scalar predicates, and not a property of their truth-value function, contra Zadeh (1988). Second, elaborating upon suggestions by Horn (1989) and Bierwisch (1990), it is argued that scales include scalar DIMENSIONS, a lexically specified BOUNDARY-TYPE and a pragmatically determined BOUNDARY-VALUE. The lexical specification of the boundary-type accounts for the difference in semantic effect of scalar modifiers like very or more depending on the boundary-type of the predicate they modify and the contrast between Joe is not THAT stupid (= Joe is less stupid than "that"), and Sunny, I'm not 20 yrs old (anymore) (= I'm less than 20 yrs old). Requiring the boundary-value to be pragmatically determined allows for a unified account of: (a) the context-sensitivity of scalar predicates; (b) the "zero" boundary in the case of measure-phrases; (c) the idiosyncratic boundary of high and low in "You'll take the high road, and I'll take the low road". Third, the paper gives the correspondence rules which realize both scalar modifiers and complements, and illustrates the possibility of realizing one and the same semantic argument as either an adjunct or a complement in Joe is 5 feet tall vs. Joe weighs 140 lbs.

Konrad Koerner (University of Ottawa)  
Jespersen's reception of the Cours de Linguistique Generale

In recent years Noam Chomsky has taken an interest in Otto Jespersen's work, so much so that he chose a title for his 1986 book which echoes Jespersen's well-known 1922 Language: Its nature, development and origin. At the same time Chomsky had a few good things to say about Saussure, some of whose views he contrasted with Jespersen's, especially in the area of syntax. Since Jespersen had reviewed the Cours shortly after its appearance in 1916, the present paper proposes to investigate to what extent Jespersen himself disagreed with Saussure's linguistic theory. It may come as a surprise to read as the opening statement in Jespersen's Preface to his 1922 book: "The distinctive feature of the science of language as conceived nowadays is its historical character" (p.7), as it seems to contradict Saussure's primacy of synchrony over diachrony. On the other hand, he, not unlike Saussure, placed the social factor over and above the individual in his 1925 book. Jespersen (1860-1943) and Saussure (1857-1913) were contemporaries and so it can be assumed that they were familiar with the general linguistic ideas of the time; however, their backgrounds, university education, and scholarly interests were quite different, and so we can, as Chomsky did, perceive and appreciate differences they maintained on a variety of issues. Apart from the more inductive and more practical-dictactic approach Jespersen took toward his subject, it is also characteristic of his work as an Anglistic that he took a special interest in syntax whereas Saussure's training as an Indo-Europeanist accounts for his greater emphasis on phonology and morphology.

Masatoshi Koizumi (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)  
Position of object Agr and the number of object positions

Since Høi (1985) and Chomsky (1986), (1) has been assumed to be the standard phrase structure of Japanese (Sbj: subject, IO: indirect object, DO: direct object). On the other hand, if we follow Chomsky's (1992) analysis, Japanese should have D-structure such as (2).

(1) [IP [Sbj [VP IO [v' DO V]]]   (2) [TP [Agr-sP [Agr-oP [VP Sbj [VP IO [v' DO V]]]]]]

This paper argues against (1) and (2), and proposes a new phrase structure given in (3).

(3) [TP [Agr-sP [VP Sbj [Agr-oP [VP IO [v' DO [v' DO V]]]]]]

(3) is crucially different from (2) in two respects: (i) it has Agr-oP between the VP for the subject and the VP for the (indirect) objects (instead of above all of the VPs), and (ii) it allows for (maximally) three object positions (rather than two).

The following sentence demonstrates that we need three object positions, thus undermining Halle and Keyser's (1991) claim that the number of object positions are universally limited to at most two. (10)

Jody-ga [Mary-ni] [Tom-no koto-o] [CP kare-ga kurasu-de iiban segatakai to] itta

 Lit: 'Jody said [to Mary] [of Tom] [that he is tallest in his class].'

-SAT AFT: Corinthian

-SAT MORN: Cordoban

-SAT MORN: Crystal
Silvia Kouwenberg (University of West Indies)  
The study of language attrition in contemporary Berbice Dutch Creole  
(SAT MORN: Corinthian)

Craig (1992:18) points to the inapplicability of traditional research methodologies for language attrition in situations where no normative data are available. This is the case when no more than a few speakers survive of a language of which little historical record exists. Thus, in the case of Berbice Dutch Creole (BD), we are confronted with the absence of data on earlier - preterminal - stages of the language. The present paper aims at exploring these problems and developing a methodology for the study of attrition in the language use of surviving speakers of BD by comparing contemporary speakers representing various stages of language loss. The distinction between attrition in competence and performance (Sharwood Smith & van Buren 1991), applied to spontaneous language use data and grammaticality judgements by speakers of BD, gives further credence to the validity of such an approach. Attrition in the system of negation will be used to illustrate this.


Paul Kroeber (University of North Texas)  
Varieties of wh-agreement in Thompson Salish  
(FR1 MORN: Gold)

Thompson Salish has wh-agreement of various types: predicate morphology is sensitive to both the category of gaps in extraction construction and to the grammatical relation borne by the gap-containing phrase to the predicate. Moreover, wh-agreement morphology in part the same morphology used to mark subordination of various kinds; when a gap occurs within a complement clause, the morphology required by the complement clause type overrides the morphology that would be required by wh-agreement. Wh-agreement morphology that lacks additional subordinating functions is not overridden.

Sai-Hua Kuo (National Tsing Hua University)  
The multiple uses of najge/neige in spoken Mandarin  
(SAT AFT: Roman)

This paper examines how the demonstrative najge/neige ("that") is used in spoken Mandarin in ways other than its canonical deictic function. I first discuss the use and distribution of najge, in contrast with zhage ("that"), as a filler in conversational Chinese. I have found that zhage may occur in turn-initial position as a "marker of response", like the discourse marker "well" discussed by Schiffrin (1987). Najge, on the other hand, is frequently found within phrases when the speaker has difficulty in verbalizing a referent. Moreover, the fact that najge is a much more frequently used filler is related to its propositional deictic use. That is, when the speaker is talking about someone or something which is distant from his/her location at coding time, s/he certainly will choose najge rather than zhage.

Secondly, najge can also be used as an adjective to assess or evaluate someone or something negatively in spoken Mandarin. I propose that this use sometimes reflects interactional considerations. That is, when the speaker wants to show politeness and protect the referent's positive face, s/he feels reluctant to criticize and may choose to use najge as a hedge, thereby reducing the face-threatening force of his/her negative assessment.

Finally, the fact that the above two uses of najge can only be found in spoken Mandarin marks the spontaneous and interactive nature of oral discourse (cf. Chafe 1982).
Steven G. Lapointe (University of California-Davis)  
*Constraints on the morphological forms of gerundive nominalizations*

A number of properties of the forms of gerundive nominalizations (GNs) are identified across a range of languages, including English, Latin, Korean, and Bantu: (a) there are two types of GNs, those without further inflectional affixes (Type 1), and those with such affixes (Type 2); (b) the inflections involved in Type 2 GNs are typically case markers; (c) regardless of type, GNs do not permit plural marking; (d) languages with Type 2 GNs that also have N gender classes assign the gerund to a neuter/inanimate class or a special class; (e) regardless of type, other V markers can appear "inside" the gerund affix. A theory of *dual categories* is introduced which permits lexical nodes, under very specific circumstances, to be marked separately for the external and internal syntactic categories of the phrase of which it is a head. On this account, gerunds are thus marked *<NIV>*, e.g., they have the external syntax of Ns but the internal syntax of Vs. The theory makes two predictions: (i) externally governed inflections in GNs should be just those that are externally governed for Ns in the language, and (ii) internally governed inflections in GNs should be the internally governed ones for Vs. It is shown that all of the properties (a)–(e) follow straightforwardly from these two predictions.

Laurel LaPorte-Grimes (University of Connecticut)  
*IP acquisition*

In this paper, data collected from 2 English-speaking children demonstrate that beginning at 1.25 MLU (19 months-1 week) children produce verbs inflected for agreement, as well as unmarked verbs occurring in contexts where adults require inflection. My analysis of these data suggests that the unmarked forms are independent VP projections, and the forms marked for agreement are IP projections. I compare these independent VP projections to instances where adults can also license VPs in isolation. Learning the constraints on when VPs can be projected in isolation takes time, and this accounts for the pattern of decreasing inappropriate VP projections in children. This analysis also accounts for data presented by Hyams (to appear), and Deprez and Pierce (1989), that French and Italian speaking children around 20/22 months produce inflection. Radford's analysis (1990) of children not producing inflection during the early multi-word stage (18-24 months) is also accounted for, assuming he uses an acquisition criterion close to 90% correct, since my analysis predicts children will not produce a high percentage of correctly marked verbs at this stage.

Ritva Laury (University of California-Santa Barbara)  
*Third person pronouns without antecedents in spoken Finnish*

This paper examines the use of third person pronouns without antecedents in a corpus of spoken Finnish. It proposes that, contrary to what has been previously suggested, contextual salience or topicality is not a primary factor in identifiability of antecedentless pronouns; in actual conversational data, referents of first-mention pronouns are often neither salient nor topical. I propose that the attenuated nature of pronouns is is fact perfectly suited for those contexts where the referents are not particularly salient. Further, it will present examples from my data which show that the identifiability of these pronouns relies on interactively created linguistic context and the background knowledge shared by the interactants.
Paul Law (Université du Québec-Montréal)  
On the base position of wh-adjuncts and extraction  
This paper suggests an independently motivated syntax and semantics of wh-adjuncts which have ramifications for proper government and trace theories. In particular, it argues on independent grounds that wh-adjuncts are in SPEC.CPs in the base in contrast with non-wh-adjuncts which are generated as sisters to the constituent they modify, and that adjunct construal is obtained by a principle according to which the foot of an adjunct chain must be locally dominated by a clause if it is to be construed with that clause. Thus, adjuncts traces in SPEC.CPs would be properly head-governed by the matrix verb, an unobtainable result if they are in the same position as their non-wh counterparts. The principle of adjunct contral thus requires the presence of a trace for long-distance adjunct extraction, a consequence that is not ensured by the Projection Principle which constrains arguments, not adjuncts. The impossibility of construing an adjunct as related to a predicate inside a syntactic island will be shown to follow directly from the ECP.

Jin-Seong Lee (Indiana University)  
Stuart Davis (Indiana University)  
A prosodic analysis of infixal reduplication in Korean ideophones  
Korean displays infixal partial reduplication (henceforth, PR) in ideophonic words. McCarthy & Prince (1986) (henceforth, MP) analyse Korean infixal PR data like culuk -- culu-lyu-k 'dribbling' and asa --> asa-sa-k 'crunch' as involving the suffixing of a syllable template with the final consonant of the root being extrasyllabic. However when trisyllabic words like uthan than ---> uto-ta-tan 'banging' are considered MP's analysis predicts the incorrect uthantha-tha-n. In this paper we present a unified analysis of the Korean PR data that accounts for the above data and also extends to cases of apparent prefixing and suffixing reduplication as exemplified by words like than -- thao-ta-n 'bang' and ususu --> ususu-su 'falling leaves'. In our analysis we posit that reduplication involves the circumscription of the initial foot with the foot-final consonant being extrasyllabic. All the reduplication patterns above can then be accounted for by the suffxation of a core syllable to the initial (bisyllabic) foot. We argue against an alternative that involves marking the initial syllable extrametrical and then prefixing a core syllable template. We also point out the significance of our analysis for some recent work in phonological theory.

Rhang-Hye-Yun Kim Lee (University of Connecticut)  
Reconstruction and the checking theory  
In this paper we propose an alternative analysis to Belleti and Rizzi's (1986) (henceforth, B&R). B&R claims that Principle A is an anywhere principle to capture the fact that properly contained anaphors show connectivity effect regardless of the type of movement (A or A'). Our analysis does not pose a fundamental asymmetry in the application of Principle A and Principles B/C. Rather we suggest that conditions of interpretation, whether it is Principle A or Principles B/C, uniformly apply only at the interface level LF (cf. Chomsky 1992). Connectivity effect shown by anaphors, we argue, follows from our proposed reconstruction theory: reconstruction as optional undoing movement obeys the Checking Theory (Chomsky 1992, Chomsky and Lasnik 1991). Our analysis also gives a unified explanation to reconstruction effect and (Negative) Polarity Item (item) Licensing]. As a consequence of our reconstruction story, we naturally explain some counter examples to the c-command restriction of Principle A and NPI in scrambling languages such as Korean/Japanese.
Joan Leopold

The laurels of linguistic scholarship: The subject matter of the Prix Volney Essays 1822-77

The Prix Volney was one of the most prestigious linguistic prizes of the nineteenth century. It was virtually the only major academic prize for "general linguistics" and later, after 1842, became a prize devoted to comparative philology. It was awarded yearly by a commission of the Institut de France made up of three members of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, three members of the Académie Française and one member of the Académie des Sciences.

This paper will trace the changes in the principal languages and fields of linguistics treated in the entries submitted for the Prix Volney between 1822-77 as well as in those entries which won the prize or an honorable mention in the competition. Such analysis provides a key to changing orientations and fields in linguistics; it also will seek to show the priorities of the competition's judges, in regard to what subjects they considered laudable or rewarding in the context of the competition.

Joan Persily Levinson (State University of New York-Empire State College)

The linguistic status of sentence-internal punctuation

This paper presents research on the linguistic status of the sentence-internal graphical features of written text called "punctuation." Recent linguistic work to categorize and account for the distribution of such marking assumes an equivalent level of necessity for all structural sentence-internal indicators. A clearer understanding of the data requires instead that (1) we distinguish two categories of obligatory and optional marking, and that (2) only the period (which delimits the "informational grouping" itself, i.e., the putative "sentence") and the comma are obligatory. A taxonomy of the obligatory comma comprising four categories is established: (1) Nonrestrictive appositives and absolutes; (2) Disjuncts of attitude; (3) Intrusion of a proper clause within another sentence-partial; (4) Deletion of recoverable lexical material. With the exception of (4), obligatory punctuation accompanies the incorporation of syntactically "detached" sentence partials into the informational grouping delimited by initial capital and final period. A restricted set of syntactic marking is established that also serves as the basis for investigating which features in the associated syntactic structures require marking in written English. Examples and other evidence supporting these claims will be presented, as well as evidence demonstrating that optional punctuation is either not required for "correctness" or can be reduced to obligatory marking.

Yafei Li (Cornell University)

Barriers in terms of categories

Barriers have been defined in terms of L-marking, selection, or selection by [+V] heads. None of these definitions can rule out adjunct-extraction in (1):

(1) * I wonder how Joe [vp is [ag happy [cp that you repaired the house] ]]?

VP, AP, and CP are not barriers because they are all L-marked (Chomsky 1986) and selected by [+V] heads (Baker 1988, Cinque 1990). To account for (1), I propose (2):

(2) A phrase is a barrier iff it is not the complement of a head of the same category.

Since A is [+V +N] and V is [+V +N], the AP complement of be is a barrier. VP is not a barrier if I and C are also verbal (Grimshaw 1991), but the CP complement of happy is a barrier, again due to the V-A mismatch. In general, (2) correctly predicts that adjunct-extraction is not possible out of the noun-complement, the factive island (if the complement is nominal (Kiparsky/Kiparsky 1970)), the NP object, the nominal gerundive complement, and the AP complement. It also subsumes Kayne's 1984 proposal that nouns are defective governors:

(3) Joe appears [IP t to have left ] vs. *Joe's appearance [IP t have left ]

Appearances can't govern into IP because IP being verbal is a barrier. Other islands are barriers since they are non-complements. NP and PP don't block head-incorporation to V if selected phrases are not barriers to their own heads (Spottiche 1991, among others).
Observation by linguists that points and manners of articulation of segments are dispersed throughout the available phonetic production space have given rise to theories concerning phonological space. One such proposal which crosses the phonetic-phonological line is Stevens' (1959) 'quantal' approach to speech. Stevens proposes that languages choose segments which allow for a wide latitude in articulation with a small variation in the acoustic signal. Criticism of Stevens' proposal has focused on vocalic acoustic data. This paper describes recently recorded aerodynamic data on the so-called 'funny nasals' of Acehnese. The articulatory gestures involved are shown to require precise timing to pronounce these sounds without misperception. Such precision violates the predictions of the quantal theory.

Mark Louden (University of Texas-Austin)
The evolution of prepositional complementizers: Parallels between English-based Creoles and Germanic

In this paper we will consider the historical development of CEC 'fi' against the backdrop of similar preposition—complementizer changes in the history of English and other Germanic languages. In this regard we will follow Wadahaugh's (1975, 1977, 1980) notion that 'fi' derives its basic character from a locative ('forward-directional') preposition, yet we will also consider evidence of for (to) in English regional dialects showing the plausibility of originally simultaneous structural models for the three synchronic functions of 'fi': as a preposition, modal auxiliary, and complementizer. After a review of the diachrony of pre-infinitival 'to'/for 'to' in varieties of English, we will suggest a model for the historical development of 'fi'. The following conclusions on the synchronic functions of 'fi' will be drawn:
(a) There is a close semantic relationship between forward direction indicated by a preposition and verbal complementation.
(b) Infinitivals are basically nominal; matrix V(?)s either take (direct) object complements (bare infinitivals) or prepositional complements (e.g. 'fi' + infinitive).
(c) In CEC, 'fi' is always followed by a nominal complement, regardless of its status as a preposition, modal or complementizer. The argument will be advanced that NTH markers such as modal 'fi' have dual verbal and prepositional properties.

Susann Luperfoy (MITRE Corporation)
A discourse functional analysis of plural one-anaphora

"It takes ones to know ones.
"I sold your marbles because ones were cracked.
"Nancy hates racoons because ones ate her corn.

The unacceptability of these plural sentences reveals important differences between one, and its apparent plural counterpart, ones. Prominent analyses of English indefinite anaphora or one-anaphora (Radford 1981; Webber 1984; Dahl 1984) address properties common to both singular and plural forms. This analysis of English one-anaphora does predict the distributional differences between one and ones. I posit three discourse functional categories of one-anaphor labeled, (1) Contrastive, (2) Partitive Sampling, and (3) New Specimen. The singular for all categories is one, but the plural has three forms: (1) ones, as in "It takes four small ones to equal two large ones", (2) any plural determiner which constitutes a full NP, e.g. some in "I sold your marbles because some were cracked", and (3) their/them, in "Nancy hates racoons because they ate her corn" (Carlson 1977) which I analyze as one-anaphoric. English genitive pronouns, mine, yours, hers, his, ours, and theirs are treated as a subclass of contrastive one-anaphora. Finally, I show how which, certain, various, and particular (examples taken from Dahl, 1984) combine with one or ones to yield contrastive one-anaphoric NP's.
Historiographers of linguistics have neglected to study the framework informing Horatio Hale's (1817-1896) linguistic research during the U.S. Exploring Expedition of 1838-1842. By drawing on hitherto neglected material and by providing an intertextual reading of Hale's Ethnography and Philology (1846), this paper will argue that Hale's research was guided by the ideas of John Pickering and Peter Duponceau and discuss the major results and impact of his work. Pickering secured a place for philology in the expedition and recommended Hale for the position of philologist while Duponceau wrote Hale's official instructions. Citations and anonymous references, i.e., textual elements not marked for their origin, in Hale's volume also point to Pickering and Duponceau's discourse. For instance, Hale based his phonetic alphabet on Pickering's (1820) orthography, and he referred to Duponceau in his discussion of transitions. The division of Hale's comparative grammar of the Polynesian languages into orthography, etymology, and syntax mirrors Duponceau's three branches of philology: phonology, etymology, and ideology/syntax. The importance of Hale's volume, which also covered northwestern American and Australian languages, is reflected by its being discussed by authorities like Latham, Gallatin, Quatrefages, Müller, Waits, and Steinhall.

Ian Maddieson (University of California-Los Angeles/University of CA-Berkeley) (SUN MORN: Roman)
Sequence in simultaneity: Phonetic 'enhancements' in Ewe doubly-articulated stops

The segments written /kp/, /gb/ found in many West African languages are usually treated as doubly-articulated plosives with simultaneous bilabial and velar closures. If the two articulations were formed and released exactly in unison the presence of a labial closure could have little impact on the sound produced, which would be similar to a simple velar stop. Yet these segments are easily distinguished from velars and often have strikingly different auditory characteristics from other plosives in the language. From auditory and acoustic evidence Maddieson & Ladefoged (1989) argued that the two articulatory gestures are slightly offset in time, with the velar leading the labial. The temporal asymmetry makes it easier to hear that a complex articulation is involved. Ladefoged (1968, 1993) infers another factor is present: "During [labial-velars], the back of the tongue moves slightly farther back, creating a slight suction effect as in a click" (1993:164). Modern instrumentation makes it easier to test these articulatory claims directly. Two speakers of Ewe provided data using the EMMA system, which permits two-dimensional articulatory trajectories to be examined over time. The data were collected and analyzed as part of joint project with Joseph Perkell, Melanie Matthies and Mario Svirscky. The results confirmed the temporal asymmetry of the two gestures, as well as the general similarity of these to the gestures in simple velar and labial stops. Backward movement of the tongue in /kp/ and /gb/ was observed but the trajectory shapes and certain acoustic details suggest that this is due to rarefaction in the pharyngeal cavity rather than to an active attempt to expand the front cavity. The maneuvers involved in production of /kp/, /gb/ result in asymmetrical acoustic transitions to and from the consonant, additional duration, less aspiration for /kp/ and enhanced voicing for /gb/ in comparison with singly articulated stops. All of these can be considered 'enhancements' of what would otherwise be a non-salient contrast.

Joan Maling (Brandeis University) (FRI AFT: Crystal)
Lexical case in middle formation: German vs. Icelandic

This paper compares the effect of lexical case-marking on Middle Formation (MF) in German and Icelandic. Fagan (1992) claims that lexical case marking on an object argument blocks MF in German. This paper shows (i) that MF in Icelandic is not subject to such a Condition, and (ii) that such a condition is unnecessary even for German, since independently motivated semantic and aspecual conditions will rule out middles of verbs which assign lexical case to their objects in German. The Icelandic middles below are formed from verbs which take dative objects in the active voice:

(1) a. Þessi ráði breytist í rúm. 'this sofa(N) converts into a-bed'
   b. Mjölkin helist niður niður úr þessum bolla.
      the-milk(N) spills less down from this cup
      'milk spills less easily from this sort of cup'

Why, then, does lexical case appear to block MF in German, when it does not in Icelandic? This paper argues that this is due to a difference in the distribution of lexical case where no German verb assigns dative case to a theme argument, dative case can be associated with a theme in Icelandic.
Charles C. Mann (University of Edinburgh)  
Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin: A sociopsychological survey of Southern Nigeria  
(FRI AFT: Corinthian)

This paper is the result of a recent field survey - based on questionnaires and interviews - which aims to collate and assess the attitudes of Nigerians of varying social strata, education and exposure on the prospects of introducing Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin, the most widely used lingua franca for interethnic communication, as a subject and/or language of instruction in schools; or even adopting it as the future official language of Nigeria, in replacement of English. The long-term need to opt for an indigenous language of greater tribal neutrality, linguistic accessibility (in terms of facility of acquisition), and flexibility (in terms of adequately coping with its proposed functions in modern society), cannot be overemphasized. An attempt is made to correlate attitudes expressed with social background/standing, education and other functional variables.

Stephen Marlett (Summer Institute of Linguistics)  
Double object constructions in Seri  
(FRI AFT: Gold)

A careful look at Seri reveals that there are three double-object constructions which may be distinguished syntactically. In the first, the Theme determines Direct Object agreement, and the Goal determines Indirect Object agreement. In the second, the Goal determines Direct Object agreement and the Theme does not determine any agreement.

In the third construction, the Theme determines Indirect Object agreement and the Goal determines Direct Object agreement. The proposed analysis, in Relational Grammar terms, is 2-3 Retreat (of the Theme) accompanied by 3-2 Advancement (of the Goal).

However, this analysis is supported by typologically interesting subcategorization facts of Seri. Several verbs subcategorize only for singular Indirect Objects. Therefore a plural Goal cannot be an Indirect Object in clauses with these verbs. Examples with plural Goals are therefore very distinct, and revealing, syntactically.

This paper argues for an analysis in which nominals change grammatical relations; they do not simply bear quirky case, or have unusual theta-roles. It therefore also contributes to the general debate about the nature and role of grammatical relations in syntactic theory.

Roger A. Martin (University of Connecticut)  
Null case and the distribution of PRO  
(FRI MORN: Gold)

This paper addresses a number of issues regarding the distribution and feature licensing of the empty category that occurs as the subject of certain non-finite clauses in English. In particular, we will argue that the distribution of this empty category, usually identified as PRO, is determined by the nature of its Case features, which we assume to be lexically specified. In our analysis PRO is always Case-marked in accordance with the Chain Condition (Chomsky and Lasnik (1992)), eliminating an unwanted disjunction in earlier formulations of this condition. In this respect, PRO behaves exactly like lexical NPs, with the differences in distribution being derived from the nature of the Case which PRO bears and the positions in which this type of Case may be licensed. The proposed account has a number of important theoretical consequences, including a unified statement of the Chain Condition and a simplification of certain aspects of the Binding Theory.
Hirokuni Masuda (University of Hawaii-Manoa)  
(FRI MORN: Athenian)  
TSR formation as discourse transparency possibility of the Japanese substratum in Hawaiian Creole English

This paper is to explore a discourse process in Hawaiian Creole English in attempt to give an explicit explanation of a particular utterance structure, "Dala Utterance," which is regarded as 'deviant' in terms of the regular English syntax and semantics. In the utterance, two semantically heterogeneous nouns are directly combined by a copula verb. Even though the utterance may seem awkward to the eyes of English speakers, I will argue that such utterance must reflect a unique discourse process in HCE that I name "TSR Formulation." In TSR Formulation, the most important aspect is the cooption of 'scheme,' linguistic entity, which exists not in the utterance itself but in a larger linguistic unit, 'discourse,' or generally, the human cognitive network about knowledge schema. I claim TSR Formulation in HCE discourse must have come from Japanese as a substratum. The probability of the Japanese substratum is supported from both the linguistic and the sociohistorical evidence. For the former, Japanese exhibits a particular type of utterance, so-called 'Dala Sentence,' which is formed in the same manner as HCE Dala Utterance. For the latter, it is the case that Hawaiian Pidgin English had still been on the process of establishment when the first large group of Japanese immigrants came into the plantation in 1886. Sauren & Webber's 'Semantic Transparency Theory' guides me to conclude that TSR Formulation is a discourse process that possesses high-degree transparency in HCE so that the pidgin had bequeathed the characteristic to its descendant creole, Hawaiian Creole English.

Yoshiko Matsumoto (Stanford University)  
(FRI EVE: Roman)  
Object honorifics in Japanese

In his seminal work on Japanese honorification in a generative framework, Harada (1976) states that a predicate in the object honorific (OH) form if its indirect or direct object denotes a 'person socially superior to the speaker.' More careful examination, however, reveals counterexamples to his claims and shows that his account is perhaps too simplistic and misleading. The goal of this paper is to clarify the nature of so-called object honorification by examining properties of (i) the target NP that conditions the use of OH and (ii) the subject NP of an OH predicate. I will suggest that the notions of 'beneficiary' and 'source' of benefit are the determinants of OH and that the pragmatic effect of OH is to abase the subject NP referent. For example, in (1), the notion of beneficiary is crucial.

(1) Gakusei ga Ota-sensei o oosisiita.  
student OBJ Prof. Ota OBJ HON.Pref.-push-did A student pushed (OH) Prof. Ota.

It is not that the object qua object triggers the OH; for (1) to be acceptable, the interpretation has to be that the professor benefits from being pushed. I will also argue that the referent of the subject is always treated by the speaker as low with respect to either the source or the beneficiary. In consequence, no syntactic rule picks out the target of OH: the only syntactically specified target is the subject, which is lowered with respect to some non-subject referent. In pragmatics, OH provides another example of the general tendency of Japanese which encodes some benefactive/affect relation and suggests that OH can be explained within the cultural setting often described as deferential.

Philippe Maurer (University of Zurich)  
(FRI AFT: Athenian)  
Serial pa 'to put' as a locative in Angolar (Gulf of Guinea)

In Angolar, one of the four Creolos of the Gulf of Guinea, Locatives may be introduced by a preposition by the verb pa 'to put' in a serial construction. The aim of my contribution is to analyze the conditions for the use of serial pa - in opposition to - in sentences like:

(1) N labekkie pa mionge.  
I wash fish put see  
'I washed the fish in the sea.'

In (1), pa is used because the location of the object of the first verb, kikie 'fish', is specified. To indicate the location of the subject of the verb, a construction with - is used:

(2) N labekkie mionge  
I wash fish see  
'I washed the fish in the sea.'
Non-English wh-constructions in English-speaking children

Recent studies have suggested that English-speaking children's grammars allow types of wh-movement that do not exist in adult English: partial wh-movement ("What do you think who John admires?") and copying ("Who do you think who John admires?"). We report on the first three sessions of a five-session longitudinal study of these wh-constructions in 28 children aged 2;11 to 6;1. We elicited grammaticality judgments from the children about a variety of sentences containing different types of wh-constructions. Twelve of the 28 children accepted partial wh-movement and/or copying. All of these children also accepted that+ violations, whereas most of the other children rejected them. Importantly, all of the children accepted the adult constructions. Our longitudinal findings suggest that the non-adult constructions may represent a possible stage. We examine several alternative explanations for why children come to accept and then reject these constructions.

Joyce McDonough (University of California-Los Angeles)

On the phonological representation of the feature 'lateral'

In Steriade's (1990, 1991, 1992) model, a stop is a sequence of two 'A' positions: closure and release. Non-plosives (continuants) have single positions isomorphic to the release types found in stops. In her model there are three kinds of oral apertures, or 'A' positions, that account for these distinctions: full closure (A0), fricative (A1) and approximate (Amax), the later two are release types. In this paper that lateral is a fourth kind of oral aperture and release type, (Alat). This paper is divided into two parts: 1) a discussion of the conflicting placement of lateral in a feature hierarchy system (Claerents 1986, Sagey 1986) as conora independent, based on its fencing in the phonology (Levin 1988) or off the root node (Shaw 1990) to account for its failure to block coronal harmony systems. These representations suffer from the feature's unique status as both a structure and place feature in an articulator-based system. The second part of this paper addresses two issues: the association of Alat with coronal place of articulation, an argued result of the acoustics of lateral closure, and the representation of lateral's fricative/approximate distinction (Maddieson 1984), a distinction predicted to be captured by release apertures A1 and Amax in Steriade's model. It will be argued that the aerodynamics of voicing (Ohala 1983) can account for the aperture distinction; the contrast is a voicing contrast.

Bonnie McElhinny (Stanford University)

Police reactions to domestic violence: A discourse account

This paper contributes to the growing body of sociolinguistic research on conflictual talk by describing and analyzing how police officers in Pittsburgh deal with domestic violence. I focus here on single calls in which both man and woman were both beaten, each requiring medical treatment, and each arrested for the assault of the other. I use the analytic techniques developed by conversational analysts to consider how the police officers' use of pauses, interruptions and commands, as well as their strategic decisions about when to acknowledge and when to ignore the victims' own talk, contribute to a perception of police officers as, at best, objective and nonemotional and, at worst, uncaring and callous. I contrast these police officers' strategies with those adopted by paramedics and nurses involved with the same victims, showing how the medical personnel use more questions, fewer interruptions and engage in more dialogue with the victims, and thus perhaps create an impression of greater concern about the victims' well-being. I conclude by considering the implications of this analysis for further studies of conflictual talk in institutional settings, for the study of occupationally-based conversational styles, for understanding public perceptions of police, and for understanding police perceptions of the public.
Brian D. McHugh (Temple University)

*Barriers to phonological phrasing in kiVunjo Chaga*

As in other Bantu languages, the postlexical phonology of kiVunjo Chaga is sensitive to phonological phrasing. McHugh (1987, 1990) claims phonological phrases in kiVunjo are created from syntactic structures by an algorithm that checks each prosodic word for whether it p-governs the immediately following prosodic word. P-government is defined as the relationship that a head bears to the first word of a following modifier or complement. If a word p-governs its immediately following neighbor, the two words will form part of the same p-phrase. Thus, for example, nouns phrase with their following adjectival and PP modifiers, as do verbs with their following complements.

Imperative verbs, however, do not phrase with their complements. This, as was shown in McHugh (1987), is because kiVunjo imperative verbs move to C. However, in this paper I will reject McHugh’s (1987, 1990) analyses based on exocentricity and movement to Spec CP, and argue instead that the presence of two maximal projection nodes, VP and IP, intervening between the verb in C and its complement in VP is what blocks p-government. This would appear to be the analog in PF of the notion of barrierhood introduced by Chomsky (1986) for the syntax. This analysis, if correct, favors a government-based algorithmic approach to the construction of prosodic domains (Nespou & Vogel, 1986; Hayes, 1989; McHugh, 1987, 1990) over an end-based approach (Selkirk, 1986).

John McWhorter (Stanford University)

**Diffusion, Spanish colonization, and a new perspective on the creolization context**

Evidence strongly suggests that all of the creoles extant with Spanish lexicons are relexifications of varieties of restructured Portuguese. Meanwhile, the *bosal* Spanish spoken by Cuban slaves was apparently not a true creole, lacking the degree of syntactic restructuring exhibited by unequivocal creoles such as Sranan and Haitian Creole. Some have argued that the ratio of plantation slaves to whites was not sufficiently disproportionate to lead to creolization in Cuba. However, Cuban sugar plantations had at least 300 African slaves each, and identical contexts are thought to have led to creolization of other languages elsewhere. Why does Spanish itself seem never to have been creolized? One factor is that unlike the other European powers, the Spanish did not have slave forts in West Africa. Some have argued that pidgins arose in each colonizer’s forts which developed into all of the Atlantic creoles of that lexical base. This paper suggests that the absence of Spanish-based creoles is due to the absence of such a Spanish-based trade pidgin, and that trade pidgins were integral to the establishment of creoles elsewhere. The implication is that without such a pidgin target, plantation slaves achieved relatively full acquisition, and that the plantation social structure is thus not as crucial to creolization as has been thought.

Diane Meador (University of Arizona)
Diane Ohala (University of Arizona)

**The status of ambisyllabicity in English**

Psycholinguistic investigations have sought to determine whether the primary unit of speech perception is the syllable (e.g., Mehler, Dommergues, & Frauenfelder, 1981; Segui, Dupoux, & Mehler, 1985; Cutler, Mehler, Norris and Segui, 1986). Contradictory findings suggest the issue is complicated by questions of syllable internal constituency for different languages. In French, for example, a word like *patas ‘palace*’ is unambiguously syllabified as *pa.tas*. In English, there is some debate as to whether the medial consonant in a word like *palace* is syllabified with the first syllable, *pal.ace*, or is ambisyllabic to the first and the second syllables, *pal.ac.e*. Phonological arguments have been made for each of these alternatives (Selkirk, 1982 and Kahn, 1976, respectively). In this paper, we report the results of an off-line experiment in which subjects were auditorily presented with lists of words and nonwords. In one presentation, subjects responded by writing the first syllable of the items they heard, while in a later presentation, subjects responded with the second syllable. Findings support the hypothesis that ambisyllabicity exists in English but in a highly specific environment: a stressed syllable with a lax vowel followed by a stressless syllable. This study has ramifications both for linguistic theory and methodologies used in psycholinguistic experimentation.
Laura Michaelis (University of California-Berkeley)  
Evidence for the existence of a resultative perfect

This paper examines two uses of the English present perfect, existential and resultative. These uses are exemplified in (1-2), respectively:

(1) I've seen him somewhere before.

(2) The police have arrested the man responsible.

In accordance with McCawley 1971, 1981 and Mittwoch 1988, I will regard the perfect as ambiguous rather than vague vis-à-vis these uses. This paper will, however, provide evidence against McCawley's (1981) claim that the resultative represents a subcase of the existential. The two understandings will here be assigned distinct logical representations. This semantic distinction has a number of grammatical ramifications. The existential perfect accepts nondeictic cyclic time adverbs and manner modification, while the resultative does not. Further, the existential perfect can be used to refer to serialized events; the resultative cannot. Lastly, the resultative, unlike the existential, cannot be used to elaborate upon a pragmatically presupposed event. Such constraints upon the resultative will be regarded as idiosyncratic properties rendering it a formal idiom (Fillmore, Kay and O'Connor 1988). As a statement of the resultative construction will require reference to pragmatic presupposition, this case study will be related to work suggesting the lack of a strict division between the 'literal meaning' of a given construction and conditions upon its felicitous use in discourse (Kay 1990).

Corey A. Miller (University of Pennsylvania)  
/i/ and ambisyllabicity in American English

This research provides a phonological explanation for the dialect-dependent merger or non-merger of vowels before intervocalic /h/ in American English. The analysis builds on Veatch's (1991) treatment of English phonology and syllable structure in which he considers /r,w,j/ as glides which can appear in a glide slot within the syllable. We will present examples from the history of English illustrating the effects of /h/ in the glide slot on preceding vowels, which we call rhoticity effects. We will describe a modern example of such effects in a variety of California English (CAL), in which the vowels /e,e,e/ merge to [e] before intervocalic /h/. In words like ma-r-y, me-r-y and Ma-r-y, the /h/ in the onset of the second syllable is ambisyllabic, and is thus associated with the glide slot of the first syllable. Some varieties of New York City speech (NYC), have a constraint against /h/ appearing in the glide slot. This results in the vocalization of non-prevocalic /h/ in addition to preventing the licensing of ambisyllabic /h/. Consequently, we witness no rhoticity effects of glide slot /h/ on the quality of preceding vowels, and therefore in NYC /e,e,e/ are not merged before intervocalic /h/. Other examples of variable ambisyllabicity in American English will be presented and the consequences of such a situation for the distributional distinctions between short/lax and long/tense vowels will be discussed.

D. Gary Miller (University of Florida)  
Ancient scripts and phonological knowledge

Recent work on scripts has tended to support the age-old prejudice that alphabets impart a knowledge of segments, and that people without alphabets have no knowledge of words, much less segments. Linguistic analysis of the Linear B and Cyprian syllabaries shows that nothing could be farther from the truth. The spelling conventions of these two ancient scripts are based directly on the Sonority Hierarchy (SH), and presuppose a sophisticated (at least implicit) knowledge of the arrangement of segments according to the SH. Specifically, the sophistication of developing and using a script based on the SH, consistently performing exhaustive SH analyses of each word and spelling individual segments according to their position in the SH, devising solutions to problems like SH onsets in coda position or codas in onset position, syllable "adjuncts", SH violations in the language, and occasionally trying to represent compositional information as well, go light-years beyond anything predicted by proponents of privileged alphabet knowledge. Also, the Phoenician "alphabet" fits letter-by-letter into a phonetic matrix analogous to the Byblos and Ras Shamra matrices, in which segments are arranged: laryngeals > labials > alveolars > velars > dentals. How can there be a phonetic-order conception of segments without a concept of segments? Similarly, the Germanic runic "Tupark" fits a matrix arranged: lip-rounded > dental > (alveo)palatal > velar. The arrangement is not economical, but (1) it was consciously rearranged, (2) there is some deference to the Greek models in adding new letters at the end, (3) it is statistically significant that the letters, in order, fit such a matrix precisely, allowing for "gape" in the system, and (4) other arrangements reveal, e.g., back vowels before front; high before low; mid.
French preverbal pronominal clitics are usually analyzed as independent lexemes which, once moved to their surface syntactic position, undergo cliticization to a following verbal element. But we present arguments that clitics are in fact lexically attached inflections. Our `cliticized' lexical forms participate systematically in syntactic dependencies that are not unbounded and yet are not strictly local. An inflected lexical item like les-a (`them-has') must combine with a VP containing a past participle head but no direct object (e.g. vu (`seen')). In our analysis, cast in the framework of Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (Pollard/Sag in press), cliticized lexical forms (produced via lexical rules) select for syntactically incomplete VP complements, yet the relevant notion of 'incomplete' must be broadened. Our treatment of clitic climbing verbs adapts the operation of function composition from categorial grammar. A head, which usually requires a saturated complement C, may combine with a non-saturated instance of C (e.g. with a non-empty COMPS list X); if that head also has the items in the list X on its own COMPS list. The subcategorization requirements of the complement are thus passed on to the head with which it combines. Our treatment, which includes a highly constrained, lexically controlled usage of composition, provides a principled account of the distinction between unbounded and intermediate distance dependencies, which is blurred in many versions of categorial grammar.

Philip H. Miller (Université de Lille)
Non-local object agreement

This paper discusses three sets of data, from Basque, Maasai and Hungarian, where morphological marking for object agreement is realized not on the verb which subcategorizes the object, but on a higher governing verb, as illustrated in the following Basque example.

(Ni)k (zuri) ezin dizut sagar bat eman
(I-Erg) (you-Dat) be.unable Abs3sg.Dat2sg.Erg1sg apple-Abs one give
I can't give you an apple

Saltarelli 1988, p.142

We show that these data are problematic for "Keenan's principle" (which states that 'function symbols may present a morpheme whose form is determined by the noun class of the argument expression') because a function symbol exhibits an agreement mark not with its own argument(s) but with argument(s) of its own argument. We also show that such examples raise problems for the HPSG treatment of agreement driven by the SUBCAT list, since the SUBCAT list of the higher verb will not contain the arguments of the lower verb. We propose a solution to this problem by simulating a lexically controlled version of function composition in HPSG. Finally, we show that these cross-linguistic data weaken any attempts to argue against the idea that certain Romance pronominal clitics are being reanalyzed as agreement markers on the grounds that clitic climbing constructions would exhibit a violation of Keenan's principle and be problematic for the SUBCAT list driven HPSG theory of agreement. The data presented argue that, on the contrary, it is the latter assumptions which require revision.

Erika Mitchell (Cornell University)
'VP'-fronting, do-support and extended IP in English

This paper will demonstrate that Almajian, Steele and Wasow's 'VP'-fronting facts (1989) yield independent support for splitting IP in English and confirm that English main verbs do not move at S-structure (Pollock, 1989; Chomsky, 1989). ASM demonstrate that 'VP-fronting' actually fronts 'V1' in English (everything below the passive auxiliary). In current terminology, ASM 'V1' would correspond to a VoiceP (cf. Baker 1990) and Mitchell (1991). ASM also demonstrate that the rule of [VoiceP]-fronting is bled by obligatory V-movement of passive 'be' out of [VoiceP] whenever possible, but that main verbs must remain in their base-generated positions (at least through S-structure). ASM do not, however, discuss the motivation for obligatory do-support in V-fronting contexts; this paper will propose an analysis for triggering do-support (based on the independently required Projection Principle) which will not only explain the need for do-support in 'VP'-fronting, but also in all other contexts in which it occurs (sentential negation/affirmation and questions, except subject wh-questions).
Bettina Mohr (University of California-Los Angeles)  
Friedemann Pulvermüller (University of California-Los Angeles)  
Eran Zaidel (University of California-Los Angeles)  

Interhemispheric interaction in processing content words, function words, and pseudowords: A lexical decision study

Function words, content words and pronounceable non-words ("pseudowords") were presented tachistoscopically either in the left or the right visual field or simultaneously in both visual halffields. Consistent with earlier studies (Chiarello & Nuding, 1987), function words were found to show a large right visual field (RVF) advantage, whereas for content words the RVF advantage was absent.

Compared to unilateral presentation, bilateral presentation of identical word stimuli improved error scores and reaction times significantly. The bilateral (BI) advantage was largest for content words, and was also highly significant for function words on both error score and reaction time analyses. However, it was absent for non-words. It has also not been observed in response to other non-linguistic stimuli, suggesting that the BI gain is specific to linguistic material. Our results indicate that the lexicons of the left and right hemisphere collaborate rather than inhibit each other or act indepenently when processing the same linguistic material. The findings are consistent with the view that the neuronal counterparts of words are Hebbian cell assemblies consisting of strongly connected excitatory neurons of both hemispheres. Since function words show a large RVF advantage in addition to their BI gain, their assemblies are likely to have most of their neurons located in the left hemisphere. Content word assemblies may be less strongly lateralized.

John Moore (University of California-San Diego)  

Locality conditions on A-chains: Evidence from copy raising

This paper will present evidence from Turkish Copy Raising constructions that argues for an antecedent goverment account of NP-Movement locality. Since Chomsky (1986) there has been a move away from the LGB Binding Theory account of local movement. Instead, it has been proposed that such movement is constrained by antecedent government. In Chomsky (1986) this antecedent government requirement follows from the ECP: in Rizzi (1990) it is a consequence of chain formation. I present empirical evidence for Rizzi’s conception of the antecedent government approach from Copy Raising constructions in Turkish:

(1) biz₁ san-e [pro₁ sit ıg-ti-k] gibi gorûn-du-k
    we₁ you-ACC [pro₂ milk drink-PST-1PL] like look-PST-1PL
    We seem to you to have drunk some milk.

I argue that (1) involves an A-chain that ends in a pronominal element (biz₁, pro₁). Given that this type of raising leaves a pronominal element, Principle A of the Binding Theory will not enforce locality. Nor is it the case that the ECP can be involved, as pro is not subject to subject to the ECP. However, if antecedent government is a property of chains, then locality will be correctly enforced in Copy Raising examples such as the Turkish construction in (1).

Marycien Morgan (University of California-Los Angeles)  

The role of narrative shift and audience in stylistic variation

By analyzing three different narratives, this paper expands the theories of Duranti (1986) and Goodwin (1986) on the audience as co-author and provides a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the role of narrative shift and audience on stylistic variation in African American English (AAE). First, the narratives of Ruby, Reverend Rose and Mr. West are quantitatively analyzed for several variables: copula, invariant be, verbal -s, plural -s, possessive -s and for modal usage and ellipsis. Secondly, Goodwin’s (1986) differential competence hypothesis, which considers the speaker’s assessment of the recipient’s prior knowledge of an event, is tested in relation to discourse features in order to determine shifts in speaker’s notion of audience. In the third section, the parts of the narratives which are affected by differential competence shifts are descriptively compared to those which are not. Finally, based on my findings, I argue for a structural redefinition of narrative context which extends beyond the notion of topic, interviewer and narrator to include the narrator’s notion of audience.
Elise E. Morse-Gagné (University of Pennsylvania)  
(PRONOUN transfer and word order in Middle English)

The English third person plural pronouns (3pl prns) they, them, and their descend from Scandinavian (Scn) forms adopted in Middle English (ME). Morse-Gagné (1981) argues against the usual explanation (e.g. Jaspersen 1905, Strang 1970) that this borrowing was a corrective response to homonymy in the ME prn system. Another possibility concerns ME word order. The English prns were originally syntactic clitics, behaving unlike other NPs with respect to verb-second and OV orders (van der Kemenade 1987, Pintzuk 1991). The Scn 3pl prns may have been used as non-clitic alternatives to the native ME forms. If so, it should be possible to establish correlations between word order and choice of 3pl prn form during the transition period when Scn and ME prn forms coexisted and so did competing word orders. Preliminary results indicate that such correlations do not exist and that in the early stages of the borrowing, prn choice was primarily influenced by phonological factors unrelated to clitic status. This in turn suggests that the borrowing was not syntactically motivated. Finally, I suggest that this transfer may be the result of “imposition” (van Coetsem 1988) by Scn speakers rather than borrowing by English speakers.

Alan Munn (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)  
(SYNTACTIC asymmetries and semantic identity in coordinate structures)

Coordination is generally thought to be restricted to constituents of the same syntactic category, despite some well known counterexamples:

(1) a. John walked slowly and with great care  
   (AdvP and PP)
   b. Pat is a Republican and proud of it  
   (NP and AP)

Previous analyses of (1) have maintained two assumptions about coordinated constituents: (i) only like syntactic constituents can be conjoined and (ii) each member of a coordinate structure is equal with respect to the selectional properties that the coordinate structure as a whole must satisfy. In this paper we challenge both of these assumptions and make the following claims: conjunction is restricted only to like semantic categories. Unlike syntactic categories may be freely coordinated provided they do not violate independent principles of the syntax. This predicts ordering asymmetries among conjuncts. We show that the first claim follows from the generalised conjunction schema (Gazdar 1980, Partee/Reoth 1982), while the second follows from treating coordinate structures as adjunction structures.

Alan Munn (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)  
Cristina Schmitt (University of Maryland-College Park)

Null objects in Brazilian Portuguese: A case of A-pronouns

In this paper we argue for a mixed analysis of Null Objects (NOs) in Brazilian Portuguese. Following Cinque's 1990 analysis of parasitic gaps, we analyze NOs in as A-bound pronouns (i.e. pronouns licensed by a null operator). This captures both their pronominal qualities plus their locality constraints. We show that NOs display locality effects similar to the ones exhibited by parasitic gaps in English: a NO can appear in an adjunct (1a) but cannot appear in an adjunct inside an adjunct as in (1b):

(1) a. TOP Pedro chorou OP depois da Maria colocar pro no berço.
   Pedro cried after the Maria put pro in the crib.

b. *OP Pedro suspirou aliviado quando soube que a Maria decidiu viajar OP antes de incriminar pro-
   Pedro sighed in relief when he learned that Maria decided to travel before incriminating pro-

In addition, NOs are obligatory when qualificationally bound. This follows from the fact that they are A-bound pro's and Montalbetti's Òvert Pronoun Constraint. The fact that NOs in BP appear to violate islands (Farrell 1990) follows from more general extraction patterns of the language: 'referential' wh-phrases such as which X are freely extractable from islands. NOs being highly referential, pattern accordingly.

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Carol Myers-Scotton (University of South Carolina)  
Codedswitching as a mechanism in pidgin/creole structuring

This paper argues that universally-evident constraints on the structure of intrasentential codeswitching (CS) may partially explain certain structural outlines of both pidgins in their formative stages and of decolonizing creoles. The constraints on CS are found in a model of CS which is governed by two factors: (1) the Matrix Language (vs. the Embedded Language) sets the frame of mixed constituents; i.e., the ML supplies morpheme order and syntactically active system morphemes (inflections and function words); (2) the Embedded Language provides only content morphemes, not system morphemes, in mixed CS constituents. Very generally, two hypotheses arise: (1) In pidgin formation, whichever substrate language(s) receive status as the Matrix Language will govern morpheme order and system morpheme choice in the developing language. (2) When a creole decolonizes, there is a turnover of the Matrix Language so that the superstrate language is now the Matrix Language; therefore, it will now introduce its system morphemes into the decolonizing language, where previously only its content morphemes were prominent. The paper provides motivations for these diachronic hypotheses in its discussion of codeswitching data.

Tsuneko Nakazawa (NTT Network Information Systems Labs)  
Interaction of pragmatics and syntax: Come and go in English, Chinese, and Japanese

The purpose of this paper is two-fold: first, the paper attempts to determine the universal and language-specific pragmatic factors that interact in the selection of the deictic motion verbs come and go in English, Chinese, and Japanese. Fillmore (1975) claims that in English, come cannot be used unless either the speaker or the addressee is at the destination of the motion to be described, and that go cannot be used to describe the motion toward the place where the speaker is at the coding time. It will be shown that in simplex sentences, these prohibitive conditions hold for Chinese and Japanese as well as English. Where both come and go are predicted to occur by Fillmore, however, there are great cross-linguistic differences. The agent of motion is proposed as a new parameter to differentiate English from Chinese and Japanese: both Chinese and Japanese prohibit the use of come for the speaker's motion toward the addressee. Secondly, it is argued that certain syntactic factors intervene those pragmatic factors in a language-specific way: in Japanese, the person expressed by the matrix subject of object-control verbs can perform the pragmatic roles which are normally played by the speaker in simplex sentences. Thus, the incorporation of the syntactic factor makes the three-way distinction possible in the account of the acceptability of the example You asked me to come to your office later: in English, the use of come is acceptable since it describes motion toward the addressee; in Japanese, it is acceptable since it describes motion toward the person expressed by the matrix subject; while in Chinese, it is unacceptable since the speaker is the agent of motion toward the addressee.

Diane Nelson (University of Edinburgh)  
Functional heads and Case assignment in Finnish

The assignment of grammatical case in Finnish is generally straightforward. However, there are four constructions in which a non-pronominal NP in complement position appears in nominative, 'unmarked', form. These constructions share a common syntactic feature, namely, a lack of morphologically overt agreement between subject and verb. This paper will analyse these sentences in light of Pollock's split-INFL hypothesis, departing from the notion of V and INFL as assigners of accusative and nominative case. It will be argued that the functional head responsible for accusative case assignment in Finnish is AGR and for nominative case, Tense, with Tense assigning case under government in the widest sense. The Finnish verb is thus stripped of all its ability to assign case.
Máire Ni Chiosáin (University College-Dublin)  

Consonant-vowel interaction and 'cross-tier' effects

Attempts to characterize Vowel and Consonant place relations in feature geometrical terms have reached an impasse. Some facts argue that Vowel features are independent of Consonant features, arrayed under a Vowel node (Clements 1991, Ni Chiosáin 1991, Odden 1992). Others show "affinities" between certain C- and Vowel features (Clements 1991, Selkirk 1991, Hume 1992) - e.g. [cor] and l, {lab} and y, etc. These have led some to posit a unary set of features for C's and V's, and interaction of C- and Vowel features. Yet if C- and Vowel features are independent, how can they interact? Clements (1991) and Hume (1992) argue that features may "cross tiers" - a Maltese rule V --> l / _ _ [cor] is the spreading of the C's [cor] place to the V's Vowel node. We maintain the independence of C- and Vowel features, while disallowing such cross-tier interaction, an otherwise unmotivated device. C's by phonetic nature are argued to have redundant secondary Vowel features which can play a role in phonology, directly via principles of redundancy rule assignment, or indirectly via marking conditions. These secondary features affect the adjacent V. This account explains a striking gap: rules in which C's appear to affect Vowel exist (e.g. Maltese), while synchronic rules like tu --> pu, pi --> ti do not. We relate this to facts of inventories, and also predict (correctly, we feel) that languages with distinctive secondary Vowel features cannot evoke apparent 'cross-tier' effects.

Johanna Nichols (University of California-Berkeley)  

Typological implications of lexical transitivity

Languages vary in whether they treat transitive or intransitive verbs as preferred input to lexical derivation and syntactic processes. There is a continuum of types: (1) All verbs are grammatically intransitive (Samoan, Lezghian; Tagalog on recent analyses). (2) Intransitives are grammatically privileged, transitive secondary (Ingush, Nanai, Lakhotia). (3) Ambivalent, split, fluid, neutral, etc. (Mangarayi, Komi, probably Basque). (4) Transitives are grammatically privileged, intransitives secondary (Indo-European, Mayan, Kartvelian families; Dyrbal, Ewe). (5) All verbs are grammatically transitive (no clear example found yet). The important distinction is between base-intransitive languages (types 1 and 2) and base-transitive (types 4 and 5). A number of disparate properties of clause morphosyntax correlate cross-linguistically with this typology and receive a unified explanation if it is assumed that, synchronically, the lexicon motivates morphosyntax: frequency of non-accusative alignments, presence of syntactic pivots, role vs. reference dominance, predominance of valence-increasing vs. valence-decreasing processes, presence of relation-changing processes, polyfunctionality of lexicalized reflexivization, oblique objecthood, and perhaps configurationality. These properties not only correlate statistically with base valence but can be argued to follow naturally from it. On cross-linguistic evidence base valence appears to be independent of other standard typological parameters, independent of geography, and genetically fairly stable.

Patricia C. Nichols (San Jose State University)  

Language contact and shift in early South Carolina

This paper addresses issues affecting the shift to an indigenous language (Catawba) and the resistance to the widespread use of English by indigenous peoples of colonized South Carolina at the same time that African peoples were developing a creolized English (Gullah). This long resistance to English, continuing into the early twentieth century, offers evidence that functions of language characteristic of speech communities in contact play a role equal to, if not more important than, the social context of language contact (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988). It also provides a historical example of factors leading to abrupt transmission failure or "tip," as described for contemporary communities in Dorian (1989). For this study, demographic and historical data on contact from 1540 to 1790 provided by Wood (1989), Merrell (1989), and Hudson (1990) and historical records of European-Native American interaction found in publications of the British Public Record Office are compared with descriptions of language used by runaway Indian slaves in the South Carolina Gazette between 1732-65 to document three strategies used to resist the shift to English: controlled use of bilingual interpreters, selection of and shift to a prominent indigenous language, and exploitation of functions of written language recognized in the English-speaking community.
Mary Niepokoj (Purdue University)
The distribution of reduplicated perfect stems in PIE

It has long been accepted that PIE originally formed perfect stems in two ways: reduplication (e.g., Gk. λελοπα 'I left') or the unreduplicated root plus o-vocalism (Skt. vēda 'he knew'). The question of what determined which of these options was chosen has remained unresolved; the tendency of roots with PIE *-a- to form reduplicated perfect stems suggests that root shape might be the determining factor, but such an analysis proves untenable. In both Latin and Old Irish, however, clusters of reduplicated perfects correspond to phonologically similar present stems: for example, the Old Irish verbs nigel 'washes,' liud 'licks,' snigl 'drips,' mlíg 'milks,' slíg 'fells,' reig 'straightens,' and (con-)rig 'binds.' This tendency suggests that the shape of the present stem is crucial in determining whether or not a verb forms a reduplicated perfect stem. The generalization is this: if the present stem of a root shows invariant vocalism, and if that vocalism is something other than *-e-, then the root tends to exhibit a reduplicated perfect stem. The invariant vocalism can be due to the consistent presence of an affix, to *-a- vocalism, or to a variety of language-specific developments. Traditionally IE studies have focused on the root as the basic organizer of the verbal paradigm; this study substitutes the present stem as organizing form instead.

María-Eugenia Náñez (Stanford University)
VSO word order in Spanish declarative

Spanish has VSO word order in various constructions (e.g. Pronuncié el embajador un discurso 'The ambassador gave a speech'). A V(erb)-preposing rule has been posited to account for VSO order in clauses derived by wh-movement (Torrego 1984). The verb moves to C to govern the fronted wh-phrase in [Spec, CP], under the assumption that a lexical specifier requires a governor. However, the extension of this account to VSO declaratives is problematic. First, there is no wh-movement involved to trigger V-preposing. Secondly, VSO declaratives may appear under a complementizer, as in (1), where que 'that' already occupies the landing site for the verb: (1) Es imposible [cp que [a pronunciara el embajador esa discurso]]

"It is impossible that the ambassador gave that speech."

Finally, there is no natural way to link V-preposing with the contrastive focus function that the subject in VSO declaratives seems to bear. All of this suggests the possibility of generating subjects in [Spec, VP], to the left of V (cf. Bonet 1990). INFL governs [Spec, VP], assuming that if a head governs a phrase it also governs the specifier of that phrase. We can also assume that a subject which is assigned Case by INFL under this special kind of government receives a contrastive focus interpretation. Subjects generated in [Spec, IP] get their Case from INFL under specifier-head agreement, and are not contrastively marked.

Tohru Noguchi (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
Reflective-marking in Japanese and the binding condition B

Recent work on anaphora (e.g. Reinhart and Reuland to appear) has shown that there is a crucial connection between predicate types and conditions on anaphora, and that Binding Conditions are to be formulated in terms of "reflective-marking" of a predicate instead of the usual structural relation such as c-command. Although the data Reinhart and Reuland discuss are limited to the languages where reflexive-markers are free morphemes such as English himself and Dutch zelf, I will show that there is another type in which predicates can be reflexive-marked. I will adduce evidence from Japanese in which a reflexive prefix zīko-crucially licenses an anaphoric relation which would otherwise violate the Binding Condition B, and thus argue in favor of their view that predicate types are a crucial factor in anaphora. The data from Japanese are theoretically significant in yet another respect: Condition B is a condition which applies crucially at LF. This point will be illustrated by the contrast which cannot be captured at S-structure.
Shigeko Okamoto (California State University-Fresno)  
Unconditional conditionals in Japanese

The conjunctive particle -temo in Japanese is often used in concessive conditionals (CCs)—P-temo Q: e.g. (1) Tabetemo hitororanai. ‘Even if (I) eat, (I) don’t get fat.’ The particle -temo is also used in three other constructions called here unconditional conditionals (UCCs)—P-temo P-temo Q (2), Wh- P-temo Q (3), and P-temo P-temo Q (4): e.g. (2) Tabetemo tabenakutemo hitororanai. ‘Whether (I) eat or not, (I) don’t get fat.’ (3) Dore dake tabetemo hitororanai. ‘No matter how much (I) eat, (I) don’t get fat.’ (4) Tabetemo tabetemo hitororanai. ‘No matter how much (I) eat, (I) don’t get fat.’ This paper analyzes the nature of UCCs.

The meanings of UCCs include concession as in the CC: They admit paradoxical relation P → Q.

Their entire meanings are, however, noncompositional, and each pattern, as a whole, asserts unconditionality. Unlike the CC, which asserts paradoxicity, the UCCs emphasize the absoluteness of Q by asserting that either of the two contrasting conditions, or any value of the variable condition, or any number of repetitions of the condition brings about the same result. The structures of UCCs are not fully analyzable by "regular" syntactic rules. In P-temo P-temo Q, for example, the pair of -temo serves simultaneously as coordinating and subordinating conjunctive particles; and P-temo P-temo as a whole, functions as an adverbial clause.

Further, these 'irregularities' are shared by the many other productive, but idiomatic, constructions in Japanese which utilize the pattern [X-Particle Y-Particle] as an adverbial (e.g. ‘X-nari, Y-nari’). In sum, my analysis shows that the three UCCs are related, but separate constructions which, like other formal idioms, can be fully understood only through an examination of both idiomaticity and compositionality/regularities.

Marl Broman Olsen (Northwestern University)  
The righthand head rule and English "verb-forming" prefixes

Williams (1981) suggests that words, like syntactic phrases, have "heads" which determine the category of complex forms. He observes that English prefixes attach to varying categories, forming prefixed words with the stem category, by the Righthand Head Rule (RHR), which states that the head of an English word is its rightmost morpheme (1).

1) [pre[modern]A] [pre[school]N] [pre[heat]V]V

Prefixes like en-, de-, and be- are said to be exceptions to the RHR, since prefixed forms are verbs, irrespective of the stem category (2).


This paper shows that the prefixes are not exceptions, in that they attach only to verbs. Apparent nominal and adjectival bases (2) become verbs through attachment of a "zero suffix," independently necessary to derive, e.g., the verb (to) yellow from the adjective, or the verb nail from the noun. The 'Verbal Base Hypothesis' (VBH) explains why the prefixes cannot form verbs from some adjectives and nouns and allows the semantics of the complex words to be derived by head feature passing.

Orhan Orgun (University of California-Berkeley)  
Alterable geminates and the release node

This paper analyzes the palatalization of geminate velar stops in Turkish, and its implications for theories of geminate inalterability and the phonological representation of release.

By a general palatalization rule that affects all velar stops (Clements and Sezer 1982), Turkish geminate velar stops are palatalized when they are released in a syllable containing a front vowel. Although the palatalization rule refers to syllable structure, it does not obey the Linking Constraint (Hayes 1986) or the Uniform Applicability Condition (Schein and Steriade 1986), both of which have independently been argued to be unnecessary by Inkelas and Cho (1992). The fact that the palatalization rule crucially refers to the release of the velar stop motivates Steriade's (1991) representation of stops with separate closure and release nodes.
The underlying CVC(C) phonological inventory of Spokane, Interior Salish includes pharyngeals /ʃ/, /ʃʷ/. These patterns with m,n,l,r,w,y; acoustically as resonants, phonologically as [+son]/[-aspir]. Resonants are distinguished as a class, selecting for "spontaneous voicing" (Chomsky & Halle 1968; Rice & Avery 1989), and for the acoustic zero value of aspiration (Ladeoged 1980). While this characterisation is Manner-related, its corresponding articulatory Place distinctive features are [+dorsal]/[+high]. Pharyngeal-Laryngeal surface alternations are observed to occur, root-initially. Their occurrence is analysed as gemination, CCV(C). This is subject to constraints on lowering which operate within the Place node: the sonority sequencing principle, concomitant with pattern pressure to maintain the CVC structure. These ensure the language's reduplication resonant glottalization operates on pharyngeals only, not on laryngeals. Apparently underlying laryngeal initial laryngeal stops are unsyllabified, and are thus invisible to morphological glottalization. This suggests that in Spokane the role of sonority (as set out in Clements 1990) is crucial in maintaining the canonical root structure; and that while sonority is motivated in the feature geometry it operates within the morphotopologcal domain. E.G.: the weak root, /kəʃ-/ fringed; /kəʃ̩-ŋt-ŋ/ (fringed-control-transitive-1st p.); contén I fringed; ŝənt n̩t'én' (REPETITIVE, I kept fringing it).

The feature [pharyngeal] in Rwaali Arabic: A case for long distance multiple linking

The process of Raising in Rwaali Arabic (Prochazka 1988), which changes /a/ to [i] in an open syllable provides evidence for two issues in phonological theory: geminate inalterability in accordance with the Linking Constraint (Hayes 1986) including an example of a long-distance geminate, and coronal transparency as proposed by Paradis and Prunet (1989). While the formulation of Raising in Rwaali to account for forms like /kutbat/ → [kubit] 'she wrote' and /babā/ to [bībā] 'she killed' is straightforward, traditional accounts for some 'exceptional' forms have been problematic. The large group of forms which fail to undergo Raising can be divided into two groups: one composed of forms such as /hafar/ 'he dug' and /qafad/ 'he sat,' and the other of verbs like /nizalat/ 'she got down.' The Linking Constraint makes possible a straightforward account of both groups of apparent exceptions by showing how multiply linked structures prevent forms of both groups from meeting the structural description of Raising.

Tamil provides a rich test case for spatial reference investigation in that it sanctions the use of several different descriptive systems of horizontal relationships. Rural Tamil speakers tend to use cardinal directions (eg. "There is a third banana on top of the other two extending from North to South") and seldom use Left/Right/Front/Back systems. Urban Tamil speakers typically use varying Left/Right, local landmark ("towards the video camera"), and deictic (this side/that side) systems to depict the same spatial arrangements. Both groups of speakers have the ability to shift between system types. All systems are effectively equivalent in that they describe relative positions in terms of approximate right angles. However, some systems seem better suited to certain tasks: preliminary studies showed speakers using NSWE fared better than speakers using LRFB at matching photos by verbal description when both sets of photos had a like earth-alignment; LRFB speakers fared better when the photos were differently aligned. All speakers had difficulty communicating about angular relationships which were not aligned on x-y co-ordinates established by the use of NSEW or LRFB. Speakers who used local landmark techniques did not use such landmarks to fix non-right angles. This suggests that the absence of a non-right angle reference system (and the conceptualizations necessary for its use) may inhibit spontaneous creation of alternatives dedicated to non-right angles.
Rosanne Pelletier (Yale University) (SAT MORN: Gold)
Heidi Harley (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
Functional categories in Telugu: The interaction between agreement and negation

Based on Telugu data involving both agreeing and non-agreeing negative verbs, we show that either relative ordering of AgrP and NegP is unsatisfactory. We also reject an analysis of feature-checking which relies on LF-movement to account for the forms without overt agreement, due to the richness of AGT in this language. We conclude that any satisfactory analysis must allow partial feature specifications, thereby permitting the lack of agreement features on a verb to "check out" with the fully specified features of its subject.

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Herbert Penzi (University of California-Berkeley) (FRI AFT: Cordoban)
The evidence for diglossia in American English (until 1900)

Early settlers from England brought regional dialects and (for church and schools) a still-flexible written London standard to colonial America. The resulting diglossia is shown by some orthographic evidence (e.g. John Bate's spelling system), grammarians' descriptions of dialectal features (e.g. by Noah Webster) and particularly by the literary dialects of J.R. Lowell's Biglow Papers (1848, 1873), J. Ch. Harris' Uncle Remus and others.

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William Philip (University of Massachusetts-Amherst) (SAT AFT: Emerald)
Event quantification in pre-schooler Japanese

Recent research on the acquisition of universal quantification in English has uncovered strong evidence that preschool children consistently fail to derive the domain of quantification of universal quantifiers in an adult-like fashion. For a 4-year-old a quantifier like 'every' lives not only on the NP it is in construction with but, in some sense, on every NP functioning as an argument in the sentence. This fact makes a strong innateness hypothesis untenable for basic mechanisms that have been posited to explain the derivations of adult logical form for such quantifiers (e.g. "QR"). The facts also suggest that young children have a strong preference for quantification over events or situations rather than over objects. In this paper two studies (n = 53 mean age 5-2) of Japanese preschoolers' knowledge of floating universal quantifiers ('minna', 'donokomo' and 'zenin') is examined. Observations strongly correlate with the findings of the English studies.
Betty S. Phillips (Indiana State University)
The origin of EModEng "shortening"

Two recent theories about the origin of /u:/+/u/ in EModEng (book, foot, good, etc.) (Ogura 1987; Görlach 1991) depend on its characterization as a shortening. But Ogura’s syllable-weight motivation and Görlach’s analogic motivation both lead one to expect the least frequent words to change first (Phillips 1984), which Ogura’s own data refute. On the other hand, a physiological motivation for this sound change, namely laxing before voiced consonants (which are less contrasted to voiceless ones), accounts for its occurrence first before [d]--not [t] (as happened in an earlier, true shortening evidenced in the German)---and for its affecting the most frequent words first.


Christopher J. Piñon (Stanford University)
Atelicity and definiteness in Hungarian

Hungarian (H) and English (E) exhibit a puzzling difference in the apparent way a definite object combines with a simple verb, shown in (1). (1) has only an atelic reading, equivalent to (1b), and is unacceptable with a time-span adverbial, although it shares the structure of simple verb plus definite object. H 'wrote' is not inherently atelic, unlike its equivalent in Polish, as evidenced by an atelic reading with an indefinite object.

(1) Mari írta a levelet | (a)ten percent at.
   Mary wrote the letter | (ten minute through
     | (ten minute in
   'Mary was writing the letter for ten minutes'
   'Mary wrote the letter in ten minutes'

The transfer-of-reference account of Krifka (1989, 1992) alone does not yield the needed distinctions. This analysis predicts an acceptable atelic reading for H (1), as for E. My proposal consists of two parts. First, the difference between H and E is not captured as a difference in the meaning of the verbs or NPs, for (1) can have an atelic reading when preverbal focus is present: [MARI írta a levelet 'It was Mary who wrote the letter in ten minutes'. This is unexplained on the lexical meaning difference hypothesis. Second, atelicity is grammatically derived in H as it is in E. In H, the ATEL operator is morphologically unrealized and syntactically linked to the focus A’-position. ATEL must have a definite NP in its scope to be licensed; definite NPs, similarly, must be licensed by a preverbal A’-operator (focus, preverb, etc.). (1) contains a definite object without an overt operator; if ATEL is introduced, the example is saved but necessarily atelic.

Susan Pintzuk (FRI AFT: Crystal)
The syntax of Old English adverbs

Recent studies of Old English have analyzed some or all adverbs as syntactic clitics: Van Kemenade 1987 proposes that R-adverbs, primarily þær ‘there’, are clitics, which are base-generated in and can move to positions adjoined to case assigners; Pintzuk 1991, 1992 proposes that all unstressed adverbs, regardless of length or type, are optionally phrasal affixes (Klavans 1982, 1985), which are base-generated within the VP and adjoin to the left or right periphery of the topic in Spec(IP). In this paper it is argued that adverbs in Old English are not clitics at all. Using the analysis of Pintzuk 1991, with verb seconding as verb movement to INFL in both matrix and subordinate clauses, it is demonstrated that adverbs are found in two different positions, in addition to their base-generated position within the VP. First, sentential AdvP’s can appear adjoined to the left periphery of IP. Second, a small set of adverbs, mainly þærþon ‘then’ and þær ‘there’ but not limited to these, may appear between the topic and the inflected verb in clause-medial INFL. In these clauses, it is hypothesized that the lexical category Adv has been adjoined to INFL. This analysis has three advantages over those cited above. First, it presents a more adequate description of the data. Second, the analysis proposes structures and processes similar to those proposed for other Germanic languages. And third, it captures an important generalization: the adverbs that can attach to INFL are the same as those that can appear clause-initially in instances of verb movement from INFL to COMP.
Maria Polinsky (University of Southern California)

Language contraction and pidgin syntax

The paper examines reference tracking rules in the contracted versions of Russian, Polish, and Tamil and compares these rules to reference tracking rules in full languages and in pidgins. The data come from a direct study of younger speakers (age 16-26) who originally spoke the respective language as their first language but who now find communication in this language severely restricted. All the subjects now speak English as their first language. In their full version, Russian, Polish, and Tamil as well as English allow an NP under coreference with some other NP across clause to be replaced by a null copy or by a pronominal copy. Only if such a replacement is impossible is the coreferential NP repeated as a full NP. Thus, full languages are characterized by the following hierarchy of coreferential reduction: (1) null copy > pronominal copy > full NP. In the contracted idioms in this study, an NP cannot be replaced by the null copy and only two strategies of reference tracking across clauses are employed, namely: (2) pronominal copy > full NP. In two Melanesian pidgins, Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin, the reduction rules for subject controllers are also shown to follow hierarchy (2). Such discrepancy in the syntactic rules of full languages on the one hand, and pidgins and contracted languages on the other, is due, first, to elimination of most ambiguous forms and functions in the contracted forms of language, and second, to the possible presence of grammar but the absence of norm. If the findings presented here are not fortuitous, the regularities of coreferential reduction can be used as a diagnostic test for language contraction, regardless of the social circumstances of such contraction (e.g., pidginization or language obsolescence).

Maria Polinsky (University of Southern California)

Oblique objects as terms: Evidence from Bantu

Based on the data from two Bantu languages, Kinyarwanda and Kirundi, the paper argues for the independent grammatical relation Oblique Object (different from Direct and Indirect Object on the one hand and from non-terms on the other). The relevant examples are ditransitive clauses involving three classes of objects: 1) objects assigned the semantic role patient or theme; 2) objects assigned the semantic role recipient, causee, or benefactive, and 3) objects assigned the semantic role instrument, manner, or comitative. Class 3 objects can be encoded either as prepositional nominals or as bare nominals. Bare objects of Class 3 display relevant term properties and should be identified as syntactic terms. Within the set of terms, differences between Direct, Indirect, and Oblique Objects are analyzed. Oblique Objects differ from the two other object relations in at least three properties: passivization; control of the incorporated pronoun in the verb; accessibility to optional deletion. Thus, it is demonstrated that Kinyarwanda and Kirundi have three different types of objects which are all terms. Oblique Objects should, therefore, be recognized as terms, at least for some individual grammars. The following factors determine the choice between the two syntactic strategies for representing oblique arguments (as terms or as non-terms): (i) semantic relevance of the respective argument in the structure of the verb; (ii) pragmatic factors such as focusing.

Brian Potter (University of California-Los Angeles)

Prosodic morphology and syllabification in Mohawk

There is an interesting ordering paradox in Mohawk involving the phonological processes associated with syllabification. In this paper, I examine stress assignment, vowel lengthening and two forms of vowel epenthesis in Mohawk and derive the rule ordering: syllabification < /i/ epenthesis < stress assignment < lengthening < /e/ epenthesis vs syllabification. The paradox is clearly that although there is motivation for an analysis of /e/ epenthesis as an immediate consequence of syllabification as per Ito (1989), there is additional evidence which suggests that syllable structure is assigned to a Mohawk word several stages prior to /e/ epenthesis. I formalize an account of this paradox and argue that Mohawk syllable structure is computed in two distinct phases. In particular, I adopt the templatic theory of Yawelmani syllabification developed in Archangeli (1991) and propose that Mohawk words are initially mapped to a morphological prosodic template (McCarthy & Prince 1986, 1990) and then remapped to a syllable template during the phonological component of derivation. I present a specific algorithm for the derivation of Mohawk surface forms and demonstrate its application with a number of particularly complex examples.
Ljiljana Progovac (Wayne State University)  
Steven Franks (Indiana University)  
Two types of sentential complements in Serbo-Croatian

Verbs which take clausal complements in Serbo-Croatian (S-Cr) fall into two distinct classes: (i) "(indicative)-verbs," such as kazati 'say', select opaque complements, and (ii) "(subjunctive)-verbs," such as želeći 'wish', select transparent complements. S-verb and I-verb complements differ in two important respects. First, the former can host only the present tense, whereas the latter show no such restriction:

(1) a. Ne želim [da ođem]  
not wish-1SG.PRES that leave-1SG.PRES  
'I do not wish to leave'

b. *Ne želim [da sam ostao] / cu otići  
not wish-1SG.PRES that AUX-1SG left-MSG.PAST / will-1SG leave-INF

Second, there are a variety of dependences, including (i) licensing of negative polarity items, (ii) clitic climbing, (iii) topic preposing and (iv) wh-extraction across negation, that are local for I-verb complements, but are extended to allow crossing of clause boundaries for S-verb complements. We capture this correlation between whether there is a tense dependency between a verb and its complement and whether it allows domain extension by proposing that recoverable tense can delete in LF, and with it those functional projections which depend on tense or truth value for their content. In the case of clitic climbing, for example, if the local COMP deletes in LF, then the next available landing site for clitics will be the matrix COMP.

Geoffrey K. Pullum (University of California-Santa Cruz)  
Barbara C. Scholz (University of Toledo)  
Language, mind, and abstract objects

Jerrold J. Katz and others have argued for 'Platonism', called 'realism' in Katz & Postal (1991, = KP), as the only adequate ontological foundation for linguistics. It is assumed that (i) we need an account of ontological foundations for linguistics, (ii) an adequate account is possible, and crucially, (iii) only three views are candidates: nominalism, as defended by Bloomfield and most American structuralists, claims theoretical terms in linguistics denote brain-external concrete objects; conceptualism, as defended by Sapir and most generativists, claims they denote brain-internal concrete objects; and Platonism claims they denote abstract objects (lacking space-time locations). Given (i) thru (iii), KP’s argument runs: (iv) nominalism is inadequate; (v) conceptualism is inadequate; hence, (vi) Platonism is correct.

KP fails to support premises (iv) and (v). Nominalism and conceptualism may be wrong, but KP’s arguments are not valid; anyway, Bloomfield and other structuralists were not nominalists but Platonists, and the same is typically true of generativists. (Linguists have not paid much attention to KP’s charges; one reason may be that linguistic theories are by their nature ontologically neutral.) Most importantly, KP’s disjunctive premise (iii) is false, so the argument for Platonism is in any case unsound: the list of alternatives in (iii) is not exhaustive. Platonist antirealism, the view that theoretical terms in linguistics denote mind-dependent abstract objects, is a coherent view that meshes rather well with the assumptions of many generativists.

Suzanne Quay (University of Cambridge)  
Bilingual evidence against the principle of contrast

A corpus from a child acquiring English and Spanish from age 1:3 to 1:10 is used to determine whether synonymous terms across languages (translation equivalents) occur from the onset of speech. The availability of equivalent terms in the earliest stages of acquisition suggests that the Principle of Contrast in its present form may not be applicable to bilingual acquisition in general.

The child’s lexicon up to age 1:10 shows that one-third of the child’s first 150 words (suggested by Clark [1987] as the point when bilingual children will admit equivalent terms from both languages) was made up of translation equivalents that were synonymous in meaning. The results imply that bilingual infants may not be using Contrast as their only strategy in early lexical development.
Krifka (1990) defines a characteristic sentence as a generic sentence whose genericity arises from verbs, or verbal forms, rather than from kind-referring NPs. He claims there are two main types of characteristic sentences, ones which are morphologically related to episodic predicates in the language (Habitual characteristic sentences), and ones which have no eventive counterpart (Lexical characteristic sentences). Characteristic sentences all involve a (possibly) dyadic Generic operator which binds the variables in its scope. Both types of characteristic sentence are Individual-level under this view (following the terminology of Kratzer (1989), Diesing (1988)). This paper uses crucial data from Scottish Gaelic to deny that Habituals and Lexical characteristic sentences can both be analysed in the same way. Instead, I propose the following distinction: in Habitual characteristic sentences a simple monadic Generic operator binds an event variable (Davidson (1966)); while in Lexical characteristic sentences, the Generic operator binds an entity variable. In both cases, the Generic operator can be seen to bind the element which occupies SPEC of IP at D-structure. The strength of this analysis is that it unifies the treatment of the abstract generic operator, while still making sense of the syntactic and semantic differences between Lexical characteristic and Habitual characteristic sentences.

Nalini Rau (University of Illinois-Urbana)

Underspecification and agreement in Kannada: A unification-based account

Contrasting verbs of overt and non-overt agreement in Kannada, I claim that earlier analysis of the latter set of verbs (Dryer 1982) misses an important insight: defective experiencer verbs are lexically underspecified for agreement information.

A simple unified account of experiencer verbs in Kannada is presented within Head Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (Pollard & Sag, to appear). Agreement is compatibility of information (structure sharing) represented in successful unification of feature structures. By this analysis, verbs devoid of overt specification are not evidence for nonagreement. Nor is lack of specifications due to the failure of nominative noun phrase to control agreement, as claimed by Dryer. Display of agreement information is a morphological property of verbs: defective verbs unlike other verbs are required not to exhibit agreement information. It is this morphological property of verbs which results in default agreement for verbs not subcategorizing for a nominative noun phrase.

I claim that third person, singular neuter agreement in certain contexts reflects the pragmatic constraint where third singular neuter signals the social distance or emotional states, such as affection, or attitudes of the referents and not default agreement as claimed by Dryer (1982:318). By specifying this information as part of the context of utterances, such agreement is differentiated from default agreement.

A more complete accounting of agreement in Kannada emerges as a result of incorporating morphological, syntactic and pragmatic factors in the analysis.

Gisela Redeker (Tilburg University)

Discourse markers as attentional cues to discourse structure

The hypothesis that embedded discourse segments suspend, but do not disrupt, attention to the referents associated with the embedding segment was tested in a cross-modal priming experiment. Discourse markers such as but in (1) signal the embedding and instruct the listener to suspend the current focus space instead of closing it.

(1)  a. but we had a seamstress,
    b. and we were calling her Mietje.
    c. But I think we were calling everyone Mietje back then
    d. you know, I don’t know why,
    e. but anyway,
    f. so that was also a Mietje.

Test words associated with the original focus space were presented visually while the listener heard the embedded segment, for instance ‘sewing’ during (1c). Naming latencies were significantly shorter when the discourse marker was present than when it was absent.
Bernhard Rohrbacher (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)  
*On the position of modals in English and Mainland Scandinavian*

Modal precede negation in English, but follow it in Mainland Scandinavian non-V2 contexts. We argue that modals surface in their base-position, which is I in English, but V in Mainland Scandinavian. This asymmetry has the following diachronic explanation. V-to-I raising occurs only in languages whose agreement morphology distinguishes all three persons, as for example in the regular indicative present of Old English and Old Scandinavian. But while Old Scandinavian modals also had a full agreement paradigm, their Old English counterparts failed to distinguish 1st and 3rd person. Old English regular inflection triggered the raising to I of all verbs. The irregular modals, lacking the trigger-morphology, were reanalyzed as base-generated in I. The lack of Old English infinitives for *must* and *shall* suggests that this reanalysis started indeed during this period. A similar reanalysis was not motivated in Scandinavian, where all verbs exhibited the trigger-morphology. Subsequent morphological impoverishment led to the loss of V-to-I raising in English and Mainland Scandinavian, leaving all verbs in their base-positions.

Johan Rooryck (Indiana University)  
*Twenty years after: The intervention constraint revisited*

Grinder (1970:301) noted that impersonal constructions of Psych- verbs do not allow for control by the subject of the superordinate clause as in (1b). His Intervention Constraint stipulated that control of PRO by *Harry* in (1b) is blocked because of the intervening possible controller *Sue*.

(1) a. *Harry* knows that PRO$_j$ making a fool of him/herself in public disturbed/ pleased Sue$_j$
   b. *Harry* knows that it disturbed/ pleased Sue$_j$ PRO$_-j$ to make a fool of him/herself in public

In fact, certain important counterexamples to the Intervention Constraint have been overlooked:

(2) a. *Harry* knows that PRO$_j$ making a fool of him/herself in public may help/ damage Sue$_j$
   b. *Harry* knows that it may help/ damage Sue$_j$ PRO$_-j$ to make a fool of him/herself in public

The sentence (2b) is structurally identical to (1b), but allows for superordinate subject control. We claim that the contrast between (1-2) is related to the extraction contrast (3-4), and the locality of control (Binding of PRO):

(3) This is a sum which Harry believed that it may have disturbed/ pleased Sue to pay for her car

(4) *This is a sum which Harry believed that it may have psychologically helped Sue to pay for her car*

Following Belletti & Rizzi (1988), we assume that the surface subject of Psych- verbs is DS-projected in object position and therefore L-marked by the verb. As an L-marked argument, the complement CP is not a barrier to extraction (3) or Binding; the infinitival PRO can only be anaphorically bound by *Sue* in its governing category. In (2), the infinitive is not projected as a DS object, but is in fact extrapoosed from subject position, as suggested by the extraction phenomena in (4). Sentential subjects, extrapoosed or not, are strong islands to extraction and Binding. In the cases (1a-2), anaphoric PRO then takes on a 'default' pronominal interpretation (Rooryck 1991).

Kevin Rottet (Indiana University)  
*Functional categories and verb raising in Louisiana Creole*

The interaction between short and long verb stems with negation and VP-adverbs in Louisiana Creole (LC) provides strong support for the position maintained in Ouhalla (1991) that V-raising to a higher position within the split-Infl complex takes place because of the presence of a morphological trigger. While basilectal LC has primarily verbs with a single, long form that does not inflect or move, mesolectal LC displays an alternation between the long stem and a short stem limited to present tense and imperatives and incompatible with TAM morphemes, which raises out of VP. The distribution of these short and long stems can be explained, once having adopted the split-Infl analysis of Chomsky (1989), Pollock (1989) and elsewhere, by arguing that mesolectal LC in fact has two competing systems, one which is more creole-like and makes use of preverbal TAM morphemes, and the other which is more French-like and involves a limited amount of V-raising and inflection. The present analysis thus captures the distribution of verb stems and TAM morphemes while vividly demonstrating some syntactic correlates of a decreolization continuum.
Jaroslav B. Rudnyckyj
*Lisianski’s Hawaiian Dictionary of 1804*

Urey Lisianski collected his Hawaiian words during a stop in his round the world voyage in 1803 – 1806. He published them as appendix to his diary, once in Russian in 1912, for the second time in the English version of it in 1816.

The author compares both texts, analyzes the differences, and refers the material to the basic contemporary Hawaiian Dictionary by Pukui-Elbert of 1986. In view of the fact that both latter compilers used the English version of Lisianski’s work some new vistas and supplements regarding Hawaiian historical lexicography are offered.

Hutze Rullmann (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
*Scope ambiguities in how many questions*

As observed by Kroch (1989), questions involving *wh*-phrases of the form *how many* *N* are often ambiguous. An example is (1):

(1) How many books does John want to buy?

One reading of (1) can be paraphrased as (2a), the other as (2b):

(2) a. How many books are there of which it is true that John wants to buy them?
   b. What is the number *n* such that John wants to buy *n* books?

The two readings are paraphrased more formally in (3):

(3) a. What is the number *n* such that the set {*x* | *x* is book and John wants to buy *x*} has *n* members?
   b. What is the number *n* such that John wants it to be the case that the set {*x* | *x* is a book and John buys *x*} has *n* members?

This paper gives a formal analysis of such ambiguities in the framework of Montague Grammar, more in particular, within the theory of questions developed by Groenendijk and Stokhof (1984).

Kevin Russell (University of Southern California)
*The internal structure of feet: Generalized iambs in Cayuvava*

I present a model of prosodic structure where moraic trochees are sub-constituents of iambs. The resulting structure is controlled by the parameters: 

I: Are iambic (left) dependents allowed?  B: Must trochees branch?  S: Can a trochee’s dependent be head of a syllable?  Each combination of parameter settings is used in some language. For example, a simple moraic trochee is [I:yes,B:yes,S:yes], and a canonical iamb is [I:yes,B:yes,S:no].

The amphibrach foot needed for languages like Cayuvava is [I:yes,B:yes,S:yes]. Feet with this setting built right to left (with final syllable extrametrically) give the ternary pattern of Cayuvava stress: <(.*),(.*),(.)*>. All parameters used are independently needed for other aspects of metrical structure. No additional machinery (like Hayes’ weak local parsing or Hammond’s foot-relative extraprosody) is needed solely for deriving ternary feet. Also, the unexpected absence of stress on initial syllables in words of 3n+2 syllables is accounted for without machinery built specifically for Cayuvava (e.g., Levin’s cross-linguistically bizarre distressing rule or Halle and Vergnaud’s theoretically suspect Recoverability Condition): in the environment # . (.*), a degenerate foot could not be built over the initial syllable without violating the branching parameter setting [B:yes].
Alleyne (1971:180) recognizes that acculturation differences in creole communities correlate with "degrees of closeness of contact with Europeans." Typically, "closeness of contact" is measured as population ratios, and though Thomsen and Kaufman (1988:47) point out that "extensive bilingualism" does not imply that every speaker is bilingual nevertheless, they also write that lack of access to the target language(s) result in cases of language shift where lexicon is not from the same source language(s) the grammatical structure, (i.e. crystallized pidgins and creoles).

Since population data for the Danish West Indies lends itself to a more detailed analysis, this community was used as a test case in which population ratios reflected the differential access that Africans and African-Americans had to the target languages(s) in this community. The data suggest that the greatest opportunity for language acquisition among Africans and African-Americans existed in mixed households, where the death rate was lower and the birth rate was higher for this population than in the total creole community. The data also reveal that between 1680 and 1692 the population ratio for these households was astonishing low (2.1) suggesting that future research pay serious attention to socio-cultural factors, such as cultural distance, as elements in the formation of pidgin and creole languages.

Kumi Sadakane (University of Oregon)
Masatoshi Koizumi (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
On the nature of particle ni in Japanese

Hiyagawa (1989) classifies particles in Japanese into two categories, postpositions and case markers. Postpositions such as kara 'from' and de 'with' project their own maximal projections as in (1a), whereas case markers such as the nominative ga and accusative g directly cliticize onto an NP without projecting a maximal projection, as in (1b).


Particle ni presents a serious challenge to this dichotomy because it shows characteristics of both case markers and postpositions (as well as some others) (Sadakane (1992)). In this paper, we discuss behavior of ni in various contexts, and argue that ni in fact neatly fits into Hiyagawa's classification, thus the problem is only apparent.

Our extensive survey identified four types of ni, as shown in (2).

(2) Types of ni

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Marker</th>
<th>OK</th>
<th>??</th>
<th>OK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Postposition</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>OK</td>
<td>*/??/OK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni of ni-insertion</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>OK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copula</td>
<td>*</td>
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</table>

Mario Saltarelli (University of Southern California)
Italian rhythm and accentuation: A parametric account

From the main sources on prosodic accounts of Italian (Camilli 1965; Saltarelli 1970, 1983, 1985; Vogel 1976; Vogel and Sciolze 1982; among others) we gather that (a) the location of primary stress is lexically contrastive and (b) secondary stress is assigned by four adjustment rules (Vogel and Sciolze 1982), namely (b,i) class avoidance, (b,ii) stress reversal, (b,iii) initial stress, and (b,iv) stress insertion. In this paper I claim that (c) what is contrastive in Italian is the selection of a ternary\binary foot. I will show that (d) given a parametrized Romance foot as an organizing prosodic constituent (based in part on Halle and Vergnaud 1987 and Haraguchi 1991), the localization of both primary and secondary stresses follows in a unified manner. It will also be argued that (e) the selection of the Romance foot precisely defines Italian rhythm, voiding the necessity for stress adjustment rules (b,i-iv).
William Samarin (University of Toronto)

Morphophonological 'complication' in creolisation

Seventeen forms of the verb 'to be' have been documented in contemporary Sango. This paper reports on the analysis of 598 occurrences of the verb, used both as copula and auxiliary (to mark progressive, continuative and irrealis), found in recordings of extemporaneous speech from 104 speakers, age 3 to 17, in Bangui. Most of these forms appear to have arisen since 1956. The forms are 'explained' by correlating them with syntactic, phonological, demographic, and stylistic constraints.

Shobha Satyanath

The issue of rule ordering in variable phonology: (daaz) in Guyanese

(daaz), a habitual marker in Guyanese English is variably realized as [daaz], [az], [iz], [z] and [Ø] exhibiting partially a process of phonological reduction. Theoretically speaking, the multiple variants of (daaz) can be generated and related to each other in a number of possible ways. The theoretical developments in generative phonology have little to do with variable phonology where a variable [x] in a given context(s) is variably (and not categorically) realized as [x1],[x2],[x3], ...[xn]. The primary concern of most rule ordering studies has been how to prevent incorrect generalizations in the process of derivation rather than how to deal with multiple variants, all of which significantly overlap with each other in their linguistic environments. The present study for the first time addresses the issue of rule ordering in (daaz). A total of four possibilities which seem linguistically most feasible are first assessed independently in the light of the internal evidence that is available within the Guyanese grammar. The various possibilities are then evaluated against each other in terms of their overall compatibility and explanatory power. Finally statistical evidence based on the method of maximum log likelihood (Sankoff and Rousseau 1989, Rousseau and Sankoff 1989) is used to arrive at the best possible analysis. As far as zeros are concerned, it is proposed that zeros in habitual category are not the result of phonological processes as suggested by earlier studies (cf Ricford, 1980, Bickerton 1975). This study is essentially cast in a quantitative sociolinguistic model and has significant implications for theoretical phonology.

Robin Schafer (University of California-Santa Cruz)

Agreement and the position of subjects in Breton

One motivation for the Internal Subject Hypothesis is the near account of VSO word order it provides: from a d-structure with an internal subject, the verb moves to IP and the subject remains in the internal subject position. The Celtic language Breton, while VSO in embedded clauses, exhibits V2 word order in root clauses. The root verb is analysed as moving beyond IP to C*, and a constituent is fronted to the specifier of CP. Once the Breton verb is analysed in C*, word order facts do not require the subject remain (or even originate) in an internal position; the proposal that they occupy the specifier of IP is tenable. I demonstrate, however, that the Internal Subject Hypothesis and the proposal that subjects in VSO languages do not undergo A movement to the specifier of IP are necessary components of Breton syntax. The crucial data involve subject initial clauses, and a consequence of the analysis is an account of the fact that the root verb must agree with an initial subject in a negative clause, but it must not show agreement in an affirmative clause.
Nathalie Schapansky (Simon Fraser University)  
*When existentiality meets unaccusativity, the case of Breton*

Contrary to earlier claims (Hendrick 1988; Unen 1990), the verb *to be* in Breton is not sensitive to the definiteness of postverbal subjects. By a careful examination of the data, I show that the semantics of indefinite nominals, inherently existential, is syntactically realized through Unaccusativity. All unaccusative verbs (in Relational Grammar (RG), intransitive verbs having an initial object but no initial subject), also known as weak verbs in the language, can take no personal affixes and must take the existential predicate (ext) in the past participle (pp) when followed by indefinite, but not definite, nominals as shown in (1).

(1) Donet eh gs (*en dud)_tud.
    come-pp particle is-ext the people people

'There were (*the people) people.'

Giving a RG treatment of Breton data, I show that indefinite nominals occurring with unaccusative verbs are 2-
chômeurs. The subject, a dummy without phonological reflex, is inserted as a 2, thus chômeurizing the initial 2
(indefinite nominal), then advances to 1 following the *Final 1 Law* (Perlmutter and Postal 1983:100). This analysis has been posited by Perlmutter (1983) for Italian and by Olié (1984) for French.

This paper supports the *Unaccusative Hypothesis* (Perlmutter 1978), offers a unique opportunity to study the syntax / semantics interface in a language like Breton, and opens a door for crosslinguistic research on the topic.

Armin Schweger (University of California-Irvine)  
*On the pidgin or creole origins of popular Caribbean Spanish*

The precise origin(s) of popular Caribbean Spanish (PCS) has been much disputed. While some scholars argue that virtually all of its non-lexical peculiarities can ultimately be traced back to Andalusia, others insist that many of the characteristic traits (e.g., the *m* or *d* interchange) must have originated in the colonial speech of multilingual black slaves.

Until now, scholars who have favored an Afro-iberian over a strictly Iberian hypothesis have had to concede that the supposedly African features of PCS can indeed be traced back to southern Spain. This “admission” in and of itself has not invalidated their claims about the possible *multiple* origins (European and African) of PCS, but it has thwarted attempts to resolve the ongoing dispute with the currently available data.

Based on fieldwork in Colombia (Palenque, Chocó, Cartagena), the Dominican Republic, and Brazil, this paper will present data from within the domain of predicate negation that show that the speech of African slaves—either an Afro-Portuguese pidgin or a creole—must ultimately underlie popular PCS. In the course of discussion, special attention will be paid to the pragmatic and syntactic analysis of preverbal vs. postverbal negative constructions like *(no) hablo inglés* NO ‘I (not) speak English not = I don't speak English’. The paper will close with a brief excursion into the possible origins of this peculiar postverbal negation pattern.

Scott A. Schwenter (University of New Mexico)  
*Nonreciprocal T/V address revisited: Issues of theory and method*

Since the seminal 1960 Brown & Gilman paper, *"The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity,"* T/V pronouns have proven a fruitful topic for sociolinguistics. However, although the reciprocal, "solidarity" aspect of Brown & Gilman's theory seems to have been corroborated by further investigation, their concept of "power" as that which regulates non-reciprocity has been scrutinized to a much lesser extent and, in my view, not empirically validated. The present paper examines evidence from the T/V literature and proposes that a much more fundamental function of distancing, be it social, emotional, or psychological in nature, is that which underlies T/V non-reciprocity.

Further confirmation for the role of distance in non-reciprocity is presented through data from an empirical study of T/V realized by the author in Alicante, Spain. This investigation is especially noteworthy for its use of rapid and anonymous survey methods, rather than the usual self-report questionnaires, for the study of T/V. This paper thus offers new directions of both theoretical and methodological interest, in the sociolinguistic study of T/V pronouns.
Copper Island (Mednyj) Aleut (CIA): A mixed language

An analysis of the linguistic structure and sociolinguistic and historic conditions that resulted in the formation of Copper Island Aleut (CIA) on the Commander Islands is presented. It is based on the original data collected by two Russian linguists, Evgenij Golovko and Nikolaj Vaxtin, in 1985-1987 on Bering Island where the last 15 speakers of the language are living. Although the lexicon of CIA is to a large extent of Aleut origin, its grammatical structure is mixed. Its Aleut heritage includes: vowel length; a system of two cases—absolutive and relative; possessive nominal markers; derivational suffixes, and direct object pronouns. CIA's Russian heritage includes: verbal personal paradigm; tense markers; negation, and the syntax of complex sentences. This unusual borrowing of an intact grammatical subsystem from another language makes CIA very similar to Michif. These features allow us to consider CIA a mixed language, not a creole.

Peter Sells (Stanford University)

Nominalive objects in Japanese and Korean

Japanese and Korean staticive predicates allow an alternation between the nominative and accusative case on their objects, as in the Japanese example eego-oga hanasi-tai (English—ACC/NOM speek-want, ‘I want to speak English.’) Current views of this alternation regard it as the product of different configurations; if the lower predicate ‘incorporates’ into the higher one, the object must receive nominative case. In this paper, I will present three main arguments to the effect that the differences cannot be attributed to structural properties, but must rather reflect different organizations at the level of argument structure (following Tomioka (1992)). First, Korean shows the same case-marking facts as Japanese, in the V+ko siph-ta desiderative construction, but it can be shown by standard tests of lexicality that there is no incorporation involved. Second, the object nominative case cannot be assigned by INFL, as is widely assumed (Whitman (1991), Dubinsky (1992), Toshioka (1992)). They require that the nominative object move to the left periphery of VP (adjoin to Vmax) in order to be governed by INFL and receive nominative case. However, this is inconsistent with the available structural evidence; in most cases, the nominative object must be adjacent to the predicate which governs it (Sugioka (1988), Sells (1990)). Third, the role of INFL for nominative objects can be seen to be irrelevant in examples where they are possible even though nominative subjects are not (the only explanation for this latter fact is that INFL is absent (Takezawa (1987), Whitman (1991))).

Peter Sells (Stanford University)
John Rickford (Stanford University)
Thomas Wasow (Stanford University)

Negative inversion in African American Vernacular English (AAVE)

Labov et al. (1968) (L68) present an analysis of examples like Ain't nothin' happenin', which involve a negated auxiliary verb, even though the meaning is declarative. They conclude that the whole range of these ‘Negative Inversion’ (N) examples requires two overlapping but distinct syntactic analyses: one involves Aux-to-Comp movement, as in subject—auxiliary inversion in interrogatives, and the other involves treating the example as an existential with a null expletive subject (a 'silent' there).

Taking a perspective over the last 25 years, we will show first that the L68 data can be given a uniform and elegant treatment under a version of this latter analysis which uses functional categories and VP-internal subjects. (Martin (1992) independently proposes a similar analysis, allowing only the existential-type structures.) However, our 1992 data strongly support a view of N1 as involving true inversion (that is, movement to Comp). If this is correct, then the existential-type analysis may not only be unnecessary in AAVE, it may not be possible any more. One plausible explanation of this would be that contemporary AAVE may have lost the null subject hypothesized for the L68 data—that is, it has only existentials with overt subjects (Dey ain't nothin' happenin'), or inverted sentences with an auxiliary in Comp, which characterizes the both inverted questions and N1 statements in AAVE.
Tim D. Sherer (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

_Geminates and homorganic clusters in Finnish_

The claim is often made that geminates and homorganic clusters pattern together in syllabification and that this patterning is the result of both having linked structures (Itô 1986). Finnish CVVC syllables provide a clear case where homorganic clusters and geminates do not pattern together despite this structural similarity. In examining the first syllable of the polysyllabic roots of Austerlitz’s glossary, it was found that after a long vowel, the only two-consonant sequences permitted begin with a coronal (except for the placeless /h/). Because geminates are similar to homorganic clusters, we would expect geminates to be restricted to coronals also. Unlike homorganic clusters, labial and velar geminates occur after a long vowels, ignoring the coronal condition. I will show that the difference in behavior follows from the fact that geminates, but not homorganic clusters are represented lexically as linked to a mora (McCarthy & Prince 1986, Inkelas & Cho manuscript). A geminate will occupy a mora, not the coronal appendix, so geminates will not be subject to the coronal constraint.

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Gregory Osas Simire (University of Nice)

_Regional variation in Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin_

Analysis of our sociolinguistic data on Aspect, Modality and Tense variation of Anglo-Nigerian pidgin (ANP) reveals that, ANP is divisible into regional and social dialects. Contrary to the general opinion amongst renowned linguists (Agheyisi, Paracas and Mafeii), the regional varieties do not necessarily correspond to the erst-while four political regions viz, Midwestern, Eastern, Western and Northern regions of Nigeria. Rather, we observed a similarity between the varieties of pidgin spoken in cities where ANP coexists with a dominant Nigerian language and where the level of education is elevated (such as Lagos, Enugu) and those where ANP coexists with a less dominant Nigerian language which has relatively low or high level of education (e.g Benin city or Port-harcourt). Finally, similarities were observed between the varieties spoken in towns such as Warri and Sapele where ANP is the prevalent language spoken by the majority of people. The level of education in these areas is equally high. While the latter varieties seem purer and less accented and do in fact share a common vocabulary in addition to those generally used, similarities and differences between these varieties are phonetical and syntactical in nature.

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John Victor Singier (New York University)

_The status of syllable-final consonants in Liberian_

Liberian Settler English (LSE) holds a dual status. It is both a direct descendant of 19th-century African-American English Vernacular (AAEV) and a constituent of the cluster of Liberian Englishes. Its phonology reflects this historical position, as an examination of syllable-final consonants demonstrates. LSE doesn’t invoke para-
gogae the way the basilects of pidginized Liberian English do (to change tek ‘take’ to take) and it doesn’t delete consonants nearly so often, but it still deletes them much more frequently than do contemporary AAEV and its kin. Moreover, syllable-final consonants in LSE are subject to a range of processes other than deletion. If an available slot exists in the onset of the following syllable, resyllabification may occur. If the consonant is an oral stop, it may be realized as a glottal stop. Finally, if the consonant is an obstruent, it may undergo devoicing. The present study draws on quantitative data to identify the grammatical and social factors that favor or disfavor individual processes. In particular, it explores the extent to which gender is a factor.
Anjani Kumar Sinha  
Rakesh Ranjan  
*Reduplication in Mauritian Creole*

Insofar as reduplication is concerned, Mauritian Creole (MC), a French-based creole, is closer to Mauritian Bhojpuri (MB) than to French. It reduplicates adjectives, verbs and adverbs which MB does but French does not. Though reduplication is found in other French-based creoles as well, it is more productive in MC because of its prolonged interaction with MB. However, the range of reduplication is wider and more complex in MB than in MC. MB has complete, partial and semantic reduplication whereas MC has only complete reduplication. It is because MB has gone through the process of koinéization and drawn devices from various non-Indo-Aryan languages whereas MC has gone through the process of pidginization and simplification.

Caroline L. Smith (University of California-Los Angeles)  
*Modelling the coordination of vowel and consonant gestures*

Previous research (Smith 1992) has suggested that the temporal organization of vowels and consonants may differ among languages with differing rhythmic characteristics. Measures of articulatory movements of the tongue and lips involved in the production of vowels and consonants suggested that: in Japanese, usually described as monora-based, vowels and consonants are coordinated interdependently, whereas in Italian, usually described as syllable-based, vowels are coordinated with respect to other vowels, and consonants are also coordinated with respect to vowels.

Using the approach of Articulatory Phonology (Browman & Goldstein 1990), in which articulatory gestures are the primitive phonological units, models were developed with the different patterns of organization among the gestures expected to be appropriate for the two languages (vowel-to-consonant and consonant-to-vowel in Japanese, and vowel-to-vowel and consonant-to-vowel in Italian). Differences in the measured durations of 13 articulatory intervals between utterances containing single and geminate consonants were modeled by varying the dynamic parameters that characterize temporal properties of the individual vowel and consonant gestures and their coordination. Particularly for Japanese, the observed differences in these intervals could be accurately modeled by variation in only one or two parameter values (correlations between observed and model data over .9). For Italian, models for utterances with single and geminate consonants were found to differ in a greater number of parameters, but as predicted, the model based on vowel-to-vowel organization was clearly the closer fit.

Rex A. Sprouse (Harvard University)  
Barbara Vance (Harvard University)  
*Null subjects in Surselvan*

In Surselvan, one of the few modern Romance languages with "Germanic Inversion (V2), null subjects are generally acceptable (i.e., in all persons and numbers of the verb) only in certain types of embedded clauses and not, surprisingly, in the standard matrix V2 contexts associated with Old French and the other medieval Romance V2 languages. In this paper we argue that although V moves to C in Surselvan matrix clauses, just as it does in Old French, verbal material in C is not sufficient to license pro; it is instead the feature +Wh which is crucial to C's ability to license pro. This property is demonstrated clearly in the case of indirect questions in Surselvan, which optionally permit verb fronting to C. When C is occupied by the fronted Verb, pro is not licensed; when C is +Wh, however, pro is perfect:

1. Sep damonda cur che (jeu) vegni a encurir la tastga  
Sep asks when that (I) come-lsg to look-for the bag
2. Sep damonda tgel vegni *(jeu) a cumpar damaun  
Sep asks what come-lsg (I) to buy tomorrow

This analysis suggests that Rizzi's (1986) claim that pro is both licensed and identified by the same governing head must be relaxed, since the +Wh feature may be the sole means of licensing pro from C in some languages.
Towards a theory of morphological information

Processual theories of morphology (e.g. Stump 1990, Anderson 1992, Matthews 1990) have almost uniformly proposed that inflectional operations apply to a pair involving a phonological form and a fully specified morphosyntactic feature specification; i.e. an inflectional operation applies to a representation identifying all the morpho-syntactic information the phonological form might code and yields a form with identical informational properties and a modified phonology. Although the implementation of this idea varies, the driving idea is to deny the existence of any structure intervening between, at least, a stem and a word. The arguments, however, have been directed almost exclusively against the sort of intervening structure predicted by phrase structure accounts of morphology (as e.g. Lieber 1989 or Selkirk 1982). By changing the assumptions about what inflectional operations are performed on and what they affect, this paper offers an alternative processual morphological model. Not only is intervening structure without the phrase structure negatives possible in this model but also it has clear benefits. A comparison of Anderson’s processual account of Potawatomi with the alternative demonstrates these benefits.

Japanese verbs of existence as viewed in the light of motion

This paper examines "aru" and "iru", the two verbs of existence in Japanese, from a totally new perspective, rather than from the traditional standpoint which considers the gender animacy of the subject as the basic criterion for the choice of one over the other, i.e., "aru" with animate subjects, "iru" with inanimates. Japanese discourse contains frequent occurrences of exceptions to this rule, as inanimate subjects often occur with "iru" and animate subjects with "aru", yet traditional approaches seem to fall short of fully and systematically explaining this phenomenon.

The new perspective proposed by this paper rejects the core notion of simple existence, and broadens the semantic scope to that of motion through time and space, such that the system also includes the deictic verbs "iku" (go) and "kuru" (come). The study posits a single, invariant meaning for all four verbs in question and takes into account the speaker's expectation of motion through time/space as a crucial component of Japanese grammar.

Findings are confirmed by oral and written discourse samples as well as by questionnaire surveys of native speakers who provided judgments and comments for sentence pairs involving both "aru" and "iru". Confirming evidence from classical Japanese will also be presented.

The study will show the remarkable degree to which the speaker's expectation of movement through time/space pervades and actually comprises an essential component of Japanese grammar.

Case requirements on trace

Epstein (1991) argues that to account for (1) the Case requirement on wh-trace stipulated in Chomsky (1981) must be weakened to only a government requirement. In this paper, I use evidence from infinitival relative clauses (2) to show that neither Chomsky's nor Epstein's government-based explanations of wh-trace can account for the distribution of traces.

(1a) 'John believes sincerely [Bill to be the best man]
   b Who does John believe sincerely [to be the best man]
(2) ![The only man [Oe, [t, to leave]]] was Bob

This paper argues for Trace Typology (3)—a binding-based theory of traces that builds upon Aoun's (1985) typology of NP arguments.

(3) Case-marked NP-trace is an R-expression; Case-less NP-trace is an X-anaphor (where X = A or A∗).

Crucially, Trace Typology (3) uses Rizzi's (1991) theory of relativized mmmk and chain formation—which permits subject positions to be accessible A' positions—to correctly identify the binding domains of the X-anaphors not only in (1)-(2), but also in sentences such as (4).

(4) *[the man [Oe, it was fired t]],...
A gestural-overlap analysis of vowel devoicing in Japanese and Korean

Japanese syllables with voiceless initials often undergo a process described as either high-vowel devoicing (e.g. McCawley, 1968) or deletion (Ohno, 1973). There is phonetic evidence for devoicing in that the /i/ vs. /u/ distinction is not neutralized after /l/ because of “coarticulation” in the fricative spectrum (Beckman & Shoji, 1984), but evidence for deletion in that such syllables are as short as the consonant in corresponding syllables with voiced vowels (Beckman, 1982). This contradiction is resolved in a phonetic account involving overlap and undershoot in the gestural score (cf. Brownman and Goldstein, 1989). Yoshioka (1981) shows EMG data supporting such an account; traces for the posterior cricoarytenoid (an adductor muscle) can show a broad peak suggestive of two glottal opening gestures for the surrounding voiceless consonants that overlap and suppress a short intervening glottal abduction gesture for the vowel. Further evidence for this gestural-overlap account comes from an experiment on the analogous phenomenon in Korean, with its larger inventory of gestural types for voiceless consonants (e.g. Kagaya, 1974): an aspirated stop has a large glottal abduction with peak opening at the oral release; a fortis stop has a much smaller adduction gesture ending in a tight glottal seal just before the oral release; and a lenis stop has either a small adduction gesture ending soon after the oral release when initial to the accentual phrase (Jun, 1990) or often no adduction gesture when accentual-phrase medial. The gestural-overlap account predicts that vowel devoicing should be most common after aspirated stops, and that after lenis stops it should be more likely in phrase-initial than in phrase-medial syllables. Both predictions were borne out.

The discourse origin of agreement in Zulu

In Chomsky (1981) (1982), agreement is a sentential phenomenon. However, the onset of agreement in children’s speech in Zulu shows that it emerges in discourse and is later found in children’s own sentences. Thus, agreement is found in adult-child conversations when children were under age two, as in Mother: 'l-tufula la-ban 'leb? Table of whose this one?’ Child: La-mi 'of me’ where a noun in class 5 tufula finds appropriate agreement in the child’s class 5 possessive lami. Such findings advance the age at which agreement is found in children’s speech to the single utterance stage and suggest that children do not learn agreement the way that linguists describe it, raising provocative questions about the connection between linguistic theory and first language acquisition.

The role of prosody in right node raising

A striking feature of the body of research on right node raising (RNR) (Ross 1967, Hanksamer 1971, Postal 1974, 1991, McCawley 1982, 1988, Steedman 1985 and others) is the considerable confusion regarding the data itself; in particular, regarding the RNR pivot, the displaced material in sentence-final position: Can the (bracketed) pivot consist of more than one maximal constituent Smith loaned, and his wife later donated, [a valuable collection of manuscripts to the library] or not *John offered, and Harry gave, [a car to Sally]?

Can the pivot be a VP John probably WILL, but Jane definitely will NOT, [like your new hat] or not *Mary is, and Susan also is, [coming to the party]?

Can the pivot be an IP I can tell you WHEN, but I can’t tell you WHY, [he left me] or not *He tried to persuade them that, but he couldn’t convince them that, [he was right]?

The claim of this paper is that the answers to these questions lie not in the syntax but in the prosody of RNR. Specifically, it is proposed that RNR is subject to the following prosodic constraint: an identical string of elements can be ‘RNR’ed out of each conjunct provided there exists at least one prosodic parsing of the input sentence such that this string constitutes an acceptable intonational phrase (l) in each conjunct. An algorithm for assigning l’s is proposed, extending work of Nespor and Vogel 1986, Selkirk 1986, Inkelas 1989, and others. With this algorithm, together with the proposed prosodic constraint, facts such as those above are directly accounted for; a result which, in turn, lends considerable support to the Zec and Inkelas 1990 claim that prosodic structure must be made available to the syntax.
Whitney Tabor (Stanford University)

Rule frequency and syntactic innovation

On the basis of frequency data on the rise of periphrastic DO in English, Kroch (1989, 1990) has proposed that a "same slope" principle constrains the frequencies of syntactically related constructions across time: the frequencies themselves may be different, but if one frequency rises, then the others will as well. In Kroch's model, syntactic rules are associated with variable frequencies, but the presence or absence of a rule in the grammar is taken to be an all-or-nothing thing. Consequently, his "same slope" hypothesis is coupled with a claim that the period of same-slope behavior is initiated at a single moment when a new rule becomes "activated" and simultaneously begins exhibiting a low frequency in all the environments in which it will ever occur. This is odd, because the same-slope hypothesis is evidently qualified to give insight into processes of rule innovation. I examine the rise, from late OE to EModE, of the "verbal" character of the gerund (V + -ing), noting how the form spread to more and more verbs (late OE), then began taking post-verbal particles (c. 1200), then direct objects (c. 1300), and then compound tense and voice forms (c. 1580). I present a Connectionist implementation of the linked frequencies claim and show how, if we drop the simultaneous activation assumption, a frequency rise at each stage of the gerund's development is predicted to foster the subsequent stage.

Mary Tait (University of Edinburgh)
Richard Shilcock (University of Edinburgh)

A cross-linguistic perspective on functional category impairment in aphasia

We discuss the syntactic characterization of non-fluent aphasic speech. Psycholinguistic and aphasiological evidence suggests the differentiation of lexical and functional systems. In recent syntactic theory the latter is the locus of parametric variation; both free and bound functional categories appear as syntactic heads. Previous studies have recognized the impairment of functional categories, but predilection more recent syntactic theory and have failed to capitalize on the generalizations above. Differential disruption of bound morphemes suggests that while certain affixes are syntactic heads attached to their stems by movement in a syntactic representation, others are not such heads but are choices from the lexicon. This is illustrated by a cross-linguistic corpus of aphasic speech.

Case-markings illustrate both alternatives. In highly inflected languages case-endings selected by lexical categories (e.g. verbs) are selectively spared, while those selected by functional categories are more problematic for speakers. For example, in Polish the presence of a negative changes the case of the subject from nominative to genitive. The following illustrates this in aphasic speech: case marking was otherwise relatively spared:

Mrs. R. Nikt na ulicy nie bylo Nobody: NOM on: street: LOC not be: FAST
There was nobody on the streets (p. 883, Vol. 2 of Menn and Obler)

Assuming that the difficulty for the aphasic patient lies in the overwriting of the lexically assigned case (nominative in the example) by the case assigned as a result of a syntactic operation, this impairment could in part underlie the observation that aphasics have difficulty with the interpretation and production of passives.

The analysis explains this disruption pattern within a minimalist syntactic representation of aphasic production.

Arhonto Terzi (University of Ottawa)

Cletic climbing from finite control structures

The Italian dialect of Salentino (SI), lacks infinitival complements to an extensive degree. Like Balkan languages, it uses finite structures introduced by the particle "ku" (Calabrese 1991), and CC climbing is impossible in the presence of "ku" (2b). Following Rivero (1988) and Terzi (1992) I take "ku", or else "M", to head the maximal projection "M". Slightly modify Roberts' (1991) proposals on the A vs. A' distinction being relevant for head-movement, I attribute the ungrammaticality of (2b) to the fact that a trace left by A'-movement (such as "CC") must be head-governed by an A'-head. Since "M" is an A'-head, movement of the cletic "lu" over it results in an ECP violation.

(2) a. Voggyu ku lu kattu. b. lu voggyu ku e, kattu. (SI)
I want PRIT it I-buy
I want PRIT I-buy

(3a) shows that "M" can be optionally omitted in obligatory control configurations. CC is then possible (3b), thus arguing against Moore's (1992) and Piccalo's (1990) CC accounts.

(3) a. Voggyu lu kattu. b. lu voggyu e, kattu. (SI)
I want it I-buy
I want I-buy

I predict that "CC" should be possible over A'-heads such as "C"'s, contrary to Kayne (1991).

Assuming, with Cinque (1991), that a is a C (4b) shows that this is in fact the case.

(4) a. Piero verrà a parlare. b. Piero ti verrà a parlare. (It)
Piero will come to talk-you Piero you-1 will come to talk

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Rosalind Thornton (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)  
*Children who don't raise the negative*

Questions involving sentential negation were elicited from 6 four-year-old children in a production task requiring children to ask questions of a puppet. In situations where an adult raises negation and Tense to Comp, to ask questions like “What don’t you like?”, or “Don’t you like bananas?”, 6 children resisted raising negation. Some used uncontracted negation, asking “What do you not like?” Others used ‘double do-support’, asking “What do you don’t like?” and “Do you don’t like bananas?”. Just in ‘why’ questions, some children failed to use do-support (or move Tense to C), asking “Why you don’t like bananas?”. Since raising of negation is language-specific, it is presumably the unmarked case to leave it in place. The ‘double do-support’ questions are analyzed as fulfilling the morphological requirements of Tense and the clitic n’t separately. The ‘why’ questions with no T to C movement are analyzed as involving base-generation of the adjunct Wh-phrase in order to avoid a violation of Relativized Minimality (Rizzi, 1990).

Höskuldur Thráinsson (Harvard University/University of Iceland)  
*A versatile Icelandic head*

It has been argued that the finite complementizer að in Icelandic and the infinitival að both occur in the complementizer position C0. According to this analysis, all Icelandic infinitival complements introduced by að must be CPs. It turns out, however, that they have rather different properties. Most importantly, the infinitival verb itself can move to a pre-adverbial position in control infinitives but not, say, in að-complements of modals. In this respect the latter pattern with ECM infinitives in Icelandic:

(1) a) Haraldur lofaði að kyssa alltaf konuna sín.
   Harald promised to kiss always wife his
b) *Haraldur þarf að kyssa alltaf konuna sín.
   Harald needs to kiss always wife his
 c) *Eg tel Harald kyssa alltaf konuna sín.
   I believe Harald kiss always wife his

It is argued here that Icelandic að is a quite versatile head which can occur in various functional head positions, namely C0 (finite clauses), T0 (control infinitives), and T0 (modal complements). Assuming that Icelandic verbs move to (an unfilled) T0 to check features, but they cannot do so in ECM complements for reasons of economy even if these are are TPs, this analysis explains a variety of Icelandic word order facts.

Almeida Jacqueline Toribio (Cornell University)  
*Uniformity in movement*

The argument/adjunct distinction figures prominently in natural language syntax. In fact, the study of the difference in the nature and properties of these phrase types is the central task of much current work in syntactic theory. Traditionally, there has been one defining way of addressing this asymmetry: arguments are phrases obligatorily generated as specifiers or complements of a theta-role assigning predicate, while adjuncts are adjoined to maximal projections and are omissible (cf. Lebeaux (1988) and Speas (1989)). We propose here that these phrase types differ also with respect to their potential landing site in extraction. Accordingly, this paper presents the exploration of the consequence of a particular “relativized” approach to the theory of movement. The principle to be developed, “Relativized Movement,” constrains movement of adjuncts to adjunct position and constrains movement of arguments to Specifiers. On this view, movement and the resultant traces are subject to distinct and separate conditions: the former, we claim, observes Relativized Movement, the latter observes (ECP and Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1991)). We adduce evidence for Relativized Movement from a wide variety of data, among these verb-second effects and past participle agreement, noting that our proposal is consonant with recent developments in Chomsky (1992).
Almeida Jacqueline Toribio (Cornell University)  
James P. Lantolf (Cornell University)  
On the role of UG in adult second language acquisition: Evidence from pro-drop

Rizzi (1992) observes that learners of Italian produce null subjects (NSs) with the same structural properties of adult Italian, properties which are absent from the NS behavior of children learning English, a non-NS. Rizzi suggests that NS behavior in English first language (L1) is constrained by the 'Root Node Constraint', according to which NS are restricted to the first position of the structure, the Specifier of the root. Herein, we consider the behavior of adult English L2 learners among them those whose L1 a NS language. We base our predictions on two test instruments: a paced elicited imitation task and a reading task. We hypothesize that our control group will allow NS in English where consistent with the Root Node Constraint (for example, in diary and post-card contexts.) The experimental group should demonstrate differential behavior, depending on their L1. For example, we expect that those subjects whose L1 is Spanish will allow NS with wh-extraction, a pattern which is consistent with their L1 (cf. White 1985), but that once they learn that NS is disallowed with proposed material, in accordance with the Root Node Constraint, they should generalize this learning to embedded contexts, i.e., they should never produce, although it is attested in their L1. In contrast, we expect that the Chinese L1 subjects will demonstrate initial patterns which are superficially similar to those of English L1 (recall that Chinese has both NS and in-situ wh-phrases); however, once these subjects incorporate syntactic movement into their grammars, they should obey the Root Node Constraint.

Elizabeth C. Traugott (Sanford University)  
The development of English that-complements revisited

Foley & van Valin (1984) argue that Modern English that-complements display differential types of embedding: a) 'Core embedding' as arguments to V's like report, b) 'peripheral' embedding to V's like whine. (cf. That interest rates rose was reported/whined by Victor); peripherally embedded that-complements show object properties, and therefore serve inner functions as compared to adverbial (causal, conditional, temporal, etc.) clauses, which serve outer functions. Drawing on these distinctions, I refine the history of that-complements from Old English to the present (cf. Hogg 1992; also Visser 1963-73, Warner 1982) along a gradient continuum of grammaticalization: I. Apposition; II. Embedding with outer peripheral functions (cf. the requirement that initial adverbial clauses that are semantically dependent within the complement precede past COMP (Mitchell 1985): Sohe gif he hi ealle ofsloge past se an ne æthurstæ pe he sohte 'thought if he them all slew, that the one would not escape whom he sought'); III. Embedding with inner peripheral functions: cf thought that if he slew them all, the one he sought would not escape: IV. Core embedding.

Maria Tsiapera (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)  
Port Royal grammars as teaching manuals

In France and elsewhere, Latin as the language of education was in decline and the vernaculars were being elevated to the status of the language of intellectual communication. It was in this climate that language study and particularly the study of proper French led the Port-Royal educators with their carefully selected student body to write a series of grammars advocating a nouvelle methode and particularly the grammaire generale et raisonnee. The Port-Royal stressed the development of character and Christian virtues, citizenship and not just economic success. Approaching language studies from this viewpoint explains the emphasis on the mastery of language because it was the vehicle to the achievement of the above attributes. The responsibility of the teachers was to stress each student's strengths and emphasize judgement. One should follow reason rather than usage in educational methods. This philosophy, based on Cartesian principles, was the heart and soul of a nouvelle method developed at Port-Royal. This led to an emphasis on developing successful methods through practice rather than theory. First students should learn their native language and then learn Latin and Greek as second languages. Only after the pupils learned to read and write in French did they start the study of Latin and the teaching of Latin was pursued through French. Lancelot, the pedagogue and author of a number of manuals, not the least of which was the grammaire generale et raisonne, espoused the nouvelle methode. Lancelot's intention was that his grammatical manuals be pedagogical grammars and they were significant for their pedagogical philosophy based on rational views of 17th century France.

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Natsuko Tsujimura

Structural differences of two restructuring cases in Japanese

There are two environments in Japanese which induce restructuring phenomena, i.e., purpose clauses and gerundive clauses: they appear to be bi-clausal but demonstrate the mono-clausal status with respect to negative polarity binding and Nominative Case assignment involved with the potential morpheme (ra)te. They are, however, different in many syntactic respects. For instance, purpose clauses can scramble while gerundive clauses cannot; and, gerundive clauses can iterate while purpose clauses cannot. In this paper I shall present an analysis that provides an account for such syntactic differences between the two clause types. I will claim that a purpose clause is an argument of a motion verb while a gerundive clause is a mono-clausal structure with a motion verb as a syntactic as well as semantic auxiliary element. Under this analysis a purpose clause can scramble because it is an argument and the trace is properly governed by the matrix verb while it cannot iterate since iterativity is a property of adjuncts but not of arguments.

Linda Uyechi (Sanford University)

Against wiggling and circling as movement in American Sign Language

I argue that wiggling and circling, in (1), should be analyzed as change in handshape and change in location. The basis for the analysis is a model in which movement is not primitive. Change is primitive, and is represented by the ordered pair, \( P_t, P_f \), as in (2). The transition between parameter values follows the shortest path with the maximum change. Thus, wiggling and circling are represented by the degenerate changes \( 5, 5 \rightarrow HS \) and \( X_CTR, X_CTR \rightarrow HS \). The model not only simplifies the representation of signs, it also eliminates the paradox of previous models in which wiggling and circling are movement features that associate with a non-movement timing segment.

- a. COLOR
- b. COFFEE
  - wiggling
- a. LIE
- b. UNDERSTAND
  - circling
- c. BORED
  - [chinA, chinB] \( \rightarrow \) loc
  - [S, G] \( \rightarrow \) HS
  - [out, in] \( \rightarrow \) lor

Change in Location
Change in Handshape Change in Orientation

Elly van Gelderen (University of Groningen)

The introduction of AGRo

In Chomsky (1989), based on work by Pollock, AGRo is introduced as part of the grammatical structure. The theoretical reason is that structural Case can thus be assigned through SPEC-Head Agreement between a nominal phrase in the Spec AGRo and Spec AGRo (similar to Case assignment to the 'subject'). Non-structural (inherent) Case is largely ignored, but since it is tied to theta-marking, it is not structural. In this paper, I examine two versions of Layamon's Brut and argue that between 1250 and 1275, inherent Case is replaced by structural Case and AGRo is introduced.

The evidence for these changes is fourfold. First, accusative and dative pronouns start to get an identical morphological shape by the 1275 version. Second, reflexives become more frequent in the later version. Third, there is evidence that NP-movement is only introduced in Middle English (Lightfoot 1979). Fourth, Canale (1978) and van Kemenade (1987) point out that the word order changes from head-final to head-initial around 1200. This can be tied to changes in Case marking between the earlier and later versions of Layamon's Brut.
Bert Vaux (Harvard University)

Is ATR a laryngeal feature?

Recent literature dealing with the geometry of laryngeal and pharyngeal features (Cole (1987), Halle (1989), McCarthy (1991)) has raised the question of where ATR belongs in the feature tree. Two basic ideas have been proposed: the most commonly supported theory posits an independent tongue root (or radical) articulator parallel to the labial, coronal, and dorsal articulators (Ladefoged and Maddieson (1986), Cole (1987)); Halle (1989), on the other hand, proposes that ATR belongs to the laryngeal node. In this paper we will adduce evidence from Armenian supporting Halle’s proposal.

If Halle’s proposal is correct, we should expect to find cases where [ATR] interacts with the glottal features of aspiration, voicing, and glottalization, i.e. where the entire laryngeal node spreads. We find such cases in several modern Armenian dialects, where voicing and aspiration in consonants interact with ATR values of adjacent vowels. The close interactions between voicing and ATR displayed in Armenian (as well as similar phenomena in Madurese and Buchan Scots English, discussed in Trigo (1987)) are predicted and easily accounted for in Halle’s system, but problematic for theories positing the tongue root as an independent articulator separate from the laryngeal node. Consequently, we must reconsider the validity of the feature geometry proposed in Halle (1989), which most linguists to date have viewed with some skepticism.

Tonjes Veenstra (University of Amsterdam)

Aspect phrases in Saramaccan

In this paper I argue for the existence of another functional projection inside the INFL domain, headed by aspect (AspP) in Saramaccan, a creole language spoken in Surinam. Evidence comes from the behaviour of complements of perception verbs (PVCs) and serial verb constructions (SVCs). Differences between AspPs in PVCs and SVCs stem from the different positions in which they are base-generated inside the VP.

The overall conclusion is that Saramaccan has null subjects, exhibits Exceptional Case Marking and that not all complements are finite, contra claims made by Byrne (1987, etc.).

Kai von Fintel (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

Modal quantification and unless-conditionals

Geis (1973) pointed out without explanation that counterfactual unless-clauses are ungrammatical:

(1) a. If you hadn’t helped me, I would never have been able to finish on time.

b. *Unless you had helped me, I would never have been able to finish on time.

Building on the formal semantic analysis of unless-conditionals as expletive operators on quantifiers proposed by von Fintel (1991, 1992), this paper will develop an explanation of the anomaly of (1b). The key is that unless-conditionals like other expletives need a quantifier restriction as their argument. Indicative modal quantifiers allow modification by unless-clauses because of the accessibility of the implicit background restriction of the modal (cf. Kratzer’s notion of a “conversational background”). In the case of subjunctive modal quantifiers, a neutral context will not usually supply an implicitly understood subjunctive assumption (neutral contexts are realistic). The exceptional unless needs a quantifier restriction to operate on but cannot obtain it from the context. The anomaly of (1b) is the consequence. We correctly predict that counterfactual unless can be rescued by supplying a restriction:

(2) If kangaroos had no tails, they would topple over, unless they used crutches.

Time allowing, I will explore other consequences of the analysis and the perspective it offers on other syntactic and semantic relations between conditionals and their main clauses (such as donkey-anaphora).
Marilyn A. Walker (University of Pennsylvania)

When given information is accented: Repetition, paraphrase, and inference in dialogue

A classic function of intonation is to indicate the distribution of given and new information in an utterance. This paper examines 63 utterances from naturally occurring dialogues. These utterances consist wholly of given information: repetitions, paraphrases and inferences based on previous utterances. As an orthogonal dimension, I distinguish cases where the information is currently salient from cases where it is not. These utterances all demonstrate accenting on given information that do not seem to fit the special cases previously described in the literature. I identify 3 types of intonational contours associated with these utterances: sustained tones, downstepping contours, and upstepping contours. These three types may all be considered as special cases of broad focus. I show that, in this type of dialogue, sustained tones or 'stylized' intonation is correlated with salience. However discourse salience is not predictive of downstepping contours or upstepping contours.

Gregory I. Ward (Northwestern University)
Betty J. Birner (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)

There isn't the definiteness effect to deal with anymore

Numerous attempts have been made to place restrictions on the appearance of formally definite NPs in *there*-sentences (e.g., Milsark 1974, Barwise & Cooper 1981, Safrir 1985, de Jong 1987, Larson 1988). Even more numerous have been the attempts to account for the extensive counterexamples to these restrictions (e.g., Rando & Napoli 1978, Ziv 1981, Wolterschlaegle 1983, Holmback 1984, Hannay 1985, Lumsden 1988, Abbott 1992); in fact, the wide range of definite NPs found in *there*-sentences precludes any (non-circular) characterization of such a 'definiteness effect' based on linguistic form alone. However, the non-formal accounts proposed thus far have failed to account for all of the problematic data in a unified way. Following Prince 1992, we argue that the post-verbal NP in a *there*-sentence must represent 'hearer-new' information; based on a large corpus of naturally-occurring data, we identify six distinct contexts in which formally definite yet hearer-new NPs may felicitously occur in *there*-sentences. The alleged restriction against definite NPs in *there*-sentences is thus epiphenomenal, the result of an imperfect correlation between the cognitive status to which definiteness is sensitive and that to which the post-verbal position in *there*-sentences is sensitive. Thus, the much-discussed 'definiteness restriction' and 'definiteness effect' are misnomers.

James K. Watters (Summer Institute of Linguistics)

The morphosyntax of verb-verb constructions in Tepoheu

This paper explores important structural and functional distinctions between two types of verb-verb constructions in Tepoheu (Totonaca). The VV compounds (1) parallel adverb-incorporation constructions in the language (2). In the VV compounds, the head is the second member of the compound, the selection of either verb is restricted only by pragmatics, and the two verbs may or may not be separated by inflection. In the verb-as-operator construction (3) the head verb is the first member of the construction, the modifying verb is a member of a closed class, and it may not be separated from the head verb by inflection. It is a verb with the status of a suffix. Such data suggest the presence of both syntactically and lexically derived verb-verb constructions. For the VV compounds it is shown that while the argument structure of both verbs must be satisfied, transitivity is determined by the head.

(1) ta-mišan+tapa-ca-y (2) ta-stwillilič'uku-y (3) ta-tapa-ca+tawla-y
3PL-sing+work-IMPF 3PL-circularly+cut-IMPF 3PL-work+sit.down-IMPF
"they work singing"  "they cut it circularly"  "they work sitting"
Lionel Wee (University of California-Berkeley)  

Extrametricality and minimality in Malay

The theory of Pronodic Morphology (McCarthy and Prince 1986, 1990) emphasizes the minimal word within a prosodically circumscribed domain. This minimal word is claimed to be the locus of morphological operations. This paper presents data from Malay which show that the minimal word is a bimoraic foot and that this foot is the locus for such morphological operations as prefixation, truncation and reduplication.

The analysis provided in this paper crucially differs from previous works in Malay phonology (Maris 1966, Onn 1980) by making the following assumptions: (i) final consonants are extrametrical in the early stages of derivation, becoming 'visible' only much later, (ii) /a/ is an epenthetic vowel introduced to ensure proper syllabification as well as to help satisfy minimality requirements.

Don Weeda (University of Texas-Austin)  

Delce (operator)

Lombardi & McCarthy (1991; hereafter, L&Mc) have proposed a deletion operation (DEL) on prosodic constituents, resulting in word truncation processes which are defined on the basis of the amount of prosodic material subtracted from a word to yield an abbreviated form of that word. Their proposal requires another powerful primitive operation to be added to those already available to the theory of Prosodic Morphology of McCarthy & Prince (1986, 1990; hereafter, Mc&P). However, none of the examples presented by L&Mc actually require a new operation; the cases which they examine (Kosati verb pluralization, O'odham past perfectives, and Japanese rustic girls' names) all permit alternative treatments using prosodic circumscription and mapping to a prosodic template, as proposed independently by Mc&P (1986, 1990) for reduplication and root-and-pattern morphology. Our minimalist alternative treatment receives support from empirical criteria as well, since it predicts instances of "subtractive" truncation in which the amount of prosodic material to be subtracted from a given source may differ according to its prosodic profile and which is found in Coeur d'Alene abbreviation (Doak 1990), for which DEL has no parsimonious analysis.

Jan-Eric Widell (University of Uppsala)  

Voloshinov's polemic attack on Saussurean linguistics

In his Marxism and the Philosophy of Language (1929) Voloshinov characterizes two trends in the philosophy of language, i.e. the individualistic subjectivism versus abstract objectivism. The first trend with its focus upon the individual creative act of speech is under influence of the Humboldtean tradition, whereas the other is an exponent of the rationalistic tradition and is represented in the 20th century by the Geneva School of de Saussure. In his rather polemic attack on the abstract objectivism Voloshinov anyhow with regard to our point of view (cf. Widell, 1989, 1990, 1991: Helsingfors/Helsinki, Uppsala; 1991: Chicago; 1992: Philadelphia, Lund, Québec) in an interesting way characterizes the Saussurean linguistics as a study centered around the normative identity of forms.
Andrea Wilhelm (University of Calgary)  
Noun incorporation in Northern Athapaskan

Noun Incorporation (NI) data from Northern Athapaskan languages are highly relevant to current theories of and controversies on NI. In addition to object and unaccusative subject NI, subjects of transitive clauses and adjuncts, i.e. instrumental, locative and manner nouns are incorporated. Transitive subject and adjunct incorporation are not predicted by Baker's (1985b, 1988) GB account of NI. They are not governed by their host verbs and thus do not obey the Empty Category Principle/Head Movement Constraint (Baker 1988:39, 53-57) when they incorporate. Furthermore, some incorporated nouns in Northern Athapaskan are part of the lexical entry of the verb. Thus, NI in these languages is not as syntactic movement as proposed by Baker, and the GB account is inadequate. A functional approach (based on Givón 1984, 85 and Hopper & Thompson 1984) yields a better explanation of the NI phenomena under analysis. NI is a process for the encoding of less salient participants. The conceptually low salience of participants is reflected in a syntactically low salience of encoding them as incorporated nouns instead of free NPs.

Finally, NI in Northern Athapaskan cannot be clearly categorized as either syntactic or lexical. Rather, it is at the interface of both domains. It is argued that NI in general is an interface phenomenon and that the current debate on the nature of NI as either lexical or syntactic is asking the wrong question.

Stephen A. Wilson  
A noncyclic approach to Vedic accent

Current models of Vedic accent assignment (Halle & Vergnaud 1987, Hammond 1987 et al) assume the division of suffixes into lexical and post-lexical strata, cyclic application of accent addition and deletion rules, and an unbounded metrical foot to eliminate all but the leftmost underlying accent. Several problems arise with this analysis, including incorrect predictions of morpheme order, with some "postlexical" suffixes preceding some "lexical" ones, e.g. deva- (stratum II) tvah (stratum I) 'goddesshood'; the need for an otherwise unmotivated metatony rule in over half the forms in thematic paradigms; many otherwise identical suffixes appearing in both strata (e.g., two feminine derivatives in –ā), the largely vacuous application of metrical rules, and their inappropriateness in a straightforward pitch-accent system; and a loss of generalization about the lack of accent in monosyllabic roots. An alternative, non-cyclic approach is presented, which correctly assigns lexical accent by (1) assuming the presence of a bisyllabic minimal prosodic domain for Vedic roots, thus accounting for monosyllabic stems and avoiding the metatony rules, (2) replacing suffix categorization by strata with a functional distinction between "stem-level" and "word-level" derivation, and (3) eliminating the need for metrical structure by assigning surface tone autosegmentally. Such a model may suggest that analyses based on prosodic domains can in some cases obviate the need for the use of the cycle in the description of accent assignment rules, leading to more efficient models of pitch-accent.

George Wolf (University of New Orleans)  
On the case of Saussure's French connection

Koerner (1984) casts doubt on whether the 19th-century French school was crucial to the development of Saussure's linguistic theory, the latter having been more likely shaped by the writings of Whitney, Hermann Paul, Baudoin de Courtenay and Kruszewski. Yet Koerner (1975) demonstrated that a number of scholars of the latter half of the century, who recognized a dichotomy between systematic and historical linguistic study, still took the study of language to be historical in essence—a position which was rejected by Saussure. If the above four scholars' break with history was then not complete, from what does Saussure's break with them stem? Koerner (1975) showed that "it was not until the 1890s that the social nature of language became a cornerstone in linguistic theory", this view being connected to a static—i.e. synchronic—view. If it is the social view of language which distinguishes Saussure, it is also the case that the social view was linked to the French school. This paper attempts to re-examine the social view of language, and to re-explore the French school as a possible source for it.
Anthony Woodbury (University of Texas-Austin)

Against intonational phrases in Central Alaskan Yupik Eskimo

It is widely assumed that postlexical prosody is organized into INTONATIONAL PHRASES (IP); these in turn are seen by many as just one level in a whole prosodic hierarchy (e.g., Nespor & Vogel 1986, Hayes 1990) or intonational hierarchy (Pierrehumbert and Beckman 1988). The notion of IP is an abstract one, but it is useful to the extent that (a) it accounts for the coordination of a range of prosodic elements (such as tones, tone scaling, pausing, tempo) into a single prosodic unit and (b) it serves as the unit in terms of which the relationship between prosodic elements, and logically independent units of syntax and pragmatics, is defined. The point of this paper is that in Central Alaskan Yupik (CAY) at least, putative intonational phrases do not meet either of these criteria of usefulness. That is, the facts are handled adequately by a null hypothesis according to which the distributions of prosodic element refer directly to syntax or pragmatics, yielding a simpler, more minimal postlexical phonology, as well as a better account of natural discourse prosody (Liberman, McLeomore, & Woodbury 1991). Although CAY prosody is conceptually relatively simple, the method followed here may be useful in testing the viability of the IP in other languages too.

Andi Wu (University of California-Los Angeles)

The P-parameter and the acquisition of word order

This paper explores the possibility of acquiring word order in the P & P approach by setting Procrustination Parameters (P-parameters) instead of ordering parameters. This alternative approach, which is inspired by Chomsky's minimalist program, treats word order variation not as a property of X-bar structure but as the result of movement. All languages undergo the same movements to satisfy the same set of UG requirements (UGRs), but they may choose to expedite the satisfaction of a UGR at S-structure (SS) or postpone it to LF. Therefore, I propose that each movement-forcing UGR be assigned a P-parameter whose value (0 or 1) determines whether the movement it forces is to occur before Spell-Out (0) or after Spell-Out (1). It is shown that many different word orders can be derived from the value combinations of these parameters. In acquisition, children's task is to decide for each movement-forcing UGR whether its P-parameter should be set to 0 or 1. Two learning algorithms are suggested: Initial-0 and Initial-1. The former starts by presetting all P-parameters to 0 (nothing postponed) and resetting some to 1 if necessary. The latter works from the opposite direction. Both approaches are computationally feasible, but they are yet to be evaluated against developmental facts.

Daming Xu (University of Ottawa)

Social differentiation of the pronunciation of Mandarin nasal words

The paper addresses the issue of social network as an explanatory factor of language variation with a quantitative analysis of phonetic realizations of Mandarin words with nasal rhymes in the spontaneous speech of a socially-representative sample of speakers of an urban community in China. With the aid of Variable Rule Analysis, a number of linguistic and socio-stylistic factors were examined as competing explanatory factors for the nasal rhyme variation. The findings are that, beside being conditioned by phonetic factors such as stress and adjacent nasalization, the variation is conditioned by contextual style, and social factors such as occupation, region of origin, gender, and network. However, only one of the three phonological processes responsible for the variation is conditioned by region of origin and gender, and only two of them conditioned by occupation, while all three are conditioned by network. Moreover, the ranges of variation in the probabilities of deletion and nasalization associated with network are .176 and .122 respectively, whereas the ranges of variation for occupation are only .079 and .072. These results indicate that social network is an important explanatory factor of language variation.
Li-chiung Yang (Georgetown University)
Prosodic variations in Mandarin discourse

Language is a network of relations (Jakobson). The semantic referents of a discourse will almost always have an affective or cognitive relationship to a speaker or hearer. These relationships give rise to intonational variation. This study investigates the intonational system of Mandarin Chinese by analyzing data from natural discourse. In Chinese, it is found that lexical tones are modified substantially with different speech acts, cognitive-affective states, and in response to discourse functions. Expression of finality, definiteness or negativity are often associated with falling pitch, while hesitation or expectation with raised and moderated pitch contour. Intonational effects are also sufficiently strong to significantly modify the standard rules on tone sandhi. Evidence is presented which suggests that disruptions of equilibrium flow are used for pragmatic effect, and that a mutual working out of intonational disequilibrium and normalization is used by discourse participants, to bring about a cooperative resolution of affective-cognitive uncertainty. It is this perspective which links the physiological vocal changes accompanying affective-cognitive states inextricably to language.

Laurie Zaring (Indiana University)
Two 'be', or not two 'be'?

Welsh copular morphology and the syntax and semantics of Welsh pseudo-clefs provide evidence against the "single-be" approach to the ambiguous interpretations of pseudo-clefs (Williams (1983), Partee (1986), among others), which claims that (A) there exists one be, a syntactic and semantic predicator; (B) the D-structure [wh-clause be XP] maps onto a semantic predicative representation, giving predicational interpretation (PI), while [XP be wh-clause] maps ultimately onto an identity representation, giving specificational interpretation (SI); (C) syntactic predicate movement is crucial for SI (Heggie (1988)). We argue against claim B by showing that the pseudo-cleft: [Anarferol ydy [beth ydy Sid]] "What John is is unusual" has the D-structure [bod wh-clause XP] but allows SI. Claim C is shown to be incorrect in that the necessary condition for SI in Welsh is not predicate movement, but the presence of ydy. Furthermore, Welsh displays a morphological distinction distinguishing with a semantic one (SI->ydy, PI-> any copular form). If the copula plays the same syntactic and semantic role no matter the interpretation, as the "single-be" approach maintains, the Welsh copular distinction is unexplained. Given two distinct "copular" functions in the semantics, however, the mae/ydy contrast is simply the morphological reflection of a semantic distinction. The availability of SI with either D-structure order is expected: just as the arguments of the semantic identity function are commutative, so are the arguments of its lexical reflection. Welsh pseudo-clefs thus provide significant evidence in support of two distinct semantic functions, identity and predication, which enter into the interpretation of copular constructions.

Flore Zephir (University of Missouri)
De-Frenchification in Haitian Creole

The purpose of this paper is to challenge the notion of decreolization or post-creole continuum which has been advanced by many creolists to describe the merger of a Creole with its lexifier language. With respect to Haitian Creole, it is perhaps not judicious to apply this concept, since a significant influence from the basilect cannot be denied or discarded. In light of supportive evidence, the present paper proposes that Haitian Creole is undergoing a process of defrenchification that tends to bring the variety of Creole spoken by the bilinguals closer to that of the monolinguals. Such an analysis can yield new insights on the stages of development, particularly lexical expansion, of Creole languages as they become upgraded to fulfill higher-level functions.
Ke Zou (University of Southern California)  

The syntax and morphology of the Chinese BA-construction

This paper attempts to offer a morpho-syntactic analysis of the BA-construction as follows: a) BA is the head of a functional category and it selects an aspect phrase as its complement; b) the ASPect Phrase is also a functional category and its head selects a VP as its complement; and c) the preverbal and postverbal NPs form a single noun phrase at D-structure which is base-generated as a complement of V. Under this analysis, the BA-construction is simply derived by the verb-raising to ASP and by the NP-movement to the Spec of ASPP. The verb-raising is obligatory because the aspect marker is a bound morpheme requiring a verb host, and it is also legitimate under the Head Movement Constraint. The NP-movement is forced by the ban against BA-stand and is legitimate under Subjacency, Binding Principle A and ECP. As a consequence of this analysis, the possessive and partitive relations between preverbal NP and postverbal NP are captured by the spec-head and head-complement relations under X'-theory without any stipulation. Another consequence of this analysis is that it leads to a principled account of the presence and absence of specificity effects in the BA-construction.

Elizabeth C. Zsiga (Haskins Laboratories/Yale University)

Representing gradient assimilation

Representing gradient processes, and characterizing the relationship between the representations of categorical and gradient rules, has been a long-standing problem for phonologists and phoneticians (Peiperlchumbert 1990, Keating 1990). In this talk, I present and discuss the results of an experiment showing that Igbo vowel assimilation is a gradient process, and then compare vowel assimilation with ATR vowel harmony, a categorical lexical rule. Vowel harmony is best represented by spreading an autosegmental ATR feature throughout a word. Vowel assimilation, which applies at word boundaries, has been described as a complete assimilation (V1V2 -- V2V2). Acoustic measurements of Igbo vowel sequences show, however, that assimilation is partial. In a fluent /ei/ sequence, formants of V1 fall midway between those expected for an /e/ and those expected for an /i/. I take these acoustic patterns as evidence for representing vowel assimilation in terms of overlapping articulatory gestures (Brownman and Goldstein 1989, 1990). Because both autosegmental and gestural representations are based on articulators, features can be mapped into gestures in a one-to-one fashion. The crucial difference is that the specification of temporal relations is absent in the case of autosegments. This specification of timing alone is sufficient to relate the representations of categorical and gradient processes.
Abstracts of Organized Sessions
Thursday, 7 January 1993

Symposium: Preservation of North American Indian Languages
Co-sponsored by SSILA

Biltmore Bowl
7:00 - 9:10 PM

Organizer: Marianne Mithun (U CA-Santa Barbara)

The crisis currently facing us as linguists is at last becoming generally recognized: Linguistic diversity is vanishing from our world at an alarming rate. Michael Krauss estimates that the coming century will see the death or doom of 90% of the languages in our world.

The seriousness of the situation was eloquently portrayed by participants in the 1991 LSA symposium, "Endangered Languages and Their Preservation," organized by Ken Hale, the proceedings of which appear in the March 1992 issue of Language. The purpose of this panel is to initiate discussion of our roles and responsibilities as individual working linguists and as members of the discipline in the preservation of this precious resource.

Along with the rich linguistic and cultural diversity in North America, there is diversity in linguistic, social, cultural, and political situations in local communities. The goals of preservation efforts vary considerably from one community to the next. Successful projects must be built on a sensitivity to differences. Patricia Kwachka, who has worked with Yup'ik and Athabaskan groups in Alaska and the Choctaw in Mississippi, will assess sociocultural factors contributing to language vitality. She will then examine the kinds of contributions linguists might offer local communities in exchange for the privilege of conducting field work.

We must recognize that these languages belong first to their speakers and the descendants of those speakers. It is their goals that must take priority at a time when human resources are increasingly scarce. Roseanna Thompson, principal of the Tucker Elementary School and member of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, will describe recent processes of language shift as experienced by a member of the community. She will then discuss the feasibility and desirability of intervention in such processes.

The most successful preservation projects have been joint efforts between local communities and linguists. Programs that are fueled by the vision, expertise, and energy of community members obviously have a better chance of success than those imposed from the outside. At the same time, a lack of technical linguistic skills has proven to be a serious handicap. Akira Yamamoto, who has been involved in training institutes at the University of Arizona and the University of Central Oklahoma, will discuss projects in which local communities and linguists can pool their talents and expertise to meet the goals of each.

The best response to the current crisis is not necessarily the immediate departure of every professional linguist for the field. As languages become endangered, linguistic communities become increasingly fragile. There is little room for mistakes. Whether or not we choose, as individual linguists, to work directly with speakers, we can accomplish a great deal as members of the discipline. We can ensure that our departments contain faculty members capable of providing training in recording, analysis, and sensitive collaboration, and officially recognize the tremendous intellectual achievement represented by insightful documentation. Ofelia Zepeda, faculty member at the University of Arizona and speaker of Tohono O'odham, will discuss the dilemmas facing Native linguists, as they must choose between conflicting values of local communities and those of their academic discipline.

Business as usual will not be adequate to meet the future needs of local communities nor of the discipline. Now, more than ever, we must give thought to documenting languages carefully and respectfully, in their own terms. The symposium will conclude with an open discussion of our responsibilities and priorities.

Patricia Kwachka (University of Alaska-Fairbanks)

You are what you speak: Ethnic identity and language maintenance

This paper examines Native American language loss, proposing first that the rate and degree of attrition may be affected not only by obvious factors such as degree of socioeconomic integration and population densities, but also by symbolic constructions of ethnic identity. Among groups who assume that language and ethnic identity are synonymous, attrition may be slower than among those who assume a synonymy of ethnicity and some other persistent symbol complex, for example, the resource base exploited for subsistence. The first situation will be illustrated with experiences of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, and the second with experiences of Alaskan Athabaskan and Yup'ik Eskimo communities. Next, assumptions of absolute concomittance of language loss and culture loss will be questioned. Among those groups who now speak English dominantly, careful analysis reveals a variety of grammatical mechanisms by which speech communities exploit the encroaching language in order to maintain salient and central configurations of their own culture. Finally, the discussion will turn to the roles of the linguist in communities undergoing culture shift.

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Roseanna Thompson (Choctaw Tribal Schools, MS)
Living with a dying language: Mississippi Choctaw

The Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians have preserved their language to a remarkable degree, particularly in view of the fact that their contact history and current circumstances appear little different from the many Native American groups who no longer speak their languages. The history of recent language shift from Choctaw to English will be described as experienced by a member of the community and a speaker of Choctaw. Issues to be addressed include changes in family communication patterns; inclusion and exclusion in play groups and community functions; isolation of monolingual elders; and linguistic insecurity. The roles of the community and of schools, churches, and linguists in first language transmission will be examined. Finally, the desirability and feasibility of intervention in the language shifting process will be assessed.

Akira Yamamoto (University of Kansas)
Language community, scientific community, and mutually supported community

Native American teachers in a number of communities have been working over the past two decades to develop language education programs, usually with extremely limited technical resources. Unlike teachers of European languages, they lack not only formal training in language teaching, now often required by local governments, but also language curricula and even basic descriptions of the languages they are teaching. A variety of skills is needed. Some are pedagogical, such as teaching techniques and curriculum and materials development. Some are ethnographic, such as the collection of oral history. Some are linguistic, such as data collection and analysis. Linguists are in a position to help, but can do little without the collaboration of members of the local community, who have expertise in the language and its cultural context. Joint endeavors can create a third kind of cooperative community, in which skills and knowledge are pooled to meet the goals of each community. Here several kinds of cooperation will be described, including jointly taught language courses on the university level, such as at the University of Oklahoma, and Native American Languages Development Institutes running for the past 13 years at the University of Arizona, and the institute begun this summer at the University of Oklahoma.

Ofelia Zepeda (University of Arizona)
Tribal community needs and the roles and responsibilities of Native speaking linguists

Professional linguists who are themselves members of tribal communities and speakers of their traditional languages can make unique contributions to the preservation and revitalization of their languages. At the same time, they face a special dilemma in defining their roles. Is their first responsibility to the local community or the academic community? Their decisions affect the ways in which time is spent and the goals of the work that is done. As members of the profession, we can work to decrease the conflict between endeavors that are important for the preservation of traditional languages and those that allow linguists to remain academics.
Friday, 8 January 1993

Panel: Research Methods in Pidgin and Creole Studies

Corinthian Room
3:15 - 5:00 PM

Organizer: Charlene Sato (U HI-Manoa)
Moderator: Roger Andersen (U CA-Los Angeles)

The purpose of this panel is to address methodological issues in research on pidgin and creole languages. Four researchers--Salikoko Mufwene (U Chicago), John Rickford (Stanford U), Suzanne Romaine (U Oxford) and Charlene Sato (U HI-Manoa)--take stock of current practices in research design and data analysis from their own perspectives. It is hoped that the discussion will (1) clarify the disciplinary origins of research methods in pidgin and creole studies, (2) identify strengths and limitations of current practices, and (3) suggest methodological principles and guidelines for dealing with problematic aspects of conducting research in this field.

Salikoko Mufwene (University of Chicago)

In this discussion I extend William Labov's "principle of accountability" to the question of what particular sample of data is representative of a speech community. I focus on number and range of speakers, aside from the theoretical significance of statistical distribution in language description. I also extend 'accountability' to diachronic evidence adduced to back positions on the history of particular creoles: 1) how representative is a particular source? 2) what is the significance of variation in diachronic data?

John Rickford (Stanford University)

Several critical research methods continue to deserve attention in creole studies. For me, these include the use to be made of literary and other attestations of creole speech from earlier times, the nature of fieldwork in creole communities (in particular, the use to be made of spontaneous interviews, group recordings, and elicitation), and the significance and interpretation of quantitative measures. I plan to address these topics in my presentation, drawing on data from my own research in the Caribbean and the USA, as well as the research of others elsewhere.
Suzanne Romaine (Merton College, University of Oxford)

My presentation consists of two parts: (1) a brief overview of the research methods used in my investigation of varieties of rural/urban Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea with special reference to practical problems encountered; (2) socio-political aspects of research on pidgin/creole languages (particularly in the Pacific region). With respect to the second part, I discuss (a) the advantages and disadvantages of insider vs. outsider status in the communities we do research in and (b) responsibilities of researchers to the communities where they do research.

Charlene Sato (University of Hawaii-Manoa)

Speech production data have been of central importance in the description of creoles and the testing of theoretical claims in creole linguistics. However, such data do not necessarily provide the best representation of the linguistic knowledge system presumed to underly speakers' linguistic repertoires. Other types of data, e.g., comprehension data, must be collected as well. I will discuss the use of grammaticality judgment and translation tasks as data collection procedures, based on the piloting of such tasks with adult speakers of Hawai'i Creole English. I will describe difficulties encountered with these specific tasks and with the use of such tasks in general with creole populations, and suggest ways of improving their design and implementation.
Symposium: Recent Contributions to the Study of Gesture in the Context of Talk

Crystal Ballroom
8:00 - 10:10 PM

Organizer: Adam Kendon (U PA)

In this symposium, some of the recent work on the relationship between gesture and spoken language is presented. A major trend in this work has been to show that gesture is so intimately integrated into the production of spoken utterance that its planning and organization must proceed simultaneously with, if not in advance of, the production of speech itself. A consideration of what co-speech gestures express suggests that they often present in images meanings that are central to the situated meaning of the utterance, at times paralleling lexical meaning, but other times complementing it, often by making it highly specific. Such meanings may refer to concrete objects or actions that the utterance is concerned with, or they may refer to objects or actions that are metaphors for abstract meanings. It is argued that this implies that the representation of meaning in images is as centrally involved in the processes of utterance production as is its propositional representation in linguistic expression. In addition, however, gesture can also play a role in specifying pragmatic aspects of an utterance, including its illocutionary force and its discourse organization, and, in addition, its place within the participation framework of the occasion of interaction within which it occurs.

The papers in this symposium touch on all of these different aspects of gesture. In the first part of the symposium three papers address the issue of the place of imagery in language and consider the relevance of the evidence from gesture for this. Besides English, Mandarin Chinese and Japanese are considered. In the second part of the symposium, one paper considers processes of image construction in gesture; a second considers the role of certain standardized gestures as illocutionary markers or labels for types of discourse units—material is here drawn from Neapolitan Italian. The final paper considers certain interactional functions of deictic gestures.

The symposium provides a good opportunity for becoming acquainted with some of the work going on in research on gesture and the issues that are being tackled.

Adam Kendon (University of Pennsylvania)

*Gesture as illocutionary and discourse structure markers in Italian conversation*

Speech-concurrent gesture contributes not only to the expression of utterance content, but also in other ways, for example, it can show the kind of conversational move an utterance is intended to make or it may mark features of discourse structure. Video recordings of conversations made near Naples, Italy are described and the contexts of use of four standardized gestures are analyzed. Two of these, the 'upward hand purse' and 'praying hands' contribute to the specification of the illocutionary force of an utterance, while two others, the 'downward expanding hand purse' and the 'ring', serve to label the rhetorical functions of units within a discourse—topic in contrast to comment, in the first case and the pivotal status of an assertion in a logical argument, in the second. Evidence that these forms have long been used in these ways is referred to. Factors that may contribute to the standardization of gestural forms with pragmatic and rhetorical functions in a Southern Italian context are discussed.
Sotaro Kita (University of Chicago)  
*Gesture and Japanese *giongo/gitaigo* ('sound/manner mimetics'): An argument for mental image in the verbal process*

Much psycho-linguistic literature on language production assumes that the message fed to the verbal process is propositional. Other aspects of an utterance such as underlying image and emotion are not integrated with speech until articulation. This fits well with the case of European languages where non-propositional aspects of an utterance are mostly expressed in prosody and gesture. However, Japanese *giongo/gitaigo* or 'sound/manner mimetics' do not participate in propositional representation, yet they are conventionalized and constitute a grammatical category. For example, a negative sentence with a mimetic is interpreted not as logical, but as metalinguistic negation (Diffloth, 1972). When a mimetic is used in a narrative, a spontaneous gesture almost always accompanies it. If spontaneous gesture represents the underlying image (McNeill 1985), then this observation supports the view that mimetics are a linguistic realization of the image. Since mimetics participate in syntax, I conclude that mental image directly participates in the verbal process.

Evelyn McClave (California State University-Northridge)  
*The use of gesture in establishing participant roles*

Nonverbal behavior is, on occasion, the determining factor in assigning participant roles in discourse. The function of gaze has long been recognized, but manual gestures also enable complex participation frameworks which speech, gaze and context alone cannot clarify. Discourse and gestural analysis of videotape shows that the listener's understanding of the current participation framework shifts and depends on the presence or absence of deictic gestures.

Karl-Erik McCullough (University of Chicago)  
Susan Duncan (University of Chicago)  
*Gesture and linguistic typology in Mandarin Chinese and English*

Psycholinguistic studies of gesticulation during speech (McNeill, 1992) support the thesis that gesture emerges directly from the same underlying unit of thought as speech, without undergoing the linear segmentation required by the linguistic code. Within the spoken utterance, typological features of different languages (e.g., standard word order and topic prominence) affect the flow of information. Mandarin Chinese contrasts with English on some of these dimensions. Although it shares basic SVO word order with English, Chinese is a topic-prominent language with several commonly used structures that alter the ordering of reference and action. These include the object-fronting "*ba*" construction, resultative verb compounds (RVCs), and topic/comment utterance structure. In the spontaneous speech and gestures of English and Chinese native speakers we observe gestural differences that correspond to these grammatical differences. For instance, we observe differences in rate of gesture and proportion of *item-presentation gestures.* We propose that these are related to presence or absence of topic prominence features in the two languages. We also observe an effect of directional RVC's on the timing and semantic content of gestures displaying path features of motion events (Talmy, 1985). These and other observations suggest that some features of linguistic structure do emerge in gesture. We will discuss at least two possibilities for localizing these effects in speech/gesture production. One is that interaction takes place during the emergence of speech and gesture. Another possibility is that mental representation encodes certain features corresponding to grammatical features of specific languages independent of actual instances of speaking.
David McNeill (University of Chicago)
*Gestures and the growth points of utterances*

For my contribution to the symposium I will present the concept of a growth point. This is the theoretical starting point for the generation of utterances and gestures in discourse. A growth point is a unit of mental processing (an idea unit) that retains essential properties of speech-gesture combinations as observed at the moment of speaking—a unit both imagistic and linguistic. A crucial quality arising from this joining of opposites is instability, which is essential for the transformation of the growth point through time. The unstable growth point changes from a preliminary form, where it is often a combination of image and a semantic category, to a reconstituted form that can support lexical retrieval and grammatical patterning while retaining its imagistic qualities. The growth point is identifiable since it is singled out by concurrent gestures. This approach identifies similar growth points in dissimilar languages—for example, in Chinese, English, Georgian, Japanese, and Swahili. It also shows that the process of generating an utterance does not necessarily start with the growth point in the initial surface slot. Moreover, genuinely different growth points can be found in different languages even where the semantic-pragmatic content is the same. Thus, contrary to the assumptions of many psycholinguistic models, different languages can involve different forms of verbal thought and different kinds of mental units underlying the creation of utterances.

Jurgen Streeck (University of Texas-Austin)
*The construction of conceptual imagery in gesture, language, and painting*

Linguists (Lakoff 1987; Langacker 1987) have recently suggested that linguistic meaning is in part imagistic. Similarly, McNeill (1992) argues that imagistic gestures are integral part of holistic representations: gesture and speech form one system.

In line with this view, I present in this paper a detailed analysis of imagistic meaning in naturally occurring conversations in various Indo-European and Non-Indo-European language communities. Special attention is given to the specific devices used by speakers to make hand-gestures "official" utterance components that are attended to by recipients, and to the symbolic integration of the two modalities.

What is lacking so far is theory and analysis of the constructional principles by which imagistic representations in gesture are constructed. It is argued that our understanding of symbolic communication could profit by considering the constructivist analysis of visual representation in the arts (Arneheim 1969; Gombrich 1960).
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