MEETING HANDBOOK

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA
8-30 DECEMBER 1982
INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The LSA Secretariat has prepared this Meeting Handbook to serve as the official program for the Fifty-seventh Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America and the Fifth Annual Meeting of the American Association for Applied Linguistics.

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance provided by the LSA Program Committee (Jacquelya Schachter, Chair, Joan Bybee, George Cardona, Joseph Grimes, Ivan Sag, Sanford Schane and Tim Stowell) and the AAAL Program Committee (Thomas Scoon, Chair, Merrill Swain, G. Richard Tucker and Albert Valdman). We especially appreciate the help which has been given by the San Diego Local Arrangements Committee (Sanford A. Schane, Chair, Penelope Borax, Laurel Owensby, Mary Ellen Shankland, Yasu-Hiko Tohmaku and Charlotte Webb).

We hope this Handbook will be a useful guide for those attending, as well as a permanent record of this San Diego meeting.

LSA Secretariat
December 1982

CONTENTS

General Meeting Information IV
Highlights V
AAAL Program VI
LSA Program VII
Abstracts of Regular Papers 1
Abstracts of Colloquium Papers 57
Abstracts of Symposium Papers 63
Abstracts of the AAAL 69
Advertisements 76
GENERAL MEETING INFORMATION

- Book Exhibit
  There will be an exhibit of linguistic publications in the Palomar Ballroom. The Exhibit is scheduled to be open during the following hours:
  - Tues 28 December 10:00 am - 2:00 pm
  - Wed 29 December 10:00 am - 2:00 pm
  - Thurs 30 December 8:30 am - 11:30 am

  The display copies in the LSA Joint Book Exhibit will be sold beginning at 8:30 am on 30 December, the proceeds to be donated to fellowships for the Linguistic Institute. (These display copies have been generously donated by the publishers exhibiting in the LSA Joint Book Exhibit.) Advance orders for display copies, at a discount of 32% greater than that given by the publisher, will be taken prior to 30 December if accompanied by payment. All books must be picked up on 30 December between 8:30 am and 10:00 am. Unclaimed copies will be resold and the advance payment donated to Linguistic Institute fellowships.

- Paper Copy Service
  As a service to those attending this meeting, each author on the program is invited to provide the Paper Copying Service with a reproducible copy of his or her paper. Submission of such a copy should be accompanied by authorization to reproduce it upon request for anyone at the meeting. Orders may be placed for copies in the San Fernando Room during the following hours:
  - Tues 28 December 8:00 am - 4:00 pm
  - Wed 29 December 8:00 am - 4:00 pm
  - Thurs 30 December 10:00 am - 11:00 am

  In addition, the Service will be open on Thursday from 8:00 am until 12 noon to allow members to pick up orders placed on Tuesday or Wednesday.

- Job Placement Center
  A Job Placement Center will be set up in the San Diego Room during the Annual Meeting. The Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics has planned a symposium from 8:30 am to 6:00 pm. It will also be open honoring the following distinguished women from 9:00 am until noon on 30 December.

- Dinners
  The San Diego Local Arrangements Committee has invited members in the Southern California area to act as escorts for small groups of members wishing to dine together at 7:00 pm on the evening of 29 December. Those wishing to participate should review the forms posted in the registration area where the name of the restaurant, type of food and the approximate cost of a meal will be indicated. Sign-up sheets will be provided for each restaurant.

- National Science Foundation
  Paul Chapin, Program Director for Linguistics at the Foundation, will meet with interested members in the Gamay Room at the following hours:
  - Tues 28 December 10:00 am - 11:00 am
  - Wed 29 December 4:00 pm - 5:00 pm
  - Thurs 30 December 10:00 am - 11:00 am

- Cash Bar
  A cash bar will be held in the Harbor Terrace Room on 28 December from 5:00-6:30 pm.

HIGHLIGHTS

- 27 December
  **Distinguished Women in 20th Century Linguistics**

- 28 December
  **American Association for Applied Linguistics**

- 29 December
  **Careers for Linguists: Law, Computers, Medical- Clinical**

- 30 December
  **Colloquia Presentations**
  - "The Vastness of Natural Language": a colloquium presentation by D. Terence Langendoen and Paul M. Postal will be held from 8:00-9:30 PM in the Laguna Ballroom.

- Wednesday, 29 December
  **Department and Program Chairs Meeting**
  A meeting of chairs of departments and programs has been scheduled 1:00-2:00 PM in the Gamay Room.

  **Meeting of the Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics**
  An open meeting of the Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics will be held Wednesday, 29 December in the Laguna Ballroom at 1:30 PM immediately preceding the LSA Business Meeting. Dr. Manjari Chhala will chair this meeting. All members are invited to attend and encouraged to participate in the discussions.

- **LSA Business Meeting**
  This year the Business Meeting has been scheduled in the Laguna Ballroom from 2:00 - 4:45 pm. This meeting will be chaired by Dell Hymes, LSA President. The members of the Resolutions Committee are Leonard Newmark, Chair; Paul Friedrich and Elizabeth Glose Traugott. The rules for motions and resolutions appear on page xi.

- 1982 Presidential Address
  Dell Hymes, the 1982 LSA President will deliver his Presidential Address at 4:45 PM in Laguna Ballroom. The address is entitled "The Language of Myth".

- **Fund for the Future of Linguistics**
  The formal inauguration of the LSA Fund for the Future of Linguistics will take place immediately following the Presidential Address in the Harbor Terrace Room. All members are urged to attend and support this activity of the Society.

- **Poetry Reading**
  A public poetry reading by linguists-poets, of their own work, will be held at 8:00 PM in the Cuyamaca Room of the Sherton Harbor Island Hotel.
Bilingualism and Language Planning

9:00 JOSH ARD (University of Michigan): A differential perspective for second language acquisition studies

9:20 JOSÉ CONCAVALES (Georgetown University): A comparative look at topical development in the acquisition of Portuguese as a second language in classroom interactions and in naturalistic conversations

9:40 CINDY GREENBERG (CUNY Graduate Center): Word stress in second language acquisition

10:00 BRUCE CROCKET (Smith): Syntactic and semantic deviations in the English writing of third and sixth-grade Mexican-American students

10:20 SYLVIA GALAINOS (Yale): Effects of bilingualism on the conceptualization of grammaticality

10:40 JOANNE DEVINE (Skidmore College): Conversational Principles: Evidence from Spanish speakers

11:00 FRANK BRANDON (UCAMP): Cultural factors and the microcomputer in the production of a bilingual dictionary

11:20 GEORGINNE WILLER (University of Delaware): Bilingualism and language planning: The present state of affairs in Mexico

11:40 DAVIN JUDIA (Florida International University): Language policy and Language planning in the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam

Invited Speaker

2:00 G. RICHARD TUCKER (Center for Applied Linguistics): Directions for research within the context of bilingual programs

Topics of General Interest

3:00 SUZANNE JACOBS (University of Hawaii): The acquisition of modes of cohesion by child writers

3:20 GROVER HUDSON (Michigan State University): How abstract is interlanguage phonology?

3:40 ROBIN ALTMAN (USC): Interlanguage modality

4:00 MADELINE MAXWELL (University of Texas): Acquisition of English bound morphemes in sign form

4:20 BROOKSTEIN & STEWART (CUNY): Applied linguistics and the responsibilities of the urban university

5:00 AAAL Annual Business Meeting

PROGRAM

MIDAY EVENING, 27 DECEMBER

DISTINGUISHED WOMEN IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY LINGUISTICS

Sponsor: Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics
Chair: JACQUELYN SCHACHNER
Laguna Room

7:00 Introductory Remarks, Jane N. Hill, Wayne S.U.

7:05 John Ohala, U Ca-Berkeley: Marguerite Durand

7:25 Arthur S. Abramson, U CT and Maksins Laboratories: Eli Fischer-Jørgensen

7:45 Mina Lindas, UCLA: Karstina Hedding

8:05 Jean Berko Gleason, Boston U: Ruth Hirsch Weir

8:25 Robin Tolmach Lakoff, U Ca-Berkeley: Adelaide Hahn

8:45 Sally McLendon, Hunter C, CUNY: Mary R. Maas

9:05 Discussion

9:25 Closing Remarks, Jane N. Hill, Wayne S.U.
**Wednesday, 29 December 1982**

**Morning**

**Election of Officers**
Chair: Carolina Smith
Room: A (Eastman Room)
9:00 Barbara Abbott (U.S.: An Approach to Natural Language Semantics
10:30 Frank M. Gomberg (U. N.Y., C.U.: Nous and Quantifiers
11:00 Kristine Kastelle (U. U.S.: The Semantics of Group Level Relative Clauses with Multiple Heads
11:10 Nancy S. Levin (SUNY-Albany) & Ellen F. Prince (U. PA): Capping and Causal Implicatures
11:30 Laurence R. Senn (U. C.: Metalinguistic Negation and Pragmatic Ambiguity

**Bilingualism/Bilingual Language Acquisition**
Chair: Lily Wong Fillmore
Room: C (Chebels Room)
9:00 John Russell Rickford (Stanford U.): The have and have-nots: Problems in the Study of (doctor-) Linguistic Competence
9:45 Genoveva J. Escare (U. MD): Create as Prestige Variety in Belize
10:05 Susan Wartburg-Palacios (Durham U.): Constraints on Spanish-Spanish Biliteracy (Purdue U.): The Question of the Tongue Goupa
10:25 William J. Samarin (U. Toronto): The Curious Case of the Zonge Goupa
10:45 Richard Louis (U. IL-Chicago): LL Learners’ Use & Pragmatic Nature of Analogous Analyses
11:00 P. Connell (Northwestern U.) & F. Robinson (U. WI-Mad): A Study of Comprehension/Production of the /p/-/b/ Contrast by Arabic Learners of English
11:30 Roman Anhman (UCSC) & William Rutherford (UCSC): Canonical Verbal Order & L2 Acquisition

**Syntax-Morphology Interface**
Chair: Robert Underhill
Room: D (Cosimara Room)
9:00 Geoffrey E. Pullum (UCSC) & Arnold H. Duddy (SM QP): The Syntactic-Phonological Boundary and Current Syntactic Theories
9:45 Edith Doron (U. TX-Austin): Subject Clitics in Semitic Theories
10:05 Melissa Amiel-Tison (Alaska Native Lang. Coll.): Incorporation in Hokan and Athabaskan
10:25 David Tszuy (U. IL-Chicago): Accentual Categoriality in Spoken Grammar
10:45 Ellen H. Kalse (U. WA-Seattle): Clitics and External Sandhi
11:25 John Smye (U. TX & D. Davis (U. TX): Donor Passive Formation

**Preceding Advice**
Chair: John Chafe
Room: F (Hynes Room)
9:00 George F. Williams (U. LA): Place of Articulation as a Distinctive Feature of Primates
9:40 Patrick Keating (UCCLA) & Wendy Liniker (UCCLA): Patterns in Allomorphone Distribution for voiced and voiceless stops
10:00 Marino Fournier (C.C. U): A Phonetic Study of Vocalic Intervals in Modern Greek
10:40 Patricia Spezzer Bedder (U. MS): Phonetic Effects of Nasalization on Vowel Height
11:00 Gerald W. Lees (U. TX-Austin): Exploring the Stress-Advantage
11:20 Deborah Schaffer (U. WI): The Role of Intonation as a Cue to Turn Taking in Conversation
11:40 Rachel Schaffer (U. WI): Vocal Cues for Sarcasm in English

---

**Afternoon**

**Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics**
Chair: Mayra O. Hale
2:00-4:45 LSA BUSINESS MEETING
Chair: Dall Hymes
Resolutions Committee: Leonard Newmark, Paul Friedrich, Elizabeth C. Tatum
The following rules for motions and resolutions were prepared by William J. Godsey and Ilse Lehnert and approved by the Executive Committee at its June 1973 meeting. LSA members are urged to follow these ground rules in order to have their motions and resolutions considered at the Business Meeting.

**RULES FOR MOTIONS AND RESOLUTIONS**

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

2. **Procedure Regarding Motions.**
   a. Motions in order are only in the duly constituted annual business meeting. Voting is restricted to members of the Society. Motions may be initiated by the Executive Committee or by thefloor.
   b. Motions initiated by the Executive Committee require for their passage a majority of the members voting at the meeting.

3. **Procedure Regarding Resolutions.**
   a. Resolutions may be introduced at the annual business meeting or at any special meeting of the Society, such as the summer meeting.
   b. 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 that duplication is avoided. The Resolutions Committee may meet in advance for this purpose or may, if necessary, meet to discuss the course of the meeting.
   c. 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.
   d. If at least ten members present at the meeting desire a resolution, it may be introduced prior to the regular business meeting and the Executive Committee (see above) will then consider and vote on it. The Executive Committee may then initiate the resolution at the Business Meeting.

4:45 **Presidential Address:**
The Language of Myth
Dall Hymes
6:10 Fund for the Future of Linguistics
ABSTRACTS
of regular papers
BARBARA ABBOTT, Michigan State University

An Approach to Natural Language Semantics

A sketch of a formal style natural language semantics is presented whose content, for any natural language, is based on what is in the heads of its speakers. Belief systems, or collections of incomplete world models, play an essential role. Propositions are defined as sets of possible belief systems. Solutions are presented to problems concerning belief sentences. (1) First person beliefs: my belief that I am shabby can be distinguished from my belief that the person in the mirror is shabby, where I am the person in the mirror, assuming belief systems contain a concept of the self, as such. (2) Pierre puzzles: Pierre's belief system contains 2 concepts of London. He associates different propositions with "London is pretty" and "Londres est joli". A step is taken toward solving the problem of beliefs about necessary truths--they express different propositions wherever belief systems allow this differentiation. The approach is compared with situation semantics, and residual problems are discussed.

Cf. Lewis, "Attitudes de dicto et de se", Phil. Rev. (1979); Perry, "The problem of the essential indexical", Nous (1979), and works cited there.


JAMES D. ALEXANDER, University of Wisconsin

Easter Island Polynesian: An Incomplete Active Language

It can be shown that Easter Island Polynesian is an accusative language, one which marks subjects of transitive verbs and of intransitive verbs with i. In this respect it conforms to Pelayo's classification of Eastern Polynesian languages. Since EAS verbs are morphologically invariant, the language has an overt passive, but evidence of a passive with an a-marked agent does exist. The free word order of the language allows passive constructions to be interpreted as active ones. This ambiguity sets the conditions for a re-analysis of passive constructions as active constructions. A re-analysis which Chung (1978) identifies as incipient ergativity for Polynesian languages. Other syntactic phenomena in EAS (which assumed Chaplin and others to remark on its chaotic case-marking) include optionally using a-agentive for subjects of active intransitive verbs and optionally not using the i-accusative marker for objects of active transitive verbs. These and other phenomena suggest that EAS lies, in its case-marking system, between accusative and active (as described for Georgian by Harris, 1982). The active system is, according to Dixon, a variant of the ergative one, or an incomplete ergative. The evidence suggests that EAS is therefore in transition to, or from, ergativity.

ANDREW S. ALLEN, University of Tennessee

VP and NP Compound Nouns in French

As Goose (1973) shows, French verb-complement compounds lack the determiner required in sentential syntax, so that in cache-col ("cover-neck") 'scarf' the noun col lacks the article found in allége-col ("she covers her neck"). Moreover, the plural may be invariable as in les cache-cols ("the scarves") or marked as in les cache-gants. Such compounds occur without the s marker as in cache-col or va-nu-pieds ("goes barefoot") 'tramp'. But the pronoun is kept in the rarer 1st formations like un la-na-mais-quoi ("an I-don't-know-what") 'indescribable something'.

NP compounds show a parallel development where determiners and prepositions are deleted as in timbre-poste ("stamp-postoffice") 'postage stamp' instead of timbre-de-la-poste ("stamp-of-the-postoffice"). The loss of case marking here corresponds to the loss of person and number marking in the deverbal compounds. However, syntactic order is preserved, so that we do not find *col-cache or poste-timbre. Significantly, full forms of the noun and conjugated forms of the verb are used in compounds. Evidence from contemporary writing and current dictionaries shows an increasing number of such compounds and supports, for this part of the lexicon, the claim of word-based derivation (Aronoff 1980).
Incorporation in Koyukon Athabaskan

Noun incorporation is a widespread process among American Indian languages. Discussion in recent years has centered on the restrictions governing a given stem's potential for incorporation, the functions of the logical or syntactic relationship between incorporate and verb. Incorporation in Koyukon Athabaskan in somewhat freer than in languages previously discussed. Data is presented to illustrate the range of incorporation that is possible. Some incorporate; animate, inanimate, areal, body part; and also of adjective type which can be incorporated into the Koyukon verb complex. These stems can stand in agent, non-agent subject, predicate subject roles, or locative. The verb may indicate either "general" or "particular" activity (a distinction noted by Sapir, 1911). Restrictions on stem type and syntactic role (e.g., animate nouns must be non-human in order to incorporate, body part incorporated). The relationship between the application of transitivity altering transformations and the marking of inanimate, animate, and reflexive possessor of incorporated nouns is discussed.

NORAH ALTMAN, American Language Institute, University of Southern California
WILLIAM RUTHERFORD, American Language Institute, University of Southern California

Canonical Word Order and L2 Acquisition

Research has shown that L1 discourse features exert a more powerful and fundamental influence upon learners' written interlanguage (IL) than does L1 syntax (Lubell 1982; Rutherford 1981). For example, there is abundant evidence that learners will readily transfer L1 word order into their interlanguage even though the results are not grammatical. However, disallowance of L2 word order occurs quite frequently, but apparently as the result not of grammatical but of pragmatic considerations (Thompson 1978). If the L1 word order does transfer, the learner's IL will have a matching constituent order that derives from P1. This claim has been investigated at the American Language Institute, USC, utilizing its very large written IL data base. The investigation focused on the written English productions of learners whose native languages are typologically diverse. The data supports the hypothesis for every instance of disallowed permutation of written English SVO produced by L2 English learners, there will be a grammatically allowed matching construction in the learner's IL that is a pragmatically determined rearrangement of that IL word order. The hypothesis is supported by the data.

JON ANASTAS, University of Texas-El Paso

Spanish Stops and Fricatives

For this study 41 phonetic environments were identified, considering all possible combinations of preceding and following segments, including boundaries. A randomized list containing at least 5 examples of each environment was compiled. Bounded in the list were words and phrases obtained from at least 20 (at least 10m, 10s) informants from each of three dialects, Colombian, Mexican, and Mexican-American. The more than 450 tokens have been transcribed, coded, and analyzed using quantitative methods. Preliminary results contradict the assumption that b, d, g behave exactly alike. They also show a very wide variation of relationships among b, d, g in various environments and across the populations. Discussion will concern the evolution of phonological rules, and formal relationships among dialects, including the question of whether Colombian Spanish is conservative or regressive, insofar as the record indicates a historical stop fricative process (Sanfeliu 1982). This basis on the matter of the synchronic directionality of the alternation will be reexamined (Lozano 1978, Murillo 1978, Danielis 1982).

WILLIAM J. ASHBY, University of California, Santa Barbara

The Elision of /I/ in French Cletic Pronouns and Articles

The elision of /I/ in third person cletic pronouns and definite articles e.g. [i] 've is coming' [i] ['a campaign 'in the country'] in the French of Quebec has recently been the subject of several studies. While it is generally recognized that some /i/ elision also occurs in Continental French, the phenomenon has never been treated in detail, except as it pertains to Quebec French. It is not known to which extent to which the elision is a phenomenon peculiar to that dialect thus has remained uncertain. In an attempt to clarify this issue, in my paper I shall evaluate data from sources comprising corpus of interviews recorded in France. I shall demonstrate that /I/ elision is widespread in the cletic pronouns, but is more sporadic in the articles. I shall also show that the elision is constrained by a complex pattern of social variables, and that the pattern of social stratification of the variation suggests that the loss of /I/ in the cletic is a linguistic change in progress.

CHARLES H. BARRACK, University of Washington, Seattle

Why Did Old English Breaking Occur Before */r/ but not */s/?

Of four vowels developed back rounded off-glides ("breaking") before /l, r/ or /h/. Richard Hogg {Old English palatalization, Transactions of the Palaeological Society, 12(9-13) enunciates the remark of breaking before */l/ but its failure before */s/, e.g., POE */sklex/ → breaking */lkslex/ → loss of */sk/ etc. */skx/ → elision */skx/ = */sk/ = */skx/. But POE */gsx/ → breaking fails etc. */gsx/ → */gsx/ = */gsx/. Sope breaking failed before */x/, e.g., */glex/ = */glex/ = */glex/ = */glex/. It is possible that *l represents */l/ instead of */l/ and hence also prevented breaking. Hogg argues convincingly that this solution is not correct and implies the following development: POE */gkx/ → POE */gkx/ → */gsx/ = */gsx/ = */gsx/ = */gsx/. Hogg's remark is resolved if one interprets */l/ as */l/ but as */h/ and *l/ as */h/ = */h/ = */h/ independently correlated. The amount of */h/ and */s/ is low (hence */h/ as *l/). The nature of the vagaries in */sk/ as */sk/ = */sk/ and */s/ = */s/ as */s/ as */s/ is not well understood. It is important to note that the development of */s/ and */h/ as */h/ and */h/ is a fundamental process where these laterally sounds were indeed pharyngealized in OE then breaking is simply a case of regressive assimilation, the most common type of conditioned sound change of all.
Variable Aspects of Chicano English

Chicano English, along with other varieties of Hispanic English, have been analyzed with respect to several linguistic and demographic features (Garcia, 1981; Wald, 1982). The majority of this research has focused on the nature of bilingual code-switching, in one form or another. Related educational research reveals considerable confusion regarding the varieties of Spanish and/or English that can be found throughout Chicano communities.

This paper identifies some of the phonological and syntactic variables for nonstandard varieties of Chicano English. In addition, the evolution of Chicano (vernacular) English will be contrasted with corresponding features in Black Vernacular English. Social and geographic proximity have brought Blacks and Hispanics into close contact in some urban areas (e.g. Oakland, California and Harlem, N.Y.), and there is evidence to suggest significant differences in linguistic borrowing (see Wolfram, 1974). However, due to the bilingual foundations of Chicano English, the phonological and syntactic variation that is found is much greater than the relative degree of variation that exists for other nonstandard American English dialects.

The data for this study are drawn from previous analyses of Chicano Spanish and English, as well as interviews with Chicanos in Los Angeles, San Antonio, and Austin.

PATRICE SPEETER BEDDOO, University of Minnesota

Phonetic Effects of Nasalisation on Vocal Height

This study investigates the role of auditory factors in the explanation of phonological tendencies involving nasalization and vocal height. The phonological patterns, which include both nasal vowel raising and lowering, are discussed by Schuurp (1973), Bhat (1975), Ohala (1975), Puhlen (1981), and Beddoe (1981). While acoustic-perceptual motivation for these patterns is suggested by previous experimental results (e.g. House and Stevens, 1956; Fant, 1960), few studies have analyzed natural, normal speech tokens of nasal and oral vowels. The present experiment investigates the acoustic characteristics of [e a o u] and [r b f g] tokens produced by English, Turkish, Hindi, and Igbo speakers. Computer-implemented spectral analysis of 80 tokens from each of the four speakers reveals significant oral-nasal differences in first formant peak frequency. However, the region of the first spectral peak of nasal vowels, in contrast to oral vowels, was broader, less intense, and contained higher resonant frequencies. The differences in the center of the frequency of the first spectrally prominent region. This frequency, i.e. the first formant centroid (computed by determining the center frequency of the area under a spectral curve), was generally higher for [e a] than for [e a], lower for [g] and [o u], and roughly the same for [o u] and [u]. These oral-nasal centroid differences correlate well with the phonological data; future research is necessary to determine the perceptual relevance of these differences.

VICTORIA BERNARDO, Harvard University

John Whitman, Harvard University

Noun Class Concord as a Pronominal Relation: Kikuyu Citics

Hantu languages are traditionally cited as examples of strong agreement systems, exhibiting both subject (6) and object (7) concord. We argue that in at least some Hantu language, Kikuyu, these concord markers must be analyzed as clitic pronouns. Our evidence comes from asymmetries in the distribution of 6 and 7 “concord” prefixes on the verb. Personal pronouns in these languages possess verbal affixes (ordered: 8-agreement/6-agreement/Verb Noun- Tense), except in cases of strong emphasis (e.g. contrastive stress) or other marked grammatical functions (e.g. expression of a second object in a double object construction). When a full NP appears in 6 or 7 position, the 7-concord marker occurs with the object affix (except in highly marked constructions, such as contrastive stress, or as resumptive pronouns in complex NP island). With subject concord as the norm (i.e. co-occurring with full NPs), 6-concord is the exception. The traditional label of “concord marker” for the full range of these affixes is inaccurate for Kikuyu. Givon (1976) suggested that agreement evidence was anaphoric in nature. We claim that Kikuyu object inflexion and subject pronouns, subject to discourse-based perspective on elements which is discussed in terms of highlighting and information structure, discourse being viewed as a process of highlighting.

SUSAN BERR-JULISER, Purdue University

Constraints on Spanish-Jewish Intrasentential Code-switching

To date, the vast majority of studies of intrasentential code-switching have focused on Spanish-English bilingualism. An outgrowth of these studies has been the postulation of two universal linguistic constraints operating on the syntax of code-switching: the cleft and phoneme constraint and the equivalence constraint. Unfortunately, Spanish-English code-switching is not the most ideal testing ground for determining whether these purportedly universal constraints in fact operate in all bilingual code-switching situations, since the grammar of Spanish and English are considerably different. An empirical study was carried out using coding data from Spanish-speakers whose second language was grammatically more highly divergent from both Spanish and English. Specifically, code-switching data were collected from more than 65 speakers of Hebrew who were bilingual in either Judeo-Spanish or Latin American Spanish. In addition to testing the validity of the aforementioned linguistic constraints, this study demonstrates that syntactic patterns of code-switching are correlated with degree of bilingualism, and that contrary to previous research findings, the ability to code-switch is not necessarily an indication of grammatical competence in two languages.

JOHN BAX, University of Texas-Austin

(THURS MORNING: D)

(WEED MORNING: C)

(THURS MORNING: E)

(THURS MORNING: D)

(WEED MORNING: B)

(THURS MORNING: F)

(THURS MORNING: D)

(WEED MORNING: A)

(THURS MORNING: D)

(WEED MORNING: B)

The concept of basic word order is challenged through in-depth examination of ordering in a language — Tojolabal (Maya) — which exhibits all six logically possible orders of S, V, 0 in discourse. Examination of all the orders with reference to the criteria of frequency, animacy restrictions on arguments, morphosyntax marking, discourse marking (highlighting) restrictions (Keenan's 1978 'pragmatic marking'), and ease of interpretation, no one order can be judged to be basic. Though sentences in the command paradigm are the ones which are more frequently used in the primary language, and it is also the standard citation form, but it is discourse-marked for contrastive focus on the subject and restricted to sentences where the S is of higher animacy than the O. The order which is least marked (morphosyntactically and with regard to animacy restrictions and discourse marking) — VOS — is extremely rare in discourse, and in isolation is difficult for native speakers to process. It is argued that this distribution can best be explained by a discourse-based perspective on order of elements, which is discussed in terms of highlighting and information structure, discourse being viewed as a process of highlighting.

FRED KREBS, University of Massachusetts

(THURS MORNING: F)

(THURS MORNING: D)

(WEED MORNING: B)
Normal and Psychotic Encoding of Narrative

Chafe's Peer Stories protocol was adapted to investigate the nature of psychotic deviant in speech production. 24 patients and controls were tested. Deviations in reference, coherence, or syntax can be related to the story shown. Examination of idea units, focuses of consciousness, and centers of interest revealed scanning dysfunction consistent with previous studies of schizophrenic eye tracking and speech dysfunctions. Results suggest that psychotic speech is not deliberate nor poetic, but actually impaired.

Steve Chandler, University of Idaho

The Role of "Strategies" in Relative Clause Acquisition and Use

This paper examines the collective evidence for comprehension strategies or learning strategies in relative clause acquisition studies, and it evaluates the status of such strategies in linguistic models of language comprehension.

The predominant paradigm for investigating relative clause development has followed from Sheldon's 1971 comprehension study in which she asked children to demonstrate their interpretations of four relative clause types. Although the results of such studies are largely consistent with one another, they are significantly confounded by an uncontrollable variable within the studies. Moreover, the results are inconsistent with other information we have on relative clause acquisition and on relative clause processing by adults. Taken together, the children's overall poor performance on relative clause comprehension tests and their systematic misinterpretations suggest that the "strategies" evidenced by these studies actually represent a fall-back position called into play when one's normal sentence processing capabilities are overloaded. Close examination of the data suggests that these fall-back strategies are based on the relative frequencies of different surface syntactic patterns and that they change as children are exposed to a greater variety of such patterns.

Robert Channon, University of Chicago

Some Evidence on the Question of RAISING from Bulgarian

Bulgarian has a range of constructions which provide some evidence on the question of RAISING. Like English, Bulgarian does not mark its nouns for case, but preserves some case distinction among pronouns; in particular, 3 forms can be distinguished: NOM, ACC, and DAT. Unlike English, though, Bulgarian has no infinitive, and thus must always express an underlying complement as a finite clause. The surface structure frame which is of interest here is PREP.

Donald G. Churka

Cross-linguistic Evidence for Universal Principles of Rule Interaction: Downdstep

In this paper, I argue that the behavior in a large number of languages of a pair of tonal processes provides strong support for the hypothesis that the nature of rule interactions is, at least partially, predictable on the basis of a universal set of principles (Kiparsky, 1973; Chomsky, 1975; Dowson and Stemp 1975). The processes in question, very widespread in African languages, are one of downdstep, whereby high tones (H) are lowered in pitch (H) when following a low tone (L), and one of contour tone simplification, in which falling (IU) tones are converted to H (Kimball & Schoolman 1974). The latter rule potentially bleeds the former, but it appears that there are no languages in which it actually does. Thus, in Etsak (Elseth 1978), for example, in the derivation for *stegotage* 'L H H *H every sunrise', we find the set of intermediate forms of the derivation containing the tonal sequence L H H H H, contour simplification cannot bleed downdstep, since this would yield intermediate L H H H H, and after downdstep, L H H H H; the opposite order of application, or simultaneous application, gives the desired result. Although alternative treatments of downdstep have been previously proposed (Chomsky and Ford 1979, Kimball 1979), it is argued that they are questionable on independent grounds. The cross-linguistic downdstep facts thus suggest strongly that some form of the universalist position is in fact correct.

Linda Coleman, University of Maryland

The Prosodic Treatment of Hedges in Advertising

Prosodic features direct the hearer's processing of utterances, guiding the hearer in dividing the utterance syntactically, and signaling what is and is not in focus. A fall-back position is taken on the question of how the processing is affected by prosodic features. The data on the use of hedges in advertising suggest that prosody is often used to modify the prosodic features of a sentence in a way that makes the presentation more appealing. A prosodic feature is said to be real if it is present on the speech. The prosodic feature must be real if it is to be heard. The presence of a prosodic feature on a speech makes the speech more salient. Prosody is real in advertising.

Wilt Connell, Northwestern University

I Study of the Comprehension/Production of the /p/-/b/ Contrast by Arabic Learners of English

This paper reports on a study carried out to determine whether Arabic learners of English as a second language can discriminate and/or produce the /p/-/b/ contrast in English. This contrast does not exist in Arabic, since Arabic has /b/ but not /p/.

Five subjects were chosen from the elementary levels of the ESL intensive program at UAM. Each of these subjects was asked to produce a number of English words exemplifying the /p/ and /b/ contrast in different word-positions. The productions were then transcribed on tape and were then listened to by two native speakers and by the subject himself. Both the subject and the native speakers were to identify the words on the tape. The subjects were asked to identify the same words (in a different order) from a recording by a native speaker. The following results were obtained:

1) Only one of the subjects could produce and discriminate the /p/-/b/ contrast in initial position; 2) All of the speakers produced a distinction between /p/ and /b/ in terms of closure duration in word-final position; 3) None of the speakers was able to distinguish /p/ and /b/ word-finally, despite the fact that they produced a significant (p < 0.05) distinction in closure duration.
Discourse Structure and "One"-Anaphora in English

Although the relationship between definite pronouns and discourse has been extensively discussed, identity of sense anaphora, in particular, "one"-anaphora, has not been well studied from this point of view. Gundel (1978) has shown that two distinct types of given-new information—activated, or what the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the addressee (the "given" of Chafe 1976), and topic, or what the discourse is about—indpendently affect the acceptability of sentences with definite pronouns. In this paper, I extend Gundel's analysis to "one"-anaphora. Evidently, both topic and activation are important for characterizing the acceptability and interpretation of "one"-anaphora. For example, in (1), topic determines that a should be interpreted as "the tennis player", rather than "the dentist", which would be its interpretation in isolation.

(1) A. Do you know any tennis playes? B. My dentist is a good one.

Further, I argue that the fact that discourse structure affects the interpretation and acceptability of "one"-anaphora is inconsistent with the claim of Webber (1979) that the interpretation of "one"-anaphora is not affected by story structure, and that of Halliday and Hasen (1976, p.92) that the meaning of "one"-anaphora is simply that "the noun to fill this slot will be found in the preceding text."

The Semantic Development of Honorific Expressions in Japanese

Honorific forms in Japanese have been studied historically by Tanigawa (1968, 1974), Levin (1965, 1969), and others, while honorification itself has been studied diachronically in Japanese by Silverstein (1978, 1979). The present paper investigates the semantic changes internal to Japanese grammar that have resulted in lexical items and morphological processes (e.g., passive and causative) becoming primary markers of honorification. The study focuses upon honorific verbal expressions for the concepts of BEING, COMING, GOING, GIVING, and RECEIVING. For example, the large, respectful for "to go", consists of a form of the verb shi, originally "to go out" (cf. NJ deru) in a paraphrastic nominalizing construction that is built on the pattern "to become HONORIFIC NOMINAL" but that functions in NJ exclusively to mark verbs as honorific. This example reveals two of the important strategies for expressing deference in Japanese: the use of a particular subtype of a concept to express the concept in general, and the avoidance of the nouns of actions in respectful expressions. (By contrast, humble expressions often highlight the action by periphrasis with suru, "to do").
Abstract

Phonetic Implementation Rules and Word-Final Devoicing in Catalan

This paper presents the results of an experimental phonetic study which examined the putative neutralizing effect of the phonological rule of word-final obstruent devoicing in Catalan. It was found that, although obstruents are phonologically devoiced word finally, the underlying voiced/voiceless distinction is preserved superficially in the relative degree of contextual shortening of both vowels and consonants, i.e. devoicing is non-neutralizing. The phonetic implementation rules needed to account for this contextual shortening must, therefore, be sensitive to the abstract underlying voicing distinction. Consequently, the phonetic implementation rules needed here must apply before the phonological devoicing rule.

EDIT DORRILL, University of Texas-Austin

Subject Clitics in Semitic

It has often been noticed about Semitic languages that the copula does not have a present tense form. Instead, a pronoun may show up in predicate-nominal sentences, as illustrated in Modern-Hebrew:

1. dani hu more
   Danny he teacher
   'Danny is a teacher.'

   I will argue that sentences like (1) do not involve left dislocation, and that the pronoun is not a verbal element. Rather, I claim that the pronoun should be analyzed as a subject clitic, as in Modern-Hebrew, and other data from Egyptian Arabic. I will then use the derived analysis to account for other subject clitics in Modern-Hebrew, such as in (2):

2. dani ohev gam hu bananot
   Danny loves too he bananas
   'Danny too likes bananas.'

GEORGE T. DORRILL, Winthrop College

A Comparison of the Stressed Vowels of Black and White Speakers in the South

Guy Lowman, in his investigations for the Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States, interviewed a number of black speakers. Although Hans Kurath made some comments concerning black speech in his Word Geography of the Eastern United States, a detailed investigation of the materials on black speech contained in the Linguistic Atlas archives has never been published. A study of sixteen pairs of black and white Atlas informants in the states of Maryland (two pairs), Virginia (seven pairs), and N Carolina, was carried out by Lowman in the period 1933-39 and matched as closely as possible for age, education, social class and place of residence, has been undertaken. This paper will report on differences found in the pronunciation of certain stressed vowels between black and white speakers. (The pronunciation of the stressed vowels was one of the primary criteria used by Kurath and McDavid in The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States [1961] in determining dialectal variation in American English.) The principal findings of this study were that there were systematic differences between blacks and whites in the pronunciation of stressed vowels, particularly the mid vowels /e/ and /o/, although none of these differences were categorical: blacks had a much greater tendency to pronounce stressed vowels monophthongally.

PAMELA DOMING, University of California-Berkeley

The Semantic Role of the Numerical Classifier in Japanese

Recent cross-linguistic work on numeral classifier systems has led some researchers to suggest that 1) there are parameters of universal perceptual salience, e.g., animacy, 1-, 2-, and 3-dimensionality, which are always encoded in classifier systems (Allan 1977) and that 2) unlike some other languages, classifiers encode only a few important classes of entities defined by the way humans interact with their members (physically, functionally, and socially) (Poon 1976). The research on the Japanese numeral classifier system to be reported in this paper suggests that although these claims may apply to some members of the classifier system, they are by no means universally valid. The classifier system is composed of members of very different functional and semantic types. While some are more grammatical placeholders, others code categories of varying degrees of "importance" already encoded in the noun system (e.g., human, for chairs), and yet others denote categories based on traits or states independent of the permanent category affiliation of their members (e.g., ren, for string-together objects as disparate as necklaces and trains). Part of the system thus replicates in terms of a reduced number of categories the distinctions made in the noun system, much like the mother-in-law language of Byirbal (Dixon 1972). The remainder of the system provides for explicit representation of types of information not systematically encoded in the basic levels (Nosh et al. 1976) of the noun system, in this resembling noun class markers, noun marked for status, etc.

FELIX EYH, University of Texas - San Antonio

Event Line and Deixis

Bronzower (1975) has observed that present deictic adverbs tend to appear at turning points or "points of articulation" in narrative. He fails, however, to give a precise characterization of these points, nor does he make their relevance clear. An investigation of three present deictic adverbs in three narrative texts, however, suggests that these adverbs regularly appear in three distinct places:

1. at a return to the timeline, or event line (Longacre, 1979), after the interpolation material.
2. at a point where the density of time representation in the narrative changes, shifting from summary to detailed portrayal of events.
3. at an ellipsis in the timeline, i.e., when a sentence presents a timeline situation that immediately follows the last timeline event, leaving the reader to infer that some current time has been left "unnarrated".

The discourse distribution of present deictic adverbs suggests that one of their functions is to signal the beginning of a new series of mainline situations. They thus show a resemblance to forms in non-Indo-European languages, where mainline events in the discourse are marked overtly by particles and narrative tenses.

STANLEY DUBINSKY, Cornell University

Locative to Direct Object Advancement with Japanese Motion Verbs

In the framework of a larger work in progress, I hypothesize that Japanese potentials and desideratives are not parallel in structure, contrary to what Kuno (1973), and others, have proposed. While accepting the standard structural account of desiderative -tei form, I contend that potentials are non-clausal, displaying the structure verbs variously proposed by McEwan (1972), Kurada (1975, 1976), and Kurada (1979). Some evidence for this conclusion comes from the phenomenon of oko alternation, and the behavior of locus NPs of motion verbs with respect to it. This paper investigates the structure of clauses where a verb of motion takes a locus NP marked by accusative 'o'. The fact that these NPs occur with the accusative case marker has led some linguists to regard the marked NP as a direct object (cf. Kuno 1973 and Kuno 1966). While these NPs do indeed pass certain tests for objecthood, they fail all others. They are able to float a quantifier, and are subject to the oko alternation' associated with potential verb forms. On the other hand, they do not undergo object horification. Nor do they participate in the oko alternation' morpheme, like adverbs and locative of descriptive verb forms. I have thus concluded that these NPs are best treated descriptively as follows: using a Relational Grammar framework, I argue that the NPs in question are initial Oblique which advance to Direct Object.
EDWIN DUNCAN, University of Texas-Austin
(TUES MORR: P)

Chronological Testing and the Scansion of Free in Old English Poetry

Frees, 'lord' or 'kine' (Prim. Omc. folio, Go. frœla), is the only word in Old English that preserves the earlier diacritic pronunciation of words that lost intervocalic /j/ and later became monosyllabic. Its appearance in diacritic form has long been considered sufficient evidence for assigning a pre-ninth century date for the text to which it is found (Freely 1988, Nightingale 1910, Amos 1989), and it has further been assumed that the earlier poets could optionally assign it either one or two syllables for metrical reasons (Wrenn, 1958, Amos 1980).

An analysis of all the Old English verses containing frees shows that the word was diacritic when it was the second element of a compound (e.g. jifreas, folosces) or immediately preceded by a possessive pronoun (e.g. man fre... free...). The findings indicate that we can consider the presence of diegalabic frees neither a reliable chronological test nor an example of poetic license. Rather, the syllabic form of frees was determined by its immediate syntactic environment throughout the Old English period.

ANNE DUNKEL, Max-Planck-Institut
(THURS MORR: B)

An Implicational Hierarchy in the Emergence of Illocutionary Acts

An analysis has been developed to classify children's interactive utterances according to a set of 13 illocutionary acts defined in terms of essential conditions: the fit between word and world (Seacle 1975); and explicitly defined contextual parameters. The system was applied to 13,000 spontaneous utterances drawn from a longitudinal study of English (age range 2-0 to 5-12 years) and the data has not been previously recognized, but which is consistent with developmental changes of a purely schematic nature. The order of acquisition is defined by implicational statements (e.g. Requests > Identifications). These results also lead to the emergence of an illocutionary acts hierarchy (e.g. acquired simultaneously or prior to the other).

Identification > Requests > Assertions > Responses > Questions

An explanation is offered for this sequence in terms of cognitive complexity.

This analysis is part of a more comprehensive study of the emergence of meaning in blind and sighted children. All subjects followed this illocutionary act hierarchy, some significant differences between the two populations are discussed elsewhere. The only difference in the present context involves the relative frequency of use, and not the order or acquisition for illocutionary acts.

WALTER F. EDWARDS, Wayne State University
(THURS MORR: D)

Creole Vernaculars and the Socio-Cultural Matrix

This paper addresses the interesting paradox that creole varieties in Guyana and other Caribbean societies enjoy considerable vitality in spite of the fact that these speech varieties appear to have very low social status. Evidence of this low status include survey elicited responses to language attitude questionnaires. It is argued that creole vernaculars like English (or the relevant Creole variety) partici- pate in the local social and cultural ecosystem of behaviors which comprise the socio-cultural matrix. Guyanese speakers use all the available codes, including creole codes, to transmit socially necessary signals including membership of cultural groups, reference groups, network affiliations (in the sense of Milroy 1980) and, where relevant, political orientations. In addition, Guyanese speakers have inherited a rich linguistic culture and have socialized into using the entire linguistic spectrum for each interac- tion, creating a dynamic, ever-changing, and changing footing (Goffman 1981) style shifting (Baugh 1979) and social accommodation. In effect creole varieties occupy a stable and indispensable position in Guyanese culture.

W. NEIL ELLIOTT, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
(TUES MORR: B)

Local Antecedents and Genitive Extraction in French

In French, it may be observed that the extraction of "don't" from direct object position is subject to the same constraints as the English rule proposed by several investigators to predict the extraction of "en" from subject position. The pattern of contrasts is abstractly represented in (1) and (2).

(1)

a. [b'... dont; V [np SPEC N e]]
   b. [... dont; V [np SPEC N e]]

(2)

a. [b'... dont; V [np SPEC e]]
   b. [... dont; V [np SPEC e]]

Although theories predicting the symmetry observed have been proposed (e.g., Couquaux 1981), they fail for reasons irrelevant to this abstract. My paper will present an alternate resolution based on the assumption that an empty category, e.g., must have a local antecedent. The starred forms in (1b) and (2b) result from the fact that "don't" and "en", respectively, are not far enough to serve as an antecedent to e. NP's permit extraction regardless of position because they contain, following Zubizarreta (1980) and Aoun (1982), a local antecedent for e, vise vire. The remainder of the unstarred forms follow from Wyne's (1981) version of the Empty Category Principle or, more precisely, a slight revision of his formulation.

KERRY S. SMITH, University of Southern California
(TUES MORR: A)

Turkish Gerunds and Finiteness

George and Kornfilt (1981) argue that rules obeying the opacity conditions do not apply in Turkish to gerunds which show agreement, i.e., that these gerunds behave more like English tensed clauses. They take opacity to be a property of finite clauses and claim that Turkish gerunds are not tensed by any of the tense marking morphemes. However, a scan of all the relevant English sentences containing these gerunds has not been previously recognized, but which is consistent with developmental changes of a purely schematic nature. The order of acquisition is defined by implicational statements (e.g. Requests > Identifications). These results also lead to the emergence of an illocutionary acts hierarchy (e.g. acquired simultaneously or prior to the other).

Vazarlar [birkınların] aptal olduğu-... aı ananyördü ıauthors should be considered to have, in English, a 3rd-person, active verbal

The authors believe each other to be stupid

SAA's examples seem to support their claim that almost all 2 and 2nd person pronouns as subjects. I argue that these pronouns, unlike 3rd person pronouns, sometimes behave like anaphors because of their semantics, because they are anchored in utterance properties. Since, as SAA successfully show, finiteness cannot be defined in terms of tense for Turkish, the local antecedent raises the question of how it is to be defined, a point crucial to the Binding Theory.

GERENIEHE J. ESCUE, University of Minnesota
(MAD MORR: C)

Creole as Prestige Variety in Belize

This paper focuses on the age variable as predictor of lingualisc difference in a creole community of Belize, Central America. As is the case in other Creole societie, the language of lingualisc and outgroup communication covers a wide spectrum ranging between the native variety - Belsuego Creoles, and the official language English which is learned as a second language. Fieldwork was conducted over a period of eight months with the help of a native Creole fieldworker, and this paper presents the results of a comparative investiga- tion. A group of three age groups (11-25; 26-45; and 45 and above) was asked to assess the age of demarcation as represented in apparent times - a device used in particular by labov in his Martha Vineyard study. The variation has been picked as a social indicator because it subsumes several variants which separate the creole continuum. They include basiitale (progressive and locative) and $3/4$ (predictive); basi-nostalt asked; and mononostalt 88/12/2/3/4. It is found that younger respondents produce a higher incidence of basiitale markers, and the favor of this creole in more situations than older Creoles. Such findings indicate that Belsango Creole- at least in some rural communities is now gaining prestige and strength, a trend contrary to the general assumption that in most creole societies, demarcation phenomena lead to the extinction of basiitale, and eventually yield neolates like Black English in the U.S.
The first part of the paper discusses some inadequacies of previous treatments of H. vowel harmony. The first point is that the neutral vowels (NVs) /i, i, e/ cannot alternate in suffixes with the abstract vowels /a, o, u/ in contemporary Hungarian (Anders, 1980). This behavior is based on the notion that forms like pantic 'mother=diminutive', aci 'the Ages' are viasulating. This has serious consequences for any abstract analysis of vowel harmony as the phonological approach for separating root and suffix harmony. Second, it is argued that NV skipping cannot be handled by a single rule and that NVs form the harmonic scale /i > e > o > e (cf. Anderson, 1980). This is partially based on the behavior of roots whose vowel configuration is Back V-NV-NV, which have so far been neglected. In the second part of the paper an autosegmental treatment is sketched. The main idea is that vowels are assigned a three-valued harmonic feature (+/-/0 Back). The harmonic feature is the same for harmonic vowels. NVs are either - or Back, depending on the environment. The VH rule ensures that non-NVs in suffixes agree in backness with the last root vowel whose harmonic feature is not zero.

The Representation of Across-the-Board Extractions

Any characterization of the facts of Across-the-Board (ATB) extraction must account for the "parallellism" exhibited in 1) and the apparent subject-object asymmetry in 2).

1. The man who Mary likes __ and Suzy hates __.
   The man who __ likes Mary and __ hates Suzy.

2. "The man who Mary likes __ and Suzy hates __.
   The man who __ hates Suzy and Mary likes __.

In this paper I propose an analysis of ATB extractions (within the Government-Binding theory) which I defined on representations, contrary to Williams (1978), who proposes a coordination condition. The proposal relies on two notions: 1) a mapping of separate conjuncts into a common structure, and 2) the functional definition of empty categories (Chomsky 1981). Once the conjuncts of 2) are represented as one structure, the empty category in subject position c-commands and is c-linked with the empty category in object position. This configuration ultimately leads to a violation of the Q-criterion, and the sentences are ruled out. In the examples in 1), the empty categories are mapped into the same position in the common structure and no violation occurs. In addition, contrary to the PF representation of these sentences, there is no violation of the Elaboration Principle (Koopman and Sportiche 1981).

Overquantifiers in Russian

Overquantifiers in Russian govern the genitive case on their complements, as in 

 constraints 'five books(gen)'s. These are NP specifiers bearing a feature [-Co]. "Quantifiers parallel partitioning NPs as [+Co]. Like any pro element, the value of empty quantifiers must be determined in order for the construction to be interpretable. As arguments, the appropriate "parititr" and "largeness" readings are imposed by the verb's semantic-sensitivity properties. Pro quantifiers may not have a homonymous non-argument position. I read novels'. Here, Quantifier Raising applies to tri romaṇ, which is able to range over knis'. I allow it to control the pro quantifier. Its trace, in turn, is bound by the quantified NP, giving a logical representation [gri romaṇ]. The analysis crucially assumes movement does not leave a stranded trace, but rather indexing is done freely by general rule. This has important implications for trace theory, since it eliminates a special stipulation in favor of independent principles and aligns traces more closely with other empty categories.
SILVIA JOSEPH GALAMBOS, Yale University

When and Why? The Change from illum mini to mini illum in French

In this paper I demonstrate that the change from the Proto-Romance illium mini order to the Romance mini illum order occurred in French during the Middle French period. I claim that the first examples of this inversion are attested in the first half of the 13th century in La Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne (e.g., 29.715 je te dirai et 29.720 jou le dirai ...). And by the end of the 16th century, the mini illum order was in norm in some inversions. Three questions concerning this development are addressed here: (1) Why such a change occurred, and why it occurred when it did; (2) Why the order remained illium mini in postposition to the verb; and (3) Why the order illum mini remained when 3rd person pronouns (reflexive) were juxtaposed. I argue that pragmatic considerations acted as a driver for change, and that changes in the semantic and syntactic properties of the verb functioned as a vehicle for change. Furthermore, I propose that new accentual and rhythmic patterns in the language at that time allowed the change to occur. In conclusion, I argue that the demonic constraints in conjunction with the interpretation of forms such as moi as tonic prevented the change from occurring at that time in postposition to the verb. Finally, I claim that the absence of the 3rd person direct object pronoun in the presence of the 3rd person indirect object pronoun during the period of change to illum mini was responsible for the lack of reversal in the case of these two pronouns.

MARISELLA GARCÍA, National Center for Bilingual Research

The Case of casi: Spanish Language Variation in a Border Community

In standard Spanish, casi 'almost' modifies the word immediately following it, adjectives, for example, as in casi muerta 'almost dead', or polar items, as in casi nunca 'almost never'. In this study, I examine the factors that contribute to the use of casi in Spanish. I focus on the use of casi in the context of indirect objects in the construction 'I gave him something'. I explore the factors that affect the use of casi in this context, including the syntactic structure of the sentence and the role of the indirect object. The factors are presented in a table and discussed in detail in the paper. The results show that the use of casi is influenced by the syntactic structure of the sentence and the role of the indirect object. The paper concludes by discussing the implications of these findings for the study of language variation.
Recent work in phonology has developed the role of the lexicon in characterizing the relationship between morphological and phonological rules. This paper explores the lexical rules employed in a detailed analysis of tone assignment in Scandinavian languages. Previous postulates treat the general phonological rule assigning 'tone 2' to polysyllabic words, and list those with 'tone 1' as exceptions. We show that the overwriting factor in tone assignment is not the number of syllables in the word, but the close interaction between the morphological and phonological rules. That is, 'tone 1' and 'tone 2' are systematically derived in the affixation process. It is shown, for example, that lexical items suffixed with (Norwegian) -dom 'hood' exhibit 'tone 2', while items prefixed with -het reflect the tone of the base form. The combination of morphological and phonological rules is seen when two 'tone 2' indicating paradigms are stacked, producing tone 1: sidem (tone 1: 'age') - sidemad (tone 2: 'old age like'), a difficulty for any tone employing exception mechanisms and a 'polysyllable rule'.

Michael Hammond, University of California-Los Angeles and Massachusetts Institute of Technology

**On the Directionality of the Rhythm Rule**

Much recent work in metrical phonology has concentrated on the rhythm rule and its reflexes in diverse languages. This work has shown the need for a parameter of directionality in the rule's formulation. For example, in English, rhythm shifts the position of stress in tone in selections to the left; in Finnish, rhythm applies to the right; and in German, rhythm can apply in either direction.

Based on data from these languages, we argue that the directionality of rhythm is predictable from the tree labeling rules of the language. This correlation of labeling and the directionality of rhythm can be explained if we assume that the rhythm rule doesn't exist at all, and that rhythmic effects are due to the suppression of rules of tree construction that define minor constituents in contexts where stress clashes would be created. The explanation goes through if we assume that rhythmic adjustment refers to prosodic levels like the foot and the word. For example, thirteen men is an instance of foot level rhythm, and well understood issue is an instance of word level rhythm. Labeling of both levels in English is laxic, and rhythm is predictably leftward. By contrast, rightward rhythm, in examples like sports contest, is impossible.

Alice C. Harris, Vanderbilt University

**Proactive Case Marking in Nkaka-Lasaamula**

In one dialect of the Svan language (South Caucasian), case marking with one group of tenses differs from that found in other dialects and in its sister languages. In this dialect, subjects of transitive verbs are marked with one case ("narrative"), while subjects of inactive transitive and direct objects are marked with another ("nomina\"tive"); subjects of active transitive clauses, such as 'sing', 'work', may be marked with either the narrative or nominative case, with no apparent difference in meaning. In canonical ergative systems, only the nominative ("nominative") case would be used in the latter function; while in the other dialects of Svan and in Georgian, only the narrative case may occur there. This particular type of alternative case marking has not been described in detail elsewhere.

JAMES M. HARRIS, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

**Spanish Spirantisation as an Autosegmental Assimilation Rule**

"Spanish Spirantisation" (SS) refers to the alternation of voiced stops and continuants, e.g. h, ñ, g, y, under certain conditions. Extending and refining Masar 1982, I argue that SS is correctly described by an autosegmental assimilation rule whose effect is essentially to spread the feature [-cont] rightward. This proposal, which appeals to the Shared Feature Convention and (a particular interpretation of) the Adjacency Identity Constraint (Chomsky 1975), is able to give a principled account for data beyond the reach of previous accounts, e.g. the behavior of SS to apply in cases like por bueno (Ibbynd) in Cuban dialects (Hart 1976, 1977).

Previous generative studies of SS have been grounded in an inadequate (autosegmental-segmental) analysis, which fail to account for the fact that the alternation is found in isolated forms and after homorganic continuant sonorants. The generalization is faulty: e.g. [bn] but [má] although n is homorganic with m. Also, according to Lasono 1979, aspects of Harris's formalism is problematic. Other studies of SS-including Lonado's and Goldsmith 1981, which treats SS autosegmentally-similarly face empirical and/or formal problems.

Frank Henry, Groningen University

**Names are Quantifiers**

Searle and Cooper (1981) and related research have shown beyond doubt how natural it is to interpret noun phrases as generalized quantifiers (sets of sets). However, in all cases, nouns continue to be interpreted as predicates, just like verbs, following other logical and grammatical rules. For example, that build quantifiers (i.e., noun phrases) from predicates, do not take verbs as arguments treated as purely syntactic. Yet nouns can be interpreted directly as quantifiers: bare plurals, e.g., horses are then sets of sets: typically, the extension of a set that sets which under the old predicate analysis of the phrase would serve as its denotation. Determiners will not build quantifiers from predicates but will be quantifier-type operators.

This simple change has numerous consequences. It accounts directly for much of the intuition-generating behavior of determiners, which build quantifiers (i.e., noun phrases) from predicates, do not take verbs as arguments treated as purely syntactic. Yet nouns can be interpreted directly as quantifiers: bare plurals, e.g., horses are then sets of sets: typically, the extension of a set that sets which under the old predicate analysis of the phrase would serve as its denotation. Determiners will not build quantifiers from predicates but will be quantifier-type operators.

This simple change has numerous consequences. It accounts directly for much of the intuition-generating behavior of determiners, which build quantifiers (i.e., noun phrases) from predicates, do not take verbs as arguments treated as purely syntactic. Yet nouns can be interpreted directly as quantifiers: bare plurals, e.g., horses are then sets of sets: typically, the extension of a set that sets which under the old predicate analysis of the phrase would serve as its denotation. Determiners will not build quantifiers from predicates but will be quantifier-type operators.

Frank Henry, Groningen University

**Mora and Syllable Structure in Luganda**

Clements (1981) has argued that analysis of the Luganda syllable in terms of a CV tier yields precisely the right input to the tone rules of the language while accounting for the distribution of long vowels: prenasalized consonants, post-consonantal glides and geminates are treated by Tuladha's 'to rcpn' hence perception of glide-formation and formation of prenasalized consonants. Those V's associate with vowels and any in excess of two per syllable delete by V-trimming. If the output were to yield tonally relevant moras and account for length naturality it might strongly motivate the wider adoption of a CV tier analysis of the syllable and moras.

However, V-trimming, though it yields the right number of V-modes for the tone rules, often deletes V's essential to those rules. For example, it removes the Y introduced with the infinitive, and is treated by Tuladha's 'to rcpn' hence perception of glide-formation and formation of prenasalized consonants. Those V's associate with vowels and any in excess of two per syllable delete by V-trimming. If the output were to yield tonally relevant moras and account for length naturality it might strongly motivate the wider adoption of a CV tier analysis of the syllable and moras.

However, V-trimming though yields the right number of V-modes for the tone rules, often deletes V's essential to those rules. For example, it removes the Y introduced with the infinitive and is treated by Tuladha's 'to rcpn' hence perception of glide-formation and formation of prenasalized consonants. Those V's associate with vowels and any in excess of two per syllable delete by V-trimming. If the output were to yield tonally relevant moras and account for length naturality it might strongly motivate the wider adoption of a CV tier analysis of the syllable and moras.

Tuladha's (1982) has argued that analysis of the Luganda syllable in terms of a CV tier yields precisely the right input to the tone rules of the language while accounting for the distribution of long vowels: prenasalized consonants, post-consonantal glides and geminates are treated by Tuladha's 'to rcpn' hence perception of glide-formation and formation of prenasalized consonants. Those V's associate with vowels and any in excess of two per syllable delete by V-trimming. If the output were to yield tonally relevant moras and account for length naturality it might strongly motivate the wider adoption of a CV tier analysis of the syllable and moras.

However, V-trimming, though it yields the right number of V-modes for the tone rules, often deletes V's essential to those rules. For example, it removes the Y introduced with the infinitive and is treated by Tuladha's 'to rcpn' hence perception of glide-formation and formation of prenasalized consonants. Those V's associate with vowels and any in excess of two per syllable delete by V-trimming. If the output were to yield tonally relevant moras and account for length naturality it might strongly motivate the wider adoption of a CV tier analysis of the syllable and moras.
Patterns of palatal palatalization in Southern Bantu languages (e.g., Tswana p ~ ť, p~ ť+ť+b= 3/63, f ~ ť/f̌, n ~ ṇ/ṇ) in certain environments, including the formation of passives, locatives, alocatives) have received attention recently (Stahlke 1976, Herbert 1977, Chala 1978). Stahlke used such as Zulu kopa/kotwe 'pick out/passed.' (kopa/kotwe as a morphological 'male water/loc.) to argue for his notion of "segmental fusion" in which parallel to a palatal consonant and following (sometimes reconstructed) palatal segment, e.g. p~ i ~ ť, p~ ť+ť+ṇ, incorporating articulatory features of the two "plosting" segments. Herbert took issue with this analysis and argued instead for the morphological conditioning because of (1) the unattractiveness of the phonetic alternation, (2) occurrence in specified morphological classes, 3) numerous exceptions and variants. This paper reports on a study of Zulu and Sotho-speaking aphasia in which forms containing the relevant alternation were elicited in formal test situations and in free narrative reports. Post-stigmatized aphasic error was observed (a) no alteration, improper alternation (e.g. b ~ ťb), non-occurring alternation (e.g. p ~ f). Following rule criteria such as these criteria proposed by Drasler, Linek, and others, these data are taken to support the morphological interpretation.

KYOKO HIJIRIKA, University of Hawaii-Honolulu
HAN MIN HORN, University of Hawaii-Honolulu

Precedence Hierarchy in Cross-Cultural Values of Nonfocal Expressions

Following a review of the lexical and structural characteristics of Japanese and its relationship to American English, it is proposed on the basis of sociolinguistic evidence that, while the precedence hierarchy of solidarity-status solidarity-age-sex is characteristic of the American English, solidarity-age-sex is characteristic of the Japanese and that of age-paternalism, indirectness, pragmatic-vestigiality, and rationalism-emotionalism. The differing hierarchies, sociolinguistic rules and pragmatic constraints provide evidence for our hypothesis.

ERWARD BINCHECE, Ohio State University

The Semantics of Group Level Relative Clauses with Multiple Heads

Gazdar(1981) cites relative clauses with "group level" predicates and with head nouns in two different constructs, e.g. a man just came in and a woman went out who are similar in all kinds of ways. As crucial evidence for his claim that extraposed relative clauses show "groups of a derived phrase structure rule of 'highward Displacement'. While the syntactic part of Gazdar's rule is uncontroversial, the suggested semantic translation into intensional logic fails just for the crucial cases of extraposed group level relative clauses with multiple head nouns.

The paper submitted presents a semantic solution to the problem of group level relative clauses which is based on Thomason's(1972)'s theory of sortal incorrectness. It argues for a novel semantic translation of relative pronouns for which a two-place semantic operator is introduced into the language of intensional logic proposed by Montague(1973). This operator is defined to indicate either set membership or identity. The new interpretation of relative pronouns will not only provide a solution to the problem posed by the type of cases Gazdar mentions, but also to group level relative clauses of the more familiar sort, e.g. The students who gathered in the auditorium each received a concert program.

GARY R. HOLLAND, University of California-Berkeley

Intro-European Absolute Constructions: From Nominative to Locative

6. Usami (1960) and C. Watkins (1965) have called attention to the existence of fossilized nominal sentences functioning as adverbs in Hitite, Latin, and Greek. For example, Hitite nöka noke 'Aunt (lit.) seat' (both elements nominative) appears both as an adverb incorporated into another sentence. Ultimately, the Hitite expression was assigned (Hitite-locative morpheme, oke yelkey, in its adverbial function. Noting that nominative 'absolute' partial constructions occur in the older IE language (2.1.2.1, 2.1.2.2, 2.1.2.4, 2.1.2.5) in various locative and relative functions, Watkins suggests the older IE stem is the ultimate source for the Locative Constructions, as in Hitite, e.g. 2.1.2.5, (nöka noke) oke yelkey. Watkins's suggestion that the Hitite absolute and Locative Constructions are 'cognates' (Kro IV 9 1 5-7) 'two pole pages (and) one body preceeding (nord, the king enters the temple', I argue that the mechanisms observed in Hitite by Watkins can be extended to account for oblique absolute constructions in the older IE language. It is suggested that the Locative Constructions are involved in a specific construction that is functionally equivalent to the IE Locative in terms of prepositional phrase and adverb formation. The Baltic and Slavic absolute constructions do not project the same way; rather they have their origins in the use of the dative with infinitive.

LAWRENCE R. HORN, Yale University

Metalinguistic Negation and Pragmatic Ambiguity

prettier is, along with pronouns of 3-valued logic, a property Russell and Strawson is taking the King of France is not held to be semantically ambiguous, the marked reading with "external" negation being true (if France is intransitive, while the "internal" or negation function is a truth-functional semantic property of the dative absolute relation, a general value, including its conversational implicature, its semantic, or its prosodic realization. The metalinguistic use of negation in English is characterized by a special intonation pattern, failure to trigger negative polarity sensitivity, and sometimes even negation in the analysis of finitization as a function of predicate projection (e.g., if...then) will not be shown to have their own metalinguistic meanings, casting additional doubt on the standard accounts of natural language negation.

LAWRENCE HORN, Yale University

Short-Circuit Implicature: A Negative Contribution

[Shorten a syntactic rule of IPC-raising, cite the early diachronic nature of the class of relative pronouns (e.g., who can be followed by for all speakers but not only for some one doesn't follow the IP but its coarticulated counterparts do, etc.). The more current view that IP is to be handled by pragmatic rules (i.e., Trivics conversational implicatures) is potentially more exploratory, yet it fails to address the issue of whether an IP always field's arbitrary lexical implicature. A solution to this standard is the Naur-Morgan notion of short-circuit implicatures, non-semantic conventions of usage originally devised for such variously indistinct semantic potential as the semantic potential of (John can pass the test) Can you pass the test? Can you pass the test? This captures just what is pragmatic (natural) and what is arbitrary (conventional) about the role of verbs which permit lower-clause understandings of higher-clause negations. The interaction of IP and negative polarity illustrates a general phenomenon (also exemplified by the distribution of pro-verb phrases in conveyed requests). SCLs exhibit a wide range of morphosyntactic correlates which ordinary implicata do not. Thus negative polarity is a special case of clause in which an unexpectedly used to express negative propositions. I don't [think/ask/see/notice] [that you will] you'll they'll take you until she has your hair. [Hey (*not) get married/*you are getting married] until you actually have to?...
Intervocational voicing, the voicing of an entire series of voiceless stops or obstruents in voiced environments, is one of the most frequently cited examples of a natural (i.e., phonologically-motivated) phonological rule. However, it appears to be relatively uncommon in languages of the world. The purposes of this paper are 1) to establish that intervocational voicing is a natural phonological rule, 2) to show that its rule of thumb is 'self' and 'inflected only for case and definiteness, whose distribution and referential interpretation bear on two proposed universals. With respect to the rule of thumb, the Albanian reflexive is clause-bounded as other true reflexives are, but differs from reflexives of other languages (e.g., English) in that it lacks the aspiration of initial voiceless stops and much less frequent than nasal stop assimilation to place of articulation, and 3) to provide possible phonological and phonetic explanations for the paucity of examples of intervocational voicing, none of which is found to be entirely satisfactory.

This paper presents the findings of a quantitative study of English guttural oppositions, which include samples dating from c. 1400 to the present. The data show the following constructions to be in variation: (1) DET N-ing. (2) DET N-ing (DET N-ing). Examples of making five latter ~ producing a pot (Preakie (now Preakie) the data show construction (2) (already) favor over (1) as shown by the latter 17th and early 18th centuries. (3) DET N-ing (DET N-ing). (4) DET N-ing (OF DET N-ing). Examples: the removing the horse ~ riding of an insect (Calvina (now Valley) the data show the support of the idea of a general trend, from a manual status of speaker to an increasing use of verbalization of a true one through (1) a loss of sense (b) a loss of the genitive of the use of the direct object and (c) eventual appearance of non-genitive case for pronouns in forms such as as / in there is no use in to be doing there (in 1970s) / is not there is no use in to be doing there (in 1970s) / is not can be seen as the emergence of verbal complement forms such as the want, the want for suffering. The former construction was found in the data before the mid-17th century. Recent accounts of gutturals within the theory of government and binding (Chomsky 1980) and Case Theory do not provide an adequate account of the full syntactic range of these forms.

The transformational and autosegmental apparatus is unnecessary. The obligatory contour principle', and the autosegmental convention iterating final elements only, could be adopted straightforwardly in my way, if they were supported by evidence other than the mere possibility of their expression as language-specific generalizations.

This paper examines the status of wh-traces at s-structure and in Logical Form within the framework of the Government Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981a,b). At both levels, such empty categories are considered to be variables. In simple cases of wh-movement, the s-structure variable corresponds closely to the IF variable. However, in more complex cases of wh-movement, in which a wh-word plus other material have been fronted (e.g., whose brother did you see, the box in which John hid the money), such a correspondence cannot be found. It is the purpose of this paper to provide an account of these constructions. It is claimed that the trace left behind by pied piper is not a variable at s-structure. As for the IF level, it is argued that previously suggested LP representations such as for which x, you saw 's brother and the box s.a.t. John hid the money in x, are not justifiable. An extraction analysis, based on May's (1977) rule of QR, is presented as is justifiable. It is also shown that the LP derivation presented here obeys constraints on IF which are imposed by the Government Binding framework.
Neither the phonetics nor the phonology of Korean _VIRTUAL_SUBSCRIPT is especially widely known, yet at least two claims in theoretical phonology depend on a clear understanding of this segment. First, in the notion of "atomic phonology" advanced by Damms and Eckman (1978), the fallacy of phonetic interpretation in Korean is taken as evidence in support of the claim that all phonological phenomena are due to the interaction of two processes: the voicing of the underlying nasal closure and the aspiration of the subsequent stop. Thus, the present paper, however, shows that Korean _VIRTUAL_SUBSCRIPT does share the stops which are phonologically identifiable in intervocalic contexts with other slurred sequences occurring in other contexts, and that the voicing properties of all nasal closures are due to the system's independent performance rather than to the interaction of nasal voicing with stop voicing. Second, in the analysis of the nasalization phenomenon proposed by Zwick (1974), the preceding nasal is taken as evidence for the presence of a nasal nasal precesses; in this intervocalic context, however, the nasal is not phonomically identifiable. Thus, the present paper demonstrates that the validity of Zwick's theoretical claim, albeit with opposite implications for nasal nasal precesses,

NEIL G. JACOBS, Columbia University

Reconstructing Proto-Yiddish Vowel 25 Through Its Hidden Partner

Proto-Yiddish vowel 25 (corresponding to Middle High German <œ>) has modern Eastern Yiddish dialect (phonemic) realizations in Central Yiddish (CY): [œ], Northeastern Yiddish (NEY): /œ/, Southeastern Yiddish (SEY): /œ/. (1) recorded. (2) traditionally reconstructed as *œ', which underwent a process of lengthening, and subsequent shortening in lengthening dialects. SEY [œ] is noted only in passing, with no attempts to explain the form. The goal of the present paper is therefore the offering of a single, non-ambiguous account which accounts for all three variants of this vowel. The three variants alone we can make no such analysis. The aim is to find the root of the three vowels of proto-yiddish 12, traditionally reconstructed as *œ'. Vowel 12 has undergone general raising/rounding in Yiddish: CY [œ] (stout), SEY [st], SEY [st] 'city'. Hypothesis: A proto-yiddish long (front) vowel 25 */œI/ and long, rounded (back) vowel 25 */œI/ underwent raising in perfect tandem in each of the three cases, *œ' > *œ' > *œ. Data: 'I request' = 'city': CY [œI] - sturt, SEY [œI] - st. SEY [œI] 'death', SEY [œI] 'saying, speaking'.

ROBERT J. JEFFERS, Rutgers University

Synchronic Morphological Analysis as a Factor in Etymological Error: The Case of Indo-Iranian -dā

It is proposed that a new morpheme -dā was introduced into Indo-Iranian (I-I) through the analysis of the inherited form yadā from yadā to yadā, generalization of the new morpheme -dā ensues. The traditional assertion that the -dā is inherited is erroneous. Constructions in early IE dialects are formed by the addition of 1 or more clitics to relat./dem. forms or to any root of the form. yādā (as yādā 'as yādā) 1. As the occurrence of yadā as the base of an IE conj. is not unprecedented, the analysis of a form like yadā in terms of the addition of the part -dā to the formative yadā presents no unique problems. Significantly, -dā is well-supported in historical and comparative difficulties. In the case of yādā, -dā as the main clitic of the form does not occur with initial -dā, and potential cognates for I-I forms in -dā are very rare and insecure. Syntactic argument: As accompaniment of a common denotation of -dā, its appearance in a conj. (yādā) is best seen in cases in which the verb accompanies its accomplishment. Thus, the time of that of the verb of the main clause is unremarkable. Textual/morphological arguments: If our hypothesis is correct, the form yadā would preclude all other forms ending in -dā. In fact, only yadā and kādā occur in the Homeric text, and it is first seen in the Aharvaveda; all other other -dā are later. Thus, the present analysis explains all but the lost clauses in which the verb accompanies its accomplishment.

W.J. FEITCELO, Indiana University

Citica and ExternalSandhi

Several investigators (Zivick, Klavans, Kaisse) have suggested that the unmarked cliticization rule attaches to the left or right edge of some domain, or possibly, to the head of that domain. In addition, it seems to be the case that the size and identity of the domain is predictable: cliticizations are always phrase-bounded, attaching the clitic to the end of the phrase. In this paper, I will argue that unmarked rules of external sandhi are also sensitive to the notions of edge and phrase of origin, i.e. that phonological rules must apply between two independent words only if words lie on the left or right edge of the constituent that contains them. Examples of phrase-bound rules include those due to Kaisse and Mekori (sandhi) or if one of the items is the head of the constituent that contains them (example: Kimatun būl vowel shortening).

I conclude, therefore, that there is a component of the grammar responsible for readjustment of syntactic structures, containing both cliticization rules and rules organizing all lexical items into spans, and that this component is characterized by rules sensitive to both notions: constituent, head of constituent, and edge of constituent.

EDEN H. KAISE, University of Washington-Seattle

Preverb Reduction in Plains Cree

The Plains tree preverb kā, a marker of the verbal subject, is also marked in a second person (p) subject, in this use it is a reduction of the string kā-h, which kā is the 2P prefix. Through this reduction it is an option to reduce the verb to directly. There are reasons, though, to doubt this account: (1) there is no independently evidence for such a haploglottal shortening synchronically or even diachronically. Thus, the form kā-h may be a synchronic, but not an option to reduce the verb to directly. (2) a similar reduction elsewhere in the verb system (alternate future marker kāa- to -tā optionally) which cannot be due to haploglottal. Thus we propose to explain Wolfart's rule, or the phonology of Cree, which is supported by two considerations: (1) syncope of -h is independently attested (eg. minaawama 'also') 2) the 2P prefix itself may undergo syncope and the syncepted form occurs before the preverb kā. Thus the third reflex of the preverb kā is actually attested. Further, the syncope account extends naturally to the kāa- to -tā reduction while the haploglottal account does not.

Finally, this provides a clear example in which an apparent case of haploglottal can be better explained as a series of individual natural processes (syncope, cluster reduction, etc.) and as such is consistent with Williams' claim that there is no such thing as haploglottal either synchronically or synchronically.
Obligatory two in English

The English bisentential operator too is obligatory after sentential conjunctions with pre- and post-focus stress, i.e., after focus on a subject. We refer to this phenomenon as "pre/post-focus sensitivity," which is the focus of our study. The answer may come from the observation that the use of the subject is always the controlling pair of constituents, which increases (e.g.) with emphasis on the material identical between the conjuncts, and lessens with full-form repetition (compare the first example cited with Jo had fish and Mo had soup). With reduced, but still prominent, pragmatic function of an utterance of the form (3) and (4) too, the sentence is still parallel, but the prepost stress distribution changes. This pattern is similar in variable that the same thing is predicated about them. Indeed, this is roughly the same meaning. The difference between contrasting constituents can be emphasized in sentences with 2 different meanings, where, because of its context, the sentence is blocked. Too, then, can be used both as the syntactic condition for some modal operators and as the contrastive condition for other quantifier expressions.

 PATRICIA KEATING, University of California-Los Angeles

Our study addresses two questions: (1) What allomorphs of voiced and voiceless stops do languages favor in various contexts? (2) Can allomorph distribution within a language be predicted from the type of voicing contrast in initial position? A survey of voiced and voiceless stops in about 30 languages is presented. In a language with all stops, languages have at least voiceless voiceless unstressed stops. Initial position allows the most contrasts, and final position favors voiceless voiceless unstressed stops. An analysis of the stress patterns for voiceless voiceless unstressed stops shows that the analysis is consistent with the general pattern. Also unexpected was that languages without voicing contrast shows relatively little allomorph variation, and that languages with voicing contrast not involving aspiration.

 PATRICIA KEATING, University of California-Los Angeles

Patterns in Allomorph Distribution for Voiced and Voiceless Stops

RUTH M. KEMPSON, University of Massachusetts

Negation, Ambiguity and the Semantic-Pragmatic Distinction

Using the truth-conditional ambiguity criterion that a string is ambiguous if an assertion of its falsity involves corresponding disassertions, sentences such as John didn't eat three cakes; he ate four provide evidence that scalar implicature cases should be analyzed as ambiguous. Arguments that such examples can be analyzed as non-standard negation, involving quantification, or evidence that scalar items should be analyzed as having the same truth-conditional structure are rejected. Instead, the pragmatic basis of scalar implicatures is retained, the level at which truth conditions are articulated cannot be said to be determined solely by the semantic properties of the language. There is also evidence that some items serve to constrain both construction for utterance-interpretation as part of their lexical content. But so in John's saying put as in Sue is analyzed in terms of the constraints: 'In interpreting 'if' but 'when' 

S. A. KIMBALL, University of Pennsylvania

plane Writing of j and y in Nittite

R. S. KIRSHER, University of California-Los Angeles

J. M. VAN HENNEN, Rykenshuis te Leiden

Demonstrative Choice in Written Dutch: An Experiment

Quantitative observations on the distribution of grammatical forms in texts have become increasingly important in the semantic analysis of such forms: cf. Giddon 1979, Klein 1982, Held 1977, Thompson 1982. One may well argue, however, that the most credible analyses focus on those contextual variables which not only (a) correlate with the occurrence of a form, but also (b) elicit a specific pragmatic basis of implicatures. The present paper discusses experimental evidence for and against the analysis of the Dutch demonstrative adjectives in Kirsher 1979. Fifty Dutch university students were asked to identify the missing demonstratives in sentences in which all original demonstrative adjectives had been blanked out. Whereas deze, dit 'this/these' were restored better in the sentences presented in context than in the sentences presented in isolation (70% correct vs. 63%), no such effect was found for die, dat 'that/those' (66% vs. 64%). This result reflects the use of deze, dit to repeat references mentioned in previous sentences in the discourse vs. the use of die, dat to repeat referents within single sentences (Moleran and Van Heuven 1980, 1981). These greater unanimity among speakers in restoring die, dat supports the view that die, dat alert the hearer (reader) to a more easily identified referent than deze, dit, in accord with their meaning of LOW DEIXIS.
Interpretation of Linguistic Levels: French Inalienable Possession

French inalienable possession (I.P.) is manifested syntactically in various ways, including def. art. alone ("Leve la main.") dative plus def. art. ("Elle s'est coupé le doigt."). A poss. adj. ("Ne regarde pas tes pieds."). Works with a primarily syntactic or pedagogical orientation like Jackson 1966, Herschensohn 1975 and Burston 1981 assume complementarity among these constructions. While their analyses do provide a revealing first approximation, they do not only ignore considerable further data but also largely fail to give the observed syntax an explanation. A preferable approach is that of Hatcher 1984 and Diffloth 1974, who treat the components of I.P. (dat., def. art. and poss. adj.) as autonomous elements, unrelated transformationally, which invariably contrast with each other. Elaborating on their work, I will argue first that I.P. is not an encoded category in French, since no construction ever invariably denotes inalienable status for a body part or 'personal' property like one's weight or balance. Our knowledge of the world simply makes an I.P. construal in the above examples highly probable. Secondly, since a test of native speakers confirmed Hatcher's analysis, which he based on literary data, it appears that a francophone typically makes a choice of construction, depending on the inalienable's relation to the sentential, discourse and situational contexts. French I.P. is thus a clear example of interpretative, it defies pigeon-hole into just one of syntax, semantics or pragmatics. I will conclude by briefly examining the implications this indeterminacy suggests for I.P. as a universal, in terms of a cross-linguistic continuum of grammaticization.

BARBARA JOHNSTONE KOCH, Indiana University, Purdue University

Arabic Lexical Couplage and the Evolution of Synonymy

Arabic writers make frequent use of lexical couplage, pairs of semantic neighbors coordinated with and. Unlike English couplage like an and or than and as well, Arabic couplage are the result of a still-productive semantic strategy; many are nonce forms. A classification of a corpus of approximately 90 couplage on the basis of the semantic relationship between the coordinate terms reveals that newly-created couplage involve terms which modify each other, while older, more frozen couplage involve nearly or completely synonymous terms. On the basis of this evidence and evidence about other patterns of repetition in Arabic discourse, and in line with Saeed's and Jabbour's conception of the dynamic interplay between paradigmatic and syntagmatic structure, I suggest that repeated juxtaposition in discourse may be precisely what accounts for synonymy. In more general terms, paradigmatic classes are created, as well as reflected, in syntagmatic discourse.

JAKLIN KORNFIELD, Harvard University

Long Vowels in Turkish in a Three-Dimensional Model

Using a three-tiered (syllable tier, segmental tier and an intervening CV-tier) representation of the syllable (cf. Clements&Keyser '81), this paper demonstrates the necessity of two distinct representations for (phonetically identical) long vowels in Turkish: The phonological feature matrix of a long vowel is simultaneously dominated by a CV-sequence on the CV-tier in the first case, and by a CV-sequence in the second case. While analyses positing a stem-final "abstract" (i.e. phonetically unrealised) post-vocalic consonant have been forwarded before (e.g. Lees '61) in one-dimensional phonological models, such analyses were open to criticism based on the arbitrariness of the abstract solution as well as the scarcity (i.e. basically just one type) of independent evidence for the "abstract" segment. In this paper, my aim will be: 1. To show how the methodological criticism of arbitrariness does not even arise under a treatment within a three-dimensional representation; 2. To add new evidence of various kinds, based on the different behavior of long vowels in antepenultimate stem position, in order to substantiate both "abstract" representations that I am advocating. In addition, by arguing that the processes involved in (Long Vowel raise) VOTs and in (Long Vowel shortening) are good candidates for the perception of accented events of whatever type (speech, music, etc.)? Experimental means will include extensions of the phoneme monitoring paradigm to quasi- and non-speech sequences.

Exploring the Stress-RT Advantage

Research in the past decade by Martin, Cutler and their colleagues (most recently Cutler and Darwin 1981, Perception & Psychophysics 29) reveals that phoneme monitoring RT is faster for words which the preceding context indicates will be stressed. Questions which the current research addresses are: 1) What psychological process underlies the RT advantage, generalized alerting or selective attention? 2) How general is the phenomenon? Does it reflect an attentional strategy tailored to a given linguistic context, or is it perhaps the structure of speech that is tailored to take advantage of phonological changes in attention and alerting, which accompany the perception of accented events of whatever type (speech, music, etc.)? Experimental means will include extensions of the phoneme monitoring paradigm to quasi- and non-speech sequences.
The goal of this study is to determine those acoustic properties of /b/ and /w/ which are perceptually relevant to the manner contrast. One current approach to the description of linguistic sounds claims that identification of a set of sounds as a phonemic segment will vary depending on the context in which it occurs, another allows the possibility of invariant sets of acoustic properties defining phonemic segments. Our report is related to recent arguments within the first framework by Miller and Liberman (1979) that perception of the first and final contrast is the result of contrast in duration of both the consonantal and vocalic segments, and that they are specified by the duration of following vowel, i.e., the longer the vowel, the longer the following formant transitions must be in order to hear a glide. Their position is that the system is not the result of a synthetic ha-wa continuum. Our study is an attempt to replicate the claimed effect of syllable duration on the observed ba-wa distinction. We use a comparable synthesized continuum which, however, more closely approximates naturally spoken ba and wa. Initial results fail to replicate Miller and Liberman's claims. Further data will be presented, and will be discussed with respect to the phonological distinction between /b/ and /w/. We suggest that this contrast need not be dependent on following vowel duration, and that the prior results may be due in part to the structure of their synthesized stimuli.

JULIUS F. LEVIN, University of California-Riverside
Sweet's Mysterious Russian Informant: An Investigation

Over 100 years ago Henry Sweet published some transcriptions of Russian in Revised Visible Speech by talking to a native speaker visiting London. Many fine renderings of the phonetic details of spoken Russian attest to Sweet's keen perception, but there are certain anomalies and discrepancies that require investigation. Their analysis is the topic of this paper. The most significant feature of the transcription is the presence of vowels resulting from the deletion of vowel reduction. In Sweet's text vowel reduction (e.g., -e-> a, -e-> o) occurs in prothetic syllables only. There is no reduction in post-tonic syllables. Sweet carefully notes the Rn ag [i\ophi\] but Ron pi [i\ome\].

The informant is identified as a Russian, but might have been originally from an underlying dialect-speaking area. However the broad features of the speech recorded do not correspond to any immediately recognizable dialect. In view of the overall accuracy of Sweet's recordings, we assume that he was transcribing correctly, and the implications of these transcriptions for Russian orthography and historical dialectology are considered. Only a scant residue of puzzling transcriptions are attributed to lapses or misperceptions by the eminent phonetician.

LEVI S. LEVIN, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Lexical Representations of Icelandic Motion Verbs

A class of intransitive motion verbs in Icelandic exhibits a periphrastic past tense formed with the auxiliary verb vora(be) and an agreeing particle, in addition to the past perfect formed with hafa(have) and a non-agreeing particle. Thus, Icelandic differs from languages like Italian where, for a given speaker, a given verb is acceptable with both a non-agreeing and agreeing form.

(1) Eg er komin
(2) I have come(fem.nom.sg.) (The subject here is non-agreeing)

The alternation of auxiliaries in Icelandic is handled in Lexical Functional Grammar by assigning two distinct underlying lexical forms to nomadic motion predicates. Where the subject of the predicate is the object of the transitive root, the non-agreeing, the sole argument is an initial OBJ. A rule of Object Preposing operates on the latter, mapping the initial OBJ onto a surface SUBJ. The analysis has consequences for the treatment of unaccusative verbs in Icelandic and supports the splitting of structures into two separate rules, Passive: SUBJ-> O and Object Preposing:

BJ-> OBJ: SUBJ

NANCY S. LEVIN, SUNY-Albany
ELLEN P. PRINCE, University of Pennsylvania

Capping and Causal Implication

The causal-temporal implicature of some conjoined sentences, in which the proposition in Sj is interpreted as subsequent to, and caused by, the proposition in Sj (Scherrling 19-5) is lost if capping applies. Compare (1) and (2). (1) Al cleaned up the dishes, and Jo had the mess. In isolation, (1) but not (2) can suggest a situation where Al did such a poor job of washing the dishes that Jo had to clean them up after him. From this follows the prediction that sentences where tone signals both the normal and possible capping analyses should lose the former interpretation if the relevant implicature comes into play. And they do: (3) The exit was closed, and traffic on the South Freeway (4) backed up for blocks. As a capping remnant, backed up for blocks is a past participle and the sentence describes the situation in some way. Only if backed up is a tensed V can (3) implicate that Sj is a consequence of Sj. Another fact: to the limited extent that conjunctive adverbs can occur next to capped structures, temporal and especially causal clauses are worse than others. This gives...and the blocking falls out from Gapping's function (Kuno, 1976): to present parallel pieces of information in list form. Since lists typically offer no clue as to how their items time to be members of the same set, causal relationships cannot be encoded.
It has been noted that the free-stem-taking English prefix re- attaches to accomplishment verbs (reread a book, rescape the den) in order to highlight the effect that repeating the action of the V has on the direct object (e.g., Marchand 1969, Horn 1980). We advance the novel contribution that productive re- makes IS in enabling the speaker to express the fact that the second execution of the V is different, often perceptually so, from the first. Since accomplishment verbs change from a previous state, so do declarative clauses. In fact, many re-V's are used to imply that the change IS taking place because of a certain dissatisfaction with the D.O. state, and to further implicate an attempt to rectify such a state (rephrase, rebuild, reheel). Earlier work equating re- with narrow scope/internal again (e.g., Bowry 1979) overlooks the fact that substituting again for re- eliminates the expression of difference. Hence, dialoging the wrong number, for example, causes us to re Dial a different one, but we dial again—the speaker feels that some of the party fails to answer. Moreover, re- and again may co-occur without redundancy. When they do, at least two sets of changes are inferred.

Jo renumbered her examples again, adding or subtracting data obliged her to change the numbers (at least twice). But this IS just what our analysis predicts: re- is specialized in a way that again is not.

Semantic Discontinuities Introduced by But in Children's Discourse

By means of but-that establishes a semantic relation between the 2 clauses it coordinator-speakers (S) signal that the text part following but is opposed to, or modifies the text part preceding it. I.e., S discourses a planning strategy, that of introducing a semantic discontinuity (D) in the discourse domain (Zamuner, 1982). We studied 7 and 10 year old children's production of the following D: 1. Contraction (e.g., it was raining yesterday but not today); 2. Complication (I went to want but it was raining); 3. Integration (It's raining but not too hard); 4. Inference blocking (The moon is wet but it doesn't rain). We expected older children only would produce the most effects of D (type 3 and 4) and that the frequency of each D type would vary in the 4 discourse types (conversations, talks, conversations, personal and fairy tales), spontaneously produced in the classroom that were recorded and analyzed (2 and 3 hours respectively). Entire units (e.g., a tale) were used as data. The main results were that: a. Older children produced more D (44% vs 41%); b. The most important different was found for type 4 (63 vs 9); c. The 2 groups differed the most in D production in fairy tales (9%) vs 9). These results show the necessity to study developmental trends of linguistic abilities by taking into account the cognitive aspects on which they are based.

First Language Acquisition of Anaphora in Arabic: The Roles of Configuration and Linearly

In this paper, we argue that grammatical configuration (dominance relations), as well as linear order is consulted by young children in early acquisition of Arabic anaphora. Results are compared to previous study of English acquisition. Universal (structure-dependence) and language-specific (anaphor type) properties of anaphora acquisition are identified and related to the linguistic acquisition of anaphora. Data result from elicited imitation and comprehension tests of 96 Egyptian children from 3-0, 6 years, months, on complex sentences which varied in branching direction (subordinate clause follows or precedes the matrix clause) and Anaphor Type (pronoun or null). They are compared to similar English. Statistical analyses show Arabic children are sensitive to each of the factors. They follow a language-specific variation in favor of anaphor type, null in English, pronoun in Arabic. As in English acquisition, however, Arabic children reveal a forward anaphora direction constraint on both anaphor types. Critically, this constraint is confirmed in Arabic only when BD coincides with AD, i.e., only when forward anaphora coincides with right branching and backward anaphora with left branching, confirming the role of configuration in early anaphora in Arabic as in English, and reflecting structure-dependence in both.

Transformations of English Idioms

Virtually neglected by Chomsky, the treatment of idioms within a transformational grammar is briefly discussed by Katz and Postal (1963), Weinreich (1969), and Fraser (1970). The only systematic study of English idioms, however, has been Nakkai (1972), which mainly takes phrase-structure descriptions. Recently, a syntactic classification of over 4,000 English idioms (including information on their transformations — has been accomplished at the L.A.D.L. (Université Paris 7). After a brief presentation of the nature of this data base, three transformations involving idiom (i.e., the passive, particle movement, and a direct object movement) will be discussed. It is seen that the acceptance or rejection of the passive transformation for an idiom is just as erratic as it is for a free sentence (e.g., the ice was broken, but the bucket was kicked). The systematic classification of idiom (i.e., passive and particle movement, e.g., to sell a truce on someone) proves that a linear hierarchy of frozenness (Frazer 1970) is not workable. Instead, a grid-like presentation indicating the various combinations of transformations is proposed. Our data furthermore tend to justify the concept of the lexicon-granum (Gross 1990, 1981) rather than the smaller unit of meaning is the simple sentence rather than the word.

Auditory Recognition of Morphologically Related German Words

The same morphological relationship may be manifested by different phonological forms (e.g., boy-boy and man-man). Describing these diverse relationships in a unified way has been problematic for linguists, regardless of theoretical framework. In German the relation of plural to singular nouns is presented in three ways: suffi- xation, internal modification only, and suffixation plus internal modification. We conducted perceptual experiments using auditory priming to compare the psychological closeness of these two types of stimuli. A study of the English language (Kemp and Morton, unpublished) indicates that presentation of a regularly inflected form such as cats facilitates recognition of a later noise-masked presentation of cat; however, prior presentation of irregular mice does not facilitate recognition of house. Here the derived form (mouse) always precedes the prime (house). Our studies were designed to replicate these findings in German, to include internal modification plus suffixation, and to exploit the priming paradigm further by using both members of the pairs as primes. Preliminary results for nouns indicate that words which undergo internal modification only do not prime words related to them by suffixation and internal modification plus suffixation do. The internal modification related words also showed a different pattern of priming direction. These results suggest that linguistic theories concerned with psychological processes should posit distinct devices for words related by internal modification and those involving suffixation.
This paper presents evidence for a causal relationship between particular sociolinguistic contexts and a direction of language change in morphosyntax. I will identify a class of contact languages that share similar sociolinguistic environments, lower' languages used in multilingual diglossic speech communities which are isolated from standard, specifically, Creoles of Louisiana and Canadian French, Iowa German, Scotta Gaelic, Konski, Nahuatl, etc. These languages, in contrast to standard and to the 'upper' language in the community, exhibit a morpho-syntactic tendency towards more introductory relativized relative clauses in a dialect of Konski and in varieties of colonial French. Nacarini (1975) discusses a variety of Konski in which introductions to relative clauses has been replaced by interrogative pronouns and examples and final markers (konto, koi). Two separate studies of Maine and Missouri French report identical developments; relative pronouns and clausal pronouns showing similar morpho-syntactic reductions suggest that these tendencies emerge elsewhere. These examples support an enlarged view of the influence of contact on the direction of language change; Traugott's concept of natural semantic is useful in understanding the phenomena.

MARGARET A. MAHLER, Harvard University

Spatial Delimitation of the Two French Aspctual Tenses

In order to focus primarily on aspect, this paper uses the time line and the mathematical concept of intervals to describe properties common to both the line and aspectual structures—limited here, to the imperfect 'imperfect' and the past tense 'compound past.' It is shown that the basic contrast between these two tenses corresponds strikingly to the basic opposition of the open-closed intervals, defined respectively as (t + t) and (t - t). (The set of all times, t, between t and t) and the imperfect tense illustrates unambiguously concepts which are ambiguous. It shows that (1) the imperfect represents an interval of time bound to a unique set of points; its 'openness' not to be equated with imprecision, infinity, or incompleteness. 2) the compound past results from the union of the open time interval and the past point. This gives the two aspectual tenses a second dimension. 3) the only internal phases discernable are those corresponding to the three components of the closed interval and lexicalized in the durational adverbials de: at 'from', tato: at 'until' and pendent 'for the duration'. We conclude by showing that a clause in the imperfect tense constitutes a complete linguistic utterance by itself; completion occurs through its intersection with another subset of the line—an operation which reveals patterns.

J. MALTZ, Brandeis University
A. SAGEN, Harvard University

Proposition Stranding and Oblique Case

Hornstein & Weinberg(1981) propose to account for preposition-stranding in wh-constructions illustrated in (1), and passive illustrated in (2) by the universal case filter in (3) and a language specific rule of syntactic reanalysis.

(1) Who did you talk to?
(2) Such things shouldn't be talked about.
(3) I'll give you a clue.

Despite a number of attempts to explain why preposition-stranding in passives is more constraining than P-stranding in wh-constructions, their account treats both phenomena as basically involving the same rule of preposition incorporation by means of syntactic reanalysis. Hence, it predicts that in a given language, we will find either both types of P-stranding or neither type. In this paper, we will show that there is at least one language, namely, Icelandic, in which P-stranding in wh-constructions is productive, whereas prepositional passives are completely unacceptable. We will also show that the most straightforward way to account for this under the Hornstein & Weinberg hypothesis, namely, a case filter against oblique case-marked subjects, fails. On the other hand, an account like that in Bresnan(80) which links only prepositional passives to a lexical reanalysis extends in a straightforward way.

LOUIS MANGIONE, Cornell University

The Re-construction, Causatives and Transitivity

Many approaches to Mandarin's 12-construction treat it as an object marker. These approaches derive 12-sentences from sentences with V O order by a rule which moves the object into it's complement position. Such analyses cannot systematically account for correspondences between sentences like (1) and sentences like (2).

1. ni bu ye bu shiling yue niao yue da xiao 2. ni bu ye bu shiling yue niao yue da 'the more noisy it is, the more noisy it is'

In both the komkani and the French the replacement results from neither borrowing nor common inheritance; the only common factor is the similar sociolinguistic environment. Date from creole languages and contact languages showing similar morpho-syntactic reductions suggest that these tendencies emerge elsewhere. These examples support an enlarged view of the influence of contact on the direction of language change; Traugott's concept of natural semantic is useful in understanding the phenomena.

STEPHEN A. MARLETT, Summer Institute of Linguistics
BEN ELSON, Summer Institute of Linguistics

Possessor Ascension in Sierra Popoluca

This paper documents the construction in this language, which has split-ergative person agreement. Possessor-ascension is shown to be obligatory when certain conditions are met. The conditions include the requirement that the host noun phrase be an initial 2 and an acting 2 (Perlmutter and Postal 1977, Perlmutter 1981). There is no Possessor Ascension out of an absolute subject. This condition on Possessor Ascension provides an argument for a Passive construction in Sierra Popoluca and for a bistratal analysis of those constructions in which a Recipient, Addressee, or Beneficiary is the apparent final direct object. Finally, it is argued that Possessor Ascension is to 3 in Sierra Popoluca, with a subsequent advancement to 2.

JUDITH M. MAXELL, University of Chicago

"This" and "That" in Chuj (Maya) Conversation and Narrative

The Chuj (Maya) have three sets of deixis, based on the stites-tikit 'here', che 'there', and chechit "out of sight". In addition to referencing physical and temporal distance, the deixis are used conversationally to underline speaker orientation. First person emphatic pronouns, if accompanied by a deixtic, must always take -tikit. But second person may be accompanied either by -tikit or ha'takit 'you, my friend or coobserver'; hachaxit 'you, my addressee'. This distinction is not parallel to the Spanish tu vs. Ud., informal and formal. -Ched and -tikit endings for person markers are always optional; the amount of speaker involvement, hence, deixtic ending, is highly context sensitive though not totally dependent on it.

In narrative, -tikit is pivotal. -Tikit refers out of the narrative to the real world-realm frame. -Ched links the characters and events within the narrative itself. -Ched is used both for within narrative deixis and for real world reference, serving, when needed, to contrast with -chit and -tikit respectively in these functions.

In this paper I will compare the deixis in the text of a conversation recorded in a Chuj home with that in two narratives, contrasting the uses and functions of the deixis in the different genres.
Acquisition of English Bound Morphemes in Sign Form

Do deaf children exposed to English in a sign form follow the usual sequence and manner of their hearing peers? Research by their educators has argued that generally later acquisition of the aux and -ing in 3 previously studied deaf children were the result of little perceptual salience for grammatical forms, following Brown's suggestion for late acquisition of the possessive by hearing children. More extensive data reveal other differences in acquisition of the aux and -ing, possessive, RC contraction, regular plural and regular past as well as the particle to. Two deaf children were videotaped monthly, one between 36 and 62 months, the second between 47 and 66 months. Results support a very high perceptual salience for the morphemes sign in deaf children without root forms at all, 2) bending forms as free forms, only sometimes near a possible root, 3) bending forms attached to almost any root, including impossible form classes when no appropriate meaning could be construed, 4) forms correct and consistent in spontaneous language at the same time as incorrect and inconsistent in song and story language. Perhaps these signs are too salient perceptually, that is, not small, slurred, or indistinct enough relative to the roots they are affiliated to convey their relational function to children. Or perhaps adults oversimplify these elements in the belief that they represent good English.

RACHEL MAYBERRY, Northwestern University
SUSAN TUCHMAN, Northwestern University

Remembrance Sentences in American Sign Language After Twenty-Five Years

The experiment reported here examines signers' recall of sentences in American Sign Language (ASL) as a function of two ages of first exposure to sign language, from birth and after puberty. Half the signers were native signers, deaf adults who learned to sign before puberty and 12 deaf children who first learned to sign after puberty and before school.

Acoustic variation occurs due to the quality of adjacent vowels. In perception, English speakers emphasize noise intensity; Spanish and French speakers, spectrum. Yet, the perceptual tradeoffs between the noise and spectral parameters are not equally pronounced. Perhaps the tradeoffs are not equally pronounced. Perhaps the tradeoffs are not equally pronounced.

The correspondence between ASL and English is not perfect. For example, in ASL, the sign for 'dog' is articulated with a more open hand and a lower, more rounded mouth. In English, the sound for 'dog' is articulated with a more closed hand and a higher, more rounded mouth.

The correspondence between ASL and English is not perfect. For example, in ASL, the sign for 'dog' is articulated with a more open hand and a lower, more rounded mouth. In English, the sound for 'dog' is articulated with a more closed hand and a higher, more rounded mouth.

Place of Articulation as a Distinctive Feature of Fricatives

Experiments have shown that the major acoustic cues are noise intensity and spectrum and vowel formant transitions, which are determined given the place of articulation. Acoustic variation occurs due to the quality of adjacent vowels. In perception, English speakers emphasize noise intensity; Spanish and French speakers, spectrum. Yet, the perceptual tradeoffs between the noise and spectral parameters are not equally pronounced. Perhaps the tradeoffs are not equally pronounced. Perhaps the tradeoffs are not equally pronounced.

The correspondence between ASL and English is not perfect. For example, in ASL, the sign for 'dog' is articulated with a more open hand and a lower, more rounded mouth. In English, the sound for 'dog' is articulated with a more closed hand and a higher, more rounded mouth.

In standard Icelandic, possessive pronouns normally function as noun modifiers, but may serve as personal pronouns if the antecedent is sufficiently clear. For example:

A: *Eni $thing*? *Is there tea in your cup?*
B: *Nei, *thing* er kafla $thing*! _No, there's coffee in my cup._

Possessives used in this way are restricted to reference to objects or persons previously identified and must agree in number, gender and case with the "missing" head noun.

In the language of Icelandic-learning children, there is a wider range of use of possessive pronouns including the use of possessive pronouns as a form of self-reference.

In standard Icelandic, possessive pronouns normally function as noun modifiers, but may serve as personal pronouns if the antecedent is sufficiently clear. For example:

A: *Er te $bollan*? *Is there tea in your cup?*
B: *Nei, bollan er kafla $bollan*! _No, there's coffee in my cup._

Possessives used in this way are restricted to reference to objects or persons previously identified and must agree in number, gender and case with the "missing" head noun.

In the language of Icelandic-learning children, there is a wider range of use of possessive pronouns including the use of possessive pronouns as a form of self-reference.
Typology as Oversimplification: The Case of Tzotzil

Tzotzil is a Mayan language spoken in the state of Chiapas in Mexico. It is unique among Mayan languages for its lack of inflection of nominal absolutes, making it an unusual case for those who classify Mayan languages based on their typological characteristics. In this paper, we focus on the head-marking and dependent-marking morphology of Tzotzil.

Head-Marking and Dependent-Marking Morphology

Syntactic relations can be morphologically marked either on the head of the constituent or on the object of the constituent, with head-marking morphology having highly inflected verbs, inflected adpositions, inflection of possessors; dependent-marking morphology entails minimal verbal inflection, extensive case paradigms, and inflected adpositions which themselves govern cases. A head-marked possessive construction is Hungarian for example a ház[a] 'the house' marked for [D]ependent-[M]arked 'house', while a Tzotzil possessive construction marks the possessor. The syntactic relation is identical; only the morphological marking differs. A cross-linguistic survey documents the following clues: (1) Languages tend to exhibit predominantly one or the other type of morphology. Yoruba and Northwest Caucasian represent head-marking extremes; Altaic and Northeast Caucasian, dependent-marking extremes. (2) Head-marking languages are usually VO, dependent-marking languages OV. Thus the grammatical information appears at the beginning of the constituent in both types. (3) Diachronically, dependent markers often migrate upstream to become head markers; the reverse movement is unattested. (4) Cross-linguistically, the head-marking pattern appears unmarked. (5) The overall type is extremely stable in language families, and appears relatively immune to areal pressures. It may therefore serve as a clue to ancient genetic links.

The Nature of the TLX Language: A Quantitative Study of Old and Middle French

In TLX, change in language typology from SOV to SVW has been much discussed in the literature. Although the transitional period, when treating at all, has been given secondary importance and been considered a period of syntactic change or, at least, of extreme word order flexibility. This paper will present the results of a quantitative study of the evolution of word order in French and in other languages evolving from SOV to SV order. The TLX displays a strong influence on subject placement (I-II-75, XIII-1005, XIV-255), although occupying the same position as in coordinated sentences (as well as occurring in subordinate clauses), does not favor position of the PP object. In the XX-125, XIII-1120, and XIV-255, with subject postposing 95% of the time. After the XX, all disappears, but all is seen to increasingly favor subject postposing. As a result of these changes, more often than not the position of PP in extending postposing into subordinate clauses, and even in PP postposing itself into PP postposing, and offers fresh insight into how word order shifts may be effected in typological change.

Formal Correlates of Focusing in Kjatumbi

In Kjatumbi, it is possible to focus elements of a sentence by selecting the appropriate verbal tense-aspect morphemes. One set of tense focuses the noun and another set focuses the verb, and a third set is neutral with regards to focus. In this study, I investigate the syntactic and pragmatic problems associated with these focusing strategies. The selection of a non-focusing tense appears to put one of restrictions on the syntactic rules such as Preposing, Postposing and Passive. For example, it seems that these rules must be stated globally, so that if one optional rule applies in a non-focal tense, then the full set must also apply if it is not. If a context is found, I argue that the description of Kjatumbi is greatly simplified if the syntact is not restricted by selection of tense-aspect morpheme. I give a pragmatic account of the focus grammar to explain what certain discourse contexts do and in what contexts their principles. Only constituent may be focused per sentence, and the position of focused elements is immediately after the verb. It is then shown that this analysis automatically accounts for the apparent syntactic restrictions which are correlated with choice of verbal morphology: all of the ill-formed sentences either violate the restriction on position of focused elements, or else contain two focused elements.
ARThUR L. PALCm, University of Akron
Presupposition, Point of View and Literature

Point of view is a crucial contextual variable, consideration of which is necessary for correctly ascribing presuppositions to individuals and, in particular, for understanding the process of reading literature. Note, in this regard, that not all main clauses and associated semantic phenomena are real world phenomena. The "normal" presupposition "She lost her wallet" (1) "Tony doesn't know he lost his wallet" may hold from the speaker's point of view (say, "Sam's"); not necessarily from the listener's (say, Linda's), who may believe Sam's facts to be imaginary. (This becomes evident in Linda's question "What do you think?" in the context of interlocutor's general interpretation strategies that have ambiguous possibilities for ascribing presuppositions to speakers, listeners, or third persons—is an important link to fiction, in which no particular main clause meanings need be associated with the real world. The natural extension of point of view to include author and reader creates the possibility of fictional literature, in which a reader is in the same relation to a text as Linda is in relation to (1). This ambiguity is well exploited by the author of "The Hunger Games."

GARY B. PALMER, University of Nevada
Non-Universals in the Anatomical Nomenclature of Cour de'Alene

The purpose of this paper is to test some proposed universals of anatomical nomenclature with data from Cour de'Alene, an Interior Salish language of the northern Idaho and eastern Washington. The anatomical nomenclature of Cour de'Alene manifests a dichotomy between surface and internal parts. Terms for internal parts are more often homologous, while terms for surface parts are profoundly polysemic. Such complex lexical descriptions of surface parts commonly take the generic form "It is a surface contiguous to a particular plane on an organism. The terms for "head", "neck", "arm", "leg", etc., in the languages of the Northwest coast are polysemic in contradiction to proposed universals of anatomical nomenclature. Nomenclatures similar to Cour de'Alene have been reported for Columbia, a neighboring Interior Salish language, and Bella Coola, a Salish language of the Northwest coast. Cross-language comparison of lexical structures of terms for particular parts seems unlikely to disclose valid topographical universals. These negative findings suggest that the comparative study of anatomical nomenclatures requires either an inductive approach at a basic phemonological level or a fresh comparative hypothesis. Marking theory may provide an explanation which fits all the data.

STANLEY PETERS, University of Texas-Austin
HANS USEKORN, SRI International
Essential Variables in Metarules

Gazdar introduced metarules into Generalized Phrase Structure Grammars (GPSG) in order to describe many of the natural language phenomena for which transformational rules had been employed. He and colleagues claim that GPSGs are both powerful enough to capture all the generalizations that were expressed by transformations, and at the same time more expressive only to generate only contexts for the language. This is the basis for their assertion that all natural languages are equivalent.

In descriptive practice, GPSGs for some natural language fragments use essential variables in their metarules to allow GPSGs for some-CF languages. However, Joshi conjectured that GPSGs which are essential variables in GPSGs for some-CF languages must be user-defined. We present a counterexample to this conjecture. Furthermore, we prove that some non-recursive languages are generated by GPSGs with only one such variable.

In fact, we proved with the use of non-recursive languages of the kind called "wires' symbols' in formal language theory that GPSGs with only one essential variable generate all recursively enumerable (r.e.) languages. Such 'useless' non-recursive languages have been utilized described languages, which are called "phonotactic categories" only a proper subclass of r.e. languages is generated by GPSGs having only one essential variable, and exhibit other formal properties of this subclass.

LI. POLANYI, University of Amsterdam
P.J.M. OCHIAI, Philips Research Laboratories
Discourse Structures: Distinguishing Discourse Syntax from Discourse Semantics

It is impossible to predict how, if at all, any given utterance in naturally occurring talk will be related to the utterances which preceded it. Utterances are sometimes related to relatively remote utterances and completely unrelated to adjacent ones. The topical units of discourse must therefore be built up piecemeal from the propositional content of those utterances which receive their semantic interpretation in the same discourse world. While it is the task of discourse semantics to characterize the semantic units thus created, it is the task of discourse syntax to characterize the surface structure relations obtaining among the utterances permitting the assignment of consecutive utterances to the proper syntactic "discourse unit" for resolution of all syntactic referential issues (contrastive and direct).). The first function of GPSG, but not the second, is to assign the proper syntactic structural description to discourse in order to understand the functionality of discourse POSH/PUSH markers, discourse conjunctions and initializations of phenomena such as topicalizing sentences, nominalization (especially of previously pronominalized referents) and linking metacommunication which signal the beginning, interrupting or resumption of discourse units. As we shall show, analyses which rely on semantic (topic) chunking alone or which confine discourse syntactic and semantic structure cannot account satisfactorily for the functioning of these devices.

ELLEN F. PRINCE, University of Pennsylvania
A Comparison of Topicalization and Left-Dischoration in Discourse

Evidence from naturally-occurring data is presented to show that topicalization (TOP), e.g. (1) and Left-Dischoration (LD, e.g. 2) have partially distinct and highly specialized discourse functions, contra Chafe 1976, Creider 1979, Reinhart 1981, inter alia:

(1) Mary I like β.
(2) Mary, I like her.

TOP is shown to have two simultaneous functions: the marking of the frontmost NP (e.g. Mary in (1)) as epoqued or Inference by a set-relation inference and the marking of an open proposition as Chafe-Givens. LD is shown to be separable into LD1 and LD2 on functional and disjunctive grounds, LD1 having the first function of TOP, but not the second, LD2 serving to introduce a new referent into the discourse whose NP would otherwise occur in a position favored for the introduction of new referents, e.g. would not, in canonical word-order, occur sentence-finally.

GEORGEY K. PULLEN, University of California-Santa Cruz
ARNOLD M. SMITTY, Ohio State University
The syntax-Phonology Boundary and Current Syntactic Theories

It is implicit in standard GC theory (ST) that (1) phonology refers to only surface syntax, and (2) syntax does not refer to phonology. But these principles could be weakened by minor revisions to ST, and many have argued that they must be. Monostatral theories, with only surface syntactic representations (e.g. GPSG), differ in that they maintain the distinction (1) in its strongest form. We suggest that this stronger position is tenable. Auxiliary contraction and sentence stress are classic problems for it. We review the former briefly and the latter in more detail. We argue that Brennan's cyclic theory of sentence stress is on a variable independently of preserving (1), and that a surface-structure-based theory of sentence stress is to be preferred.

Monostatral theories might appear to entail (II) as well, but we show that they do not, because lexical redundancy rules (LRR's) and phonetic features together provide an analysis for sentences which do not appear to fit (II). Again, we claim that this stronger position is correct. English adjective degree marking is often cited as a difficulty for this sort of a constraint on LRR's, but we shall show that it is not: the condition that admits 'smarter' but forbids 'intelligent' is not phonological.
This paper will examine the two participial strategies that are used for forming relative clauses in Turkish. The well-known subject/object asymmetry reflected in the choice of participle suffixes, is shown in (1).

(1) Subject NP: subject participle (SP) oğlan "the boy who goes to school". b. object NP: object participle (OP) mektib "the school that the boy goes to".

Subject NPs are formed with the SP suffix - oğ "mektib", while object NPs use the OP suffix - di- k. We will show that the behavior described above follows from the Sounding Theory of Chomsky (1981).

The first section of this paper focuses on the Sounding Theory of Chomsky. The theory proposes that the subject predicate can be treated as follows: the need for the subject NP to be assigned an object NP-extraction NP-extraction.

The treatment provides, for a principled explanation of the NPs formed from generic NM-extraction, the following NP-structure further below: (2) below:

(2) a. Lýlen-te kabagínleyen'lamad "the man whose squash the snake ate". b. Lýlen-in-iéné kabagí yí-digílamad "the man whose squash ate the squash".

Use of En in (2a) is ill-formed, whereas - di- k in (b) is also ungrammatical. This is accounted for by treating di- k as an A- spender, locally binding the anaphoric element, i. e. on kabag. Using di- k in (b) results in an inside-violation, since the operator di- k and agreement on the verb bear the same index. Thus, Hankamer/Moos' MNP is derivable from Binding Theory.

LIAO QUNQING, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Reference Point Deletion or Continuation in Chinese Discourse

This is part of a study of discourse cohesion in Chinese. In Chinese, an independently interpretable spatial expression often consists of a partially optional NP, a definite NP, and a localizer or directional, or a dispersion in that order. The definite NP is a meaningful feature for a subject NP, which serves as the spatial reference point for the localizer or directional, or the dispersion in this order. Once it appears in the preceding text, a following spatial expression with it as the reference point does not have to be present. Similarly, in the independently interpretable temporal expression, [3 ~ VP ~ PP ~ MP] + a temporal localizer, the first part refers to a known temporal reference point. A following temporal expression does not have to be present if the temporal reference point is repeated once it appears in a preceding sentence. The above phenomenon would be interpreted as deletion or ellipsis from a sentential perspective. (cf. H. Hacker, 1974; Hacker, 1976). But, from a global or discoursal perspective, these phenomena should be regarded as foregrounding of old information and continuation of identical reference point.

GREGORY C. RICHTER, University of California-San Diego

The Phonological Strategy of Lexical Borrowing in Modern Icelandic

In Modern Icelandic, Syllable Structure Constraints (SSCs) appear to dictate the site of insertion for the segment /h/ in borrowings from American English. English voiceless stops are adopted sometimes as aspirated stops and sometimes as preaspirated stops, cf. /slougy/ 'sloppy music'. Thus, an SSC is proposed to account for the discrepancy. Hooper (1976) has suggested that SSCs play a major role in the adoption of foreign forms, and that language specific "minimal vowels" are inserted where required, e.g. Spanish /eslabo/ 'slay', Japanese /gureki/ 'brake'. In Modern Icelandic, however, a "minimal consonant" /h/ is evidenced instead. /h/ is inserted following English vowels perceived as phonologically short since the sequences VCV and CVVG are preferred. The data confirm Barnes' 1976 instrumental findings in which synthesized /VC/ was perceived as /VC/ -- the duration of the vowel was taken as "continuous" and the duration of the consonant was the duration of the vowel. However, in the formal analysis of the language, length must be posited differently for consonants rather than vowels -- an apparent paradox.

JOHN RUSSELL RICKFORD, Stanford University

The Waves and Have Notes: Problems in the Study of (So-called) Linguistic Competence

A central concern in linguistics is establishing the limits of linguistic competence -- determining what features an individual or group does or does not have, or what things they can or cannot say. In formal linguistic theory, this is usually accomplished through the study of language with little regard for observed usage. In socio-linguistics, by the study of observations, primarily those obtained through a tape-recorded sociolinguistic interview with little regard for intonations. The need for formal linguists to draw on the evidence of observations has been argued by some sociolinguists in the past. In this paper I emphasize the need for sociolinguists to expand their methods of assessing individual competence by drawing on intonations and other methods (such as repeated recordings with different interlocutors) more than they have in the past.

The existence of a problem for sociolinguistics in this regard is illustrated most clearly by an attempt to replicate Bickerton's (1973) language implicational analysis of variation in Guyanese singular pronouns. It is shown that with repeated sampling and the inclusion of intuitive evidence the discontinuities on which scaling depend disappear almost entirely, and we need to appeal to a multi-faceted view of competence, such as has been suggested by Dell Hymes, in order to interpret and analyse the data effectively. Some of the difficulties of incorporating the study of intuitions more generally in socio-linguistics are explored.

JON ROBERT ROSS, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Pronom Deleting Processes in German

This paper describes the processes which allow the absence of object and subject pronouns in German. Topicalized object pronouns may be deleted, by a rule I refer to as Pro gap: (De) trage ich schon. (= I have already carried.) I am wearing them already." One argument against a deletion is the presence of the finite verb, which is generally second, but is initial in sentences of this type. Another argument is the fact that there is no preposition-contrasting possible. In constructions like (De) habe noch nicht vergessen. (= I have not yet forgotten.) I have a second argument against that. Since the pronoun do not can also be deleted in this sentence, it provides another bit of evidence for Pro gap.

Subject pronouns can also be absent: ich hab ihn schon gesehen. "(I) saw him already." This is similar to the verb apply: Die haben doch gefunden. (= They have already found it.) This may be interpreted as "Die vermuten that..."

However, the subject may not be absent unless the object is: (De) hab schon. It appears, thus, that two different processes are involved, and that must be ordered with respect to each other -- a messily situation.

SUSAN D. ROSE, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Secondary Predication

I shall discuss structural and semantic restrictions that hold between secondary predicates and their subjects, where a secondary predicate is one whose subject is also assigned a role from another source -- thus raw is a secondary predicate of meat in cats eat meat raw. The restrictions I propose are as follows: (i) the subject of a secondary predicate must receive a semantic role from elsewhere (usually a verb or derived nominal) -- contrast the delivery of the parcel unwrapped with the author of the book unread, (ii) secondary predicates cannot appear in the position of V2, and (iii) secondary predicates of identical meaning are structurally present. Thus arriving drunk contrasts with *arriving drunk for the second has a subject position filled by non-lexical PRO while the nominal has a determiner position. The marginality of John's arrival drunk is due to the fact that John is assigned a semantic role by the nominal while structurally it is a determiner and not a subject. Thus subjects of secondary predicates are restricted in semantic type. Subjects of result predicates are patients, subjects of state predicates are actors or patients. These restrictions are proposed as an attempt to reproduce empirical data from the 1980s. That the subject must e-command its predicate is neither necessary nor sufficient as a filter, cf. the examples in (1) and John gave Bill the book drunk where Bill, a goal, cannot be the subject of drunk. Semantic conditions are dictated, at least in part, by the semantic nature of the predicate eg result vs state. These conditions can be expected to be universal in nature.
Both binding and movement rules are frequently used in current generative linguistic analyses, however, it is often unclear what the properties of the two rules are and the usefulness of allowing both types is sometimes questioned. The interaction of two kinds of relative clauses in Bulgarian with "island" conditions provides a clear demonstration of the need for two distinct kinds of rules subject to different kinds of constraints. The first type of relative clause, a typical Wh-Movement construction, results from the application of WN and PP, the second type, Deteto, which will be studied in this paper, results from the application of WN and PP.

`Deteto, `Deteto ei vidjaal [g.v. dse]. "The child whose you saw [g.v. dse]."

The second type, formed with a relative complementizer and an optional bound pronoun, does not obey much islands:

`Deteto, dalo si vidjaal [g.v. `detelo am]. "The child that you saw [g.v. his dog]."

Deletion of the pronoun in the latter type of example is subject to the island condition; controlled deletion and movement but not binding respect islands. On the other hand, a crossing constraint which accounts for so-called Wh Islands in Bulgarian can be shown to constrain only binding and not movement or controlled deletion.

WILLIAM J. SAMARIN, University of Toronto

The Curious Case of the Kongo Copula

1. The innovation of the copula-auxiliary in Sango, deviating lexically and grammatically from the Adamawa-Eastern (i.e. non-Santu) vocabulary-base and assumed grammar-base language, into which the Sango are identified (Ferguson, 1972, 1977), is here explained as an introduction by speakers of pidginized Kongo, reinforced by phonetically and grammatically similar morphemes in very different languages (e.g. Bambara) in a period of intense language contact in 19th-century Africa, a process so powerful that it produced a creole of its own, Swahili. 2. The study suggests caution in the application of the 'foreigner talk' hypothesis (Ferguson 1972, Ferguson & DeBose 1977); 3. argues that the phonetic similarity of the morpheme is not the predicted consequences of creolisation (Sankoff & Laberge 1974) but are remnants of dialectal variants in the donor language; 4. suggests that Samarín (1980) may have placed too much emphasis on English in Sango's history, misled by demographic and historical factors and by the similarity of central Eastern Sango languages; and 5. apposes the usefulness of comparative-historical studies for language contact to narrower although universalist perspectives (Bickerton 1981).

RONALD P. SCHAFFER, University of Benin

Some Characteristic Lexicalisation Types in Tawana

In the cross-language studies of Tawany (in pre 13, 1972), we find a typology of characteristic patterns used to lexicalise motion events. These patterns emerge from analysis of one or more of the postulated components FIGURA, POTOLE, TAJM, KUNK, NAKWA and GADSA. Three lexicalisation types, each characteristic of a different language, were identified: FIGURA-K(=FIGURA) (=tawany, tujamja nagana, and English). This approach enhances our understanding of distributional constraints for verbal roots and verb roots corresponding to roots in Tawany. In the second type, we study how this system of constraints reflects not one but two, of the typological patterns discussed by Talmy: 1) K(=tawany)=HURUL (potole, tajma, kunk, and English). This approach enhances our understanding of distributional constraints for verbal roots and verb roots corresponding to roots in Tawany. In the third type, we study how this system of constraints reflects not one but two, of the typological patterns discussed by Talmy: 1) K(=tawany)=HURUL (potole, tajma, kunk, and English). This approach enhances our understanding of distributional constraints for verbal roots and verb roots corresponding to roots in Tawany.

The 'Full Line' as a Stylistic Parameter in the Dramatic Verse of John Webster

In his handling of the relation between stress and metrical pattern, Webster closely follows his Elizabethan predecessors. The central problem in assessing his blank verse is to account for certain highly characteristic ('full') lines that contain what appear to be tri syllabic or tetra syllabic feet not normally found in earlier dramatic verse: Here's a plot / Upon the plot. I am assailed / By some passion. The explanation is twofold. First, Webster uses a far more colloquial speech register than does Marlowe or Shakespeare. Evidence from contemporary grammarians and orthographers (e.g. Pope-Thomas in 1717) shows that shortened word forms which whatpiresly (1777) and others derive by metrical rules that determine the mapping between prosodic and phonological types are, in fact, the result of prosodic rules of syncpe, elision, contraction, and other processes. Second, Webster uses a metrical rule of rhyme resolution (CR) that allows a mapping between metrical W and two prosodically weak syllables. Webster is not excluded from a basic syllable-count rule that accommodates all occurrences of extra-metrical syllables in Webster's verse.
Boundary Strength in Syntactic Processing

Cooper and Paciolo-Cooper (1980) propose a metric of boundary strength to predict prosodic features in speech production. They argue that this metric must be based, in part, on the 'direct pitch' hypothesis rather than a "mode height" hypothesis. The purpose of my paper is to suggest that entirely different aspects of production can also be partly accounted for on the basis of this boundary strength metric. Specifically, a report will be given of experimental results using the next-word probe task where contrasts between otherwise identical nested and unnested NPs were examined as such The book on that table looks; interesting and that table looks ugly in this room, in both of which the probe word was table and the target looks. In such pairs, the table is excited much longer when the NPs than the target is. This analysis is applicable on straightforward grounds, given branching depth as the basis for determining boundary strength. Methodologically, the outcome is also interesting, because it demonstrates that this probe task, first employed by Suci, et al. (1967), is indeed a sensitive indicator of C2. Moreover, it suggests that, contra Carroll (1978), configurational factors have larger effects than functional ones.

P.F. SEITZ, University of Pennsylvania (TUES AFT: F)

Phonological Explanation for Two Sound Changes in Logudorean (Galardinian)
The developments of 19 out of 34 cases of original Latin labial velar stops in Logudorean words to geminate bilabial stops (e.g. *nostà > abba*) and of 17 out of 21 original Latin palatal stops to geminate alveolar stops (e.g. *nostà > abba*) in other languages; these sound changes are potently abrupt and spurious, challenge once again the idea that cases of 'labialization' and 'palatalization' must pass along an articulatory gradient. The desire for deeper phonological explanation of such changes challenges the 'linguistic borrowing' account. This paper uses the view that sound changes may arise from the listener's misperception of psychophysically similar sounds, or his misapprehension of reconstituent knowledge about context which under most circumstances allows disambiguation of similar signals. This view has been developed by L. Ohba and has introduced the idea that laboratory findings about the acoustic properties and confusability of (transcribed) phones of no-longer-spoken languages can shed light on the mechanisms of sound change. To show that such Logudorean phones share interesting acoustic properties with their replaced phones this is a confusion matrix support the listener-based account of the changes. Furthermore, I show that the replacing phones fit well into the developing Logudorean segment inventory. Thus I propose a phonological explanation for these sound changes which is based upon phonetic and typological evidence.

JOHAN SEYVENS, University of Connecticut (WED MORN: D)

Dutch Passive-Formation

In Dutch not only transitive but also intransitive verbs may be passivized. Although the passive participle of both verb types contain the same passive morpheme (*-t*), it can be shown that Dutch passive-formation is not an entirely unitary process. In the case of transitive verbs, only verbs assigning the thematic role THEME to their objects may be passivized. In contrast, in the case of intransitives—which lack object THEMES—passivization of the verb may be assigned to any verb. Furthermore, there are no further semantic constraints possessive, but for intransitives the required AGENT must not be *[HUMAN]*. This passive is sensitive to argument structure (not surprising; Williams (1981) has argued that all morphological rules affect argument structure. However, whereas the rules which Williams discusses produce singularity changes, in Dutch passive-formation evidence of two changes in argument structure may occur: 1) an internal THEME is externalized, or 2) an external AGENT is internalized. We will show that these two argument structure rules are triggered by the same morphological process, that the two rules are ordered with respect to each other, and that this ordering follows from the form of the rules themselves (under an extension of Kiparsky's Elsewhere Condition).

Resumptive Pronouns in Relative Clauses in Non-Native Liberian English

More than 3200 relative clauses from Liberian English (LE) speech were analyzed quantitatively using the VARGROLL program, and the following questions were addressed: the relativization strategies of subclausal languages—particularly with regard to resumptive pronouns—have a pidginized speech variety? In Liberian Mende subclausal languages like Glo, a resumptive pronoun must be inserted into every relative clause. In Kré subclausal languages like Kla, it may only be inserted in some subcategorization position—a clear counterexample to the relevant corollary of the Accessibility Hierarchy. The results of this study suggest that the extent of subclausal influence on a pidgin is linked to the degree of homogeneity of the input. In one variety of LE, the subclausal input is mixed, i.e., Kré and Kru, and no Kru influence shows up even among Kré-first-language speakers. In a second variety, however, the subclausal input is predominantly Kré, and Kru influence is strong.

Optimality theory is used to correlate the complexity of processing strategies with variability in resumptive pronoun occurrence: can this be confined, or are other factors more salient? Ham's prediction that resumptive pronouns will occur more frequently clause-independently than clause-finally (because of the difficulty of processing clauses with gaps) is not borne out; instead, other, unrelated factors prove more significant.

MICHAEL B. SMITH, University of California-San Diego

On the Correlation of Subjecthood and Epiphenomen Dummies in German

The duwy ocurs intiely in many constructions in German. E.g. In Heine: "A child is playing in the room." As wired, it is interpreted as "There is a child in the room." In another construction, also wired: "Es gibt zwei Kinder in der Stadt." The purpose of this paper is to show that the dummies in the former constructions have no underlying syntactic function, while those in the latter are used to express the information that there are two children in the city. This is a case in which we predict that the underlying structure, and the surface structure in which there are no underlying syntactic function, will be the same. Previous work has dealt with the problem of whether or not it is possible to have a sentence that is both a dummy and an epiphenomen. This is a problem that has been left open to discussion, but we believe that the answer is yes. We have developed a theory that predicts the behavior of these sentences in all cases, and we have shown that it is possible to have a sentence that is both a dummy and an epiphenomen.

LAURI STONE, University of Wisconsin-Madison

The subcategorization and article usage of verbs in German

We present results of an initial experiment designed to test use of island constraints in processing wh-constructions. Subjects are required to report for a pre-designated proper name in the test sentences. We assume (1) the subject processes a gap for a wh-word and may erroneously fill a potential gap as the sentence is input, and (2) island constraints are not evaluated potential gaps but only when there is no longer reaction time to monitor for the name in a type sentence than the b-type sentences, since in a type sentences a potential gap follows the preposition about, but inside an island constraint. In an island constraint, the subject processes a gap for a wh-word and may erroneously fill a potential gap as the sentence is input, but there is no longer reaction time to monitor for the name in a type sentence than the b-type sentences. The difference in means for c-type minus d-type sentences is -6.6 ms (Mean = 36.4 ms)

HELEN GOODWIN, University of Wisconsin-Madison

The subcategorization and article usage of verbs in German

S. the teacher asked if the team had already heard about Greg's brother's fumbling the ball for.

b. The teacher asked if the team had already heard about Greg's brother's fumbling the ball.

c. The teacher asked if the team had already heard about Greg's brother's fumbling the ball.

d. The teacher asked if the team had already heard about Greg's brother's fumbling the ball.

For 20 subjects tested to date, mean RTs are longer by 3.6 ms in a-type than b-type sentences; the difference in means for c-type minus d-type sentences is -6 ms (Mean = 36.4 ms). These preliminary results fit our assumptions, and a general model in which a constructed representation is used in processing, as opposed to a model in which rules are accessed but no structural representation kept in memory.

DAVID TUGG, Summer Institute of Linguistics

Máhuat Causative/Applicative in Space Grammar

In Máhuat (Aztecan), as in other languages, the same verbal suffixes can function both as causatives and as applicatives, which are traditionally viewed as markers of some sort of "dative movement." E.g. in Teteocingo Máhuat miktliya (die-caus) means 'kill s.o.', but ter-tel-tliya (stone-throw-applic) means 'make s.o. throw stones at s.o.' Analysis under Langacker's Space Grammar easily and naturally relates these usages. Both involve expanding the scope of the stem to include a relation causally related to the stem, which contains main-scope Thing which is profiled either a Subject (Trajector) or Direct Object (Landmark). Some examples can be construed under other schemas. Other examples are neither causatives nor applicatives, but under the Space Grammar analysis are sort of half-way cases, with features of both causatives and applicatives. e.g. 'cry/to-at s.o.' is not causative (make s.o. cry) nor applicative (cry to/ at s.o.), but means 'mourn s.o., cry because of s.o.'s death'. Most other models would be forced to treat these usages as only accidentally related.

HELEN GOODWIN, University of Wisconsin-Madison

The subcategorization and article usage of verbs in German

59
Topicalization in Modern German differs from its English counterpart in a couple of ways, most of which have been at least mentioned in the literature on German syntax. German topicalization cannot account for phenomena that could not be topicalized in English, it is clause bounded, and it has been blamed in some analyses for filling all first position slots in 'verb second' adversative clauses. There are two properties of German topicalization that share, according to all analyses of the phenomena in the two languages, I am aware of: 1. A sentence-initial constituent is the appropriate 'filler' for some 'gap' somewhere in the clause (which location is not fixed and that distinction is uncertain). 2. This 'dislocated' constituent plays the pragmatic role of the topic in the sentence.

It is clear that this doesn't quite work for German. There are cases in German where the dislocated topic does not take first position. Moreover, there are cases in subclauses where the order of constituent assignment (or even third) postulates a second (or even third) position for the topic phrase.

The topicalization meta-rule adds the topic to the target clause rules which then underlies the ordering principles encoded in the Linearization relation. The interaction of this solution with some of the other peculiarities about German topicalization supports the given analysis.

SHARON R. VENCH, National University of Singapore

Ethnomethodology as a Register

Ethnomethodologists (ethnomethodologists) who do conversation analysis have developed their own distinct registers. Conversation analysts such as Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson, Schenkel, West, and others use a distinctive vocabulary, e.g., tellables, pre-first topic offsetting, transition-relevance places, etc. They also use unusual syntactic structures, e.g., a simplest systematics, a turn's talk, some candidate next, and Faults are assigned to members to usage by others about whom it is said that they have small vocabularies. They also extensively use attention-getting typographies, including glottal, question, hypenation, italics, boldface, and bracketing in the same article, and sometime develop a topic disjunctively, using a "different domain" (Schegloff in Budnow 1972 technique). The range, variety, and frequency of use of features from the lexical to the discourses level are extraordinarily wide. Most of the distinctive features of ethnomethodologists are directly observed, and almost uniformly to (2) illustrate by example that the everyday world is in fact quite strange, and (2) create a technical language about everyday happenings. Simultaneously, the features (3) mark who is and who is not an ethnomethodologist while developing a core of detailed followers. Some features, however, only function as (3), a marker of being ethnomethod. These identifying features, usually 'adverbs, e.g., in the first instance, massively, of sorts, intendedly, and others, suggest that ethnomethodology is attempting to emphasize its own, unique sociolinguistic paradigms by emphasizing its new and unique register.

KASHI WALT, Syracuse University

Argument from Multiple Headed Correlatives

Multiple Headed Correlatives (MHC) as in 1 have been cited as prime evidence for allotting Modern Indo Aryan Single Headed Correlatives (SHC) an adjoined clause structure by Andrews & some others. These analyses are however merely impressionistic. This paper for the first time gives a detailed syntactic account of both MHC & SHC. It shows that only MHC satisfy Hale's adjoined structure criteria. The two differ on many crucial points thus questioning the validity of the MHC argument. The paper argues that the SHC structure is problematic since it neither fits the adjoined nor complex NP type. (The data is based on Marathi)

1. Jya mulane jya mullia je pustak dila tyana tilan te daakhvata navta wh. boy wh. girl wh. book gave he her-to it showed not (which boy gave which girl which book, he had not shown it to her)
2. Jya mulane jilaan dila tyana tilan te daakhvata navta (the boy who gave the book to her had not shown it to her) (SHC)
GERMAN WESTPHAL, Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Spanish as a Verb Initial Language at the D/S Level: The Evidence from LF

In this paper, I will claim that Sp. is a verb initial at D/S. In order to prove my case, I will first show that the following generalization holds: (1) Sp. neg. Sa. require the presence of the neg. particle no, unless there is a neg. phrase in preverbal position, in which case no must be absent. Next, I will show that (1) is a language specific condition on LF, since this is the only possible explanation for the apparent exceptional character of (2) A ninguno de los amigos de quien no vos hablaste? - None of the friends of whom didn't you see? Indeed, since the LF representation of (2) is that given under (3), it follows that (1) holds at LF: (3) for which X, X a person, no vieron a ninguno de tus amigos de X. Having given the terms of this approach, it also follows from the approach of (1, 2, and not (6) because the latter constitutes a violation of (1): (6) ninguno de los amigos de quien no vimos. - None of the friends of whom didn't we see? (5) for which X, X a person, no comimos ninguno de tus amigos de X; (6) for which X, X a person, ningun de los amigos de X no comimos). Since the reconstruction rule that gives (5) places the neg. subject in postverbal position, which must be the position in which it originated in D/S, according to the terms of theory trace, it follows that Sp. is a verb initial language at the D/S level, and the claim made in this paper is substantiated.

RONNIE NELBUR, Purdue University

A Multi-Tiered Syllable Structure for ASL

In contrast to the flat syllable structures which have been proposed for American Sign Language (ASL) (Mirolli and Wilbur, 1976; Cincnich, 1978; Newmark, ms.; Liddell, 1982), this paper outlines the extension of the multi-tiered theory of syllable structure proposed by Cairns and Feinstein (1982) to ASL. As expected, ASL allows the unmarked syllable branching into an optional onset (Ru) and a required rhyme (Rh). When onset occurs, it appears to be restricted to hold (H) segments (using the distinction identified by Liddell, 1982). The Rh is divided into Nucleus (Nu) and an optional Codas (Cd), which appears to be restricted in the same way as onom. As predicted by Cairns and Feinstein, there is at least one required Peaker (Pa) and an optional Satellite (Sa).

Movements in ASL are categorized into those which may be Sa ("local" movement) and those which can only be Pa ("linear" movement). When both Pa and Sa occur, they are realized simultaneously. Similarly, Nu and Cd appear to be restricted (suggested by a new definition for Hold). This proposed structure allows formal recognition of the ambiguous status of local movement (eligible to be both Pk or the more marked Sa), as well as constraints on syllable structure, including simultaneousness and segmentation of segments. Critical data from reduplication, stressed signs, and compounds illustrate the separate constraints on On and Rh.

MAURICE K. WONG, Texas Instruments, Inc.

The Changed Tone in Two Cantonese Dialects: A Tone Hopper Hypothesis

The phenomenon known as baiin, or "tone change", occurs in a number of Cantonese (or Tuh) dialects. Some cases of tone change are predictable by phonological rules; other cases involve various semantic, morphological, and syntactic tendencies that favor the occurrence of the changed tone. In standard Cantonese, the changed tone has the same tone value as one of the six basic tones, the high rising tone, and thus on the surface any of the four non-high tones may alternate with the high rising tone. (e.g. [tsin53] 'swallow' vs [pak52] 'speak'; [jit55] 'comet'; [jit20] 'correct' vs [jg53] 'given'; [sio53] 'source'.) In the case where Pk is linear (suggesting a new definition for Hold), this proposed structure allows formal recognition of the ambiguous status of local movement (eligible to be both Pk or the more marked Sa), as well as constraints on syllable structure, including simultaneousness and segmentation of segments. Critical data from reduplication, stressed signs, and compounds illustrate the separate constraints on On and Rh.

A. ZAREHEN, Harvard University

Noun, Nominal Sentence, and Clause in Central Alaskan Yupik Eksimo

In Eksimo languages, noun phrases and clauses are unusually similar structurally. This has led some writers to conclude that clauses are noun phrases (or vice versa). This point of the paper is to show that such understandings of Eksimo noun phrase and clause organization fail to recognize important functional and formal distinctions that once picked apart, the system is of considerable general interest to syntacticians. Among other things, there is an important class of 'nominal sentences' that must be kept distinct from nouns and from clauses. Also, far from being formally identical, the grading of construction types along a continuum from noun phrase to clause, revealing a hierarchy of properties that make each successive construction type more clause-like and less noun-phrase-like than the one preceding it. Central Alaskan Yupik data comes from fieldwork in Alaska in 1988 and 1989.

ANTHONY C. WOODBURY, University of Texas-Austin

UNETICAL ANALYSIS OF SHANGHAI TONGAL SANDHI

An analysis of Shanghai Tongal sandhi is presented, based on stress-footing within the domain, and the limit of 2-syllable per foot, as described by Hayes (1981). The tone bearing unit is shown to be the mora and assignment of tone on compound proceeds from left to right. The second mora of the compound. Horns at the end which do not receive tone from the mapping rules receive a core value of 1, as described by Halle and Lombard (1982). Furthermore, the tone assignment domain is argued to be the foot, yielding different sandhi. This mapping system, with one additional simplification rule, accounts for three problems which had existed in previous analyses. Zee and Haddison (1979) and Yip (1980). 1) Initial short and long syllables with the same LI melody show a split in pattern with 1-syllable feet, and this is simply accounted for by the analysis of the other work. 2) Second syllable is shown all 1-syllable compounds except initial short LI ones. The solution here also follows simply from the mapping and 'core value' analysis. 3) The lack of splitting of tone classes in four syllable compounds follows from the two-foot structure, and no additional rules are necessary for these forms.

J. RALPH MCLINTOCK, Brandeis University

PASSIVE AND OBIQUE CASE

Both traditional grammarians discussing historical change, and recent proponents of GB-theory assume that the following generalization must be maintained and explained: "Oblique case is immune from passivization"(Den Besten[1982]). In this paper, we will show that this principle is not universal, and that Modern Icelandic is a particularly clear exception to it. Recent work on Icelandic syntax has led to the development of several tests distinguishing IP's from non-IP's in that language. The tests include raising-phoneme word order, extraction restrictions, dummy insertion and control of reflexives. We will show that by all these tests, the initial NP in (1) is a grammatical subject, despite the fact that the verb agrees with the postverbal NP, and the fact that it is the postverbal NP which is nominative, whereas the initial NP is in the dative.

(1) Honum voru ofi fengur bakandi.
He[D] were [PI] often given [N,F,P,L] books [N,F,P,L].

We will then discuss the consequences of this finding for proposed principles of the interaction between syntax and morphology in language change, specifically for those principles pertaining to the use of "indirect" passives in Middle English.

THEO K. W. HAYES, University of Michigan

ANALYSIS OF SHANGHAI TONGAL SANDHI

An analysis of Shanghai Tongal sandhi is presented, based on stress-footing within the domain, and the limit of 2-syllable per foot, as described by Hayes (1981). The tone bearing unit is shown to be the mora and assignment of tone on compound proceeds from left to right. The second mora of the compound. Horns at the end which do not receive tone from the mapping rules receive a core value of 1, as described by Halle and Lombard (1982). Furthermore, the tone assignment domain is argued to be the foot, yielding different sandhi. This mapping system, with one additional simplification rule, accounts for three problems which had existed in previous analyses. Zee and Haddison (1979) and Yip (1980). 1) Initial short and long syllables with the same LI melody show a split in pattern with 1-syllable feet, and this is simply accounted for by the analysis of the other work. 2) Second syllable is shown all 1-syllable compounds except initial short LI ones. The solution here also follows simply from the mapping and 'core value' analysis. 3) The lack of splitting of tone classes in four syllable compounds follows from the two-foot structure, and no additional rules are necessary for these forms.

HARSH S. WRIGHT, Trinity University
Resegmentation and Its Relation to Formulaism

This paper examines morphological resegmentation from the hypothesis that morphological paradigms are organized according to principles similar to natural categories. A flurry of recent work has aimed at showing that semantic phenomena, like organization of senses, can be described in terms of natural categories (e.g. Lakoff, 1982). Similar results for organization of forms in morphology have been reported by Bybee and Stolz (in Language, 1982). Their study draws on data of a morphophonological form class, the strong ablauting verbs of English. This paper will look instead at the organization of forms through a single paradigm, namely, the passive imperfect paradigm of the northern dialects of Modern Greek. Among these dialects, it is more common for the forms of this one paradigm to show idiosyncracies than those of any other paradigm. The idiosyncracies strongly suggest that massive resegmentations have occurred in the person-number markers. No one dialect, however, seems better equipped to make the necessary distinctions than any other, or than the protoform, as a result of the changes. If both old and new segmentations are transparent and communicative, then why should there be change? What the changes among the dialects have in common, I will argue, is that the passive imperfect is organized as a natural category, meaning that there is a prosodic pattern prescribed for numbers of the paradigm. The resegmentation that occurs can then be seen rather as an accidental by-product of formulaicization of that pattern.
Chomsky (1981) proposes the Projection Principle (PP), which states that a given predicate will have the same subcategorization properties in D-Str, S-Str, and Logical Form (LF); this subcategorization determines the semantic &-roles of the arguments. As Chomsky points out, PP interacts with other properties of his system to restrict possible raising rules; To see how this works, consider a schematic statement of a classical raising rule:

\[
(1) \ 
\text{Host \, \( \equiv \text{Raising} \rightarrow \text{NP} \)} \ 
\text{[\ldots, \ldots]} \ 
\text{Host \, \[\ldots, \ldots\]NPc}
\]

In the pre-raising structure, the upstair predicate will appear in a subcategorization frame that includes just the Host constituent; in the post-raising structure the frame will include both Host and NPc. There is therefore a violation of PP. Given data that might lend us to set up a raising rule like (1), there are three moves consistent with PP: (A) The Single- 
Constituent Analysis: Contrary to appearances, NPc remains part of the host at all levels and 
the data that motivate the putative raising rule is handled in some other way. The standard 
EST analysis of English Raising to Object (R-to-O) is an example: There it is claimed that no 
Raising has taken place, and the data with Passive, Reflexive, etc. is taken to be by rules 
of S’ Deletion and Exceptional Case Marking, which have the effect of making the host clause 
“transparent” to the relevant rules. (B) The non-Ø GF analysis: There we postulate that a 
Raising does take place, but that NPc is moved to a position previously occupied by an empty 
NP with a grammatical function that has no &-role, a “non-Ø GF.” We thus get the same output 
structure as the classical raising rule, but there is no violation of PP, since the frame 
includes both Host and an NP at all levels. This is Chomsky’s analysis of English Raising to 
Subject (R-to-S): [John] is likely [to win]; move-Ø NP John is likely [to win]. 
(C) The Extra-Argument Analysis: There we postulate that NPc in base-generated in its S-Str 
location outside the host, and the semantic role NPc plays in the host is handled by an Equi-
type control mechanism: In effect you postulate a persuade-type structure rather than an expect-
type structure. 

Of course PP will make testable predictions only to the extent that we can constrain the use 
of B and C type analyses: For example, Chomsky argues (1981:328) that PP rules out in principle 
the classical English Raising-to-Object rule. To show this, he rules out an extra-argument 
analysis by arguing (obviously correctly) that expect and other R-to-O verbs are semantically 
two-place predicates, with no &-role to assign to an extra argument. Similarly, he rules 
out a non-Ø GF Analysis (p37-8) by an independent condition that states that a subcategorized 
position must have a &-role. Since objects are subcategorized, a non-Ø object GF is ruled 
out. (Note that this argument implies some difficulties for the natural CB analysis of extra-
posed object clauses, which appear to leave a dummy (non-Ø) object: “I regret it very much that 
John left.”)

In this paper we test PP by examining a series of apparent Raising constructions for which 
the single-constituent analysis can be ruled out immediately. Our arguments are of two sorts: 
First, we look at a number of examples which collectively cast doubt on PP by showing that 
analyses consistent with PP will require exactly the sort of unmotivated non-Ø GFs and extra 
arguments that Chomsky sought to rule out in his discussion of English R-to-O. While an EST 
model is powerful enough to permit analyses consistent with PP, the moves required remove any 
empirical content from PP. Second, one of our claimed rules, Chickasaw Possessor Raising, 
applies to its own output. If, as we suspect, the number of successive applications of PP 
is limited by performance factors, rather than by anything in the competence grammar, then 
an analysis consistent with PP would require an unbounded number of non-Ø GFs or extra arguments 
in the lexical entry for the PR predicates.

1. Raising-to-Object
   Modern Persian (Moyné & Carden, LT 5:205-50)
   (2) a. man mōshām [ke ali beyāy-ad]g
      I want 1SG COMP A, come 3SG
      "I want Ali to come."
   b. man [ali-rā]mōshām [ke (u) beyāy-ad]g
      I A OBJ want 1SG COMP (he) come 3SG

   Modern Cree (Joseph, 1976 Harvard PhD thesis; Perlmutter & Soames 1979:154f)
   (3) a. nāsīn afās [kon kohā]īna [ke]nā to kimbiy.
      "John let things come to a head."
      John/NOM let the knot/ACC COMP arrive at the comb
Fijian (Gordon, 1980 LSA)

(4) a. e vinakata ko Samu [ni vukena ko Mere]  "Samu wants Here to help the child"
    3SG want DET S. COMP help DET child DET M.
    "Samu wants Here to help the child"

In these three languages, the putative Passive NP appears in the normal 3DO position, separate from the host clause; the host S' is tensed and has a visible COMP. There is thus no hope handling these by a Single-Constituent Analysis parallel to Chomsky's analysis of English. Any analysis compatible with PF will need to base-generate a DP NP, either as a non-3 CP or in an extra argument. Either move would be ruled out by problems.

A non-direct object phrase raises the raising data well enough, but it requires abandoning Q4 constraint on non-3 GFs. There would be no reason not to apply a parallel analysis to English 8 to-0, except that an extra argument looks better, but has its own problems: it requires a systematically uncontrolled control statement for the contrast between Fijian (Sa) and (5).

(5) a. me an ostuch mi-mi-an [ko sarabbe beyi-kad]
    "I want from the sergeant that the sergeant want from me"
    [ko sarabbe beyi-kad] "I want from the sergeant (the object)"

b. me an ostuch mi-mi-an [ko sarabbe beyi-kad]
    "I want from the sergeant who wants from me"

I suggest that in Fijian Q4 acts for purposes of coercion when it was still) downwards, contrasting with "real" 3-place predicates like "ask":

(6) e kerai koya ko Samu [ni vukena ko Mere]
    (koya = Mere)
    3SG ask DET S. COMP help DET M.
    "Samu asks her that Mere help her."  

(7) e vinakata [koya = ko Mere]
    (koya = Mere)
    3SG want DET S. COMP help DET M.
    "Samu wants to help herself."  

Fijian has the familiar structural condition of coercion, so that koya in the matrix of (6) is disjoint in reference from the following Mere downwards. Apparent Raising structures like (7) are an exception, since they have the same readings as equivalent 3-place verb phrases (VPs) in particular, (7) has a good reading with koya content with Mere. To handle this in an extra-argument analysis, it will not suffice to have some rule of control that forces koya to be coreferent with the host koya downwards: we will need to get rid of the koya upstays at the time the Disjoint Reference Rule applies. Since 8 to-0 feeds cyclic Passive and B-roles, we assume it cannot be stylistic. An analysis consistent with PF will therefore need a yo-yo Lowering-Raising rule, so that koya can be downwards when Disjoint Reference applies, but upstays in D-Str, and LDP, so that a non-direct object like (7) could raise out and we will need only a lowering rule to put it back downwards before Disjoint Reference.

2. Chickasaw Possessor Raising (Munro & Gordon, 1988:81-115)

(9a) [Jan ishkin-at]Np lakna (9b) [Jan-at]Np [ishkin-at]Np lakna "Jan's eyes are brown.
J. eye SUBJ brown J. SUBJ eye (SUBJ) brown.

Munro & Gordon derive (9b) from a D-Str like (9a) by a rule of FR that raises the possessor
Jan to subject position. This analysis is not compatible with Fijian, since lakna, which is a
noun, would take one NP in the D-Str of (9b), but two in the S-Str. Since this construction causes special difficulty for PF, we will go over the evidence in some detail.

2.1 Tests for S-Str Subjecthood

A. -at Marking: cat is obligatory on surface subjects and on NPz in the FR construction; it is strictly obligatory when complicated conditions on the possessor host NPz.

B. Remarking: Chickasaw has a complicated person-marking system controlled by surface subjects; NAG show that it is controlled by NPz in FR.

C. Upper Marking: 3rd person plural human surface subject is optionally marked on the verb by upper.

   3.III house SUBJ big (PL) big

   man SUBJ house (SUBJ) big (PL) big

Note that since FR determines coref and disjoint ref, FR could not be a "stylistic" rule.

2.2 A Test for D-Str Subjecthood: Stem Suppletion is not affected by FR

A small number of prepositions require different stems depending on the number of the D-Str subject: kihohi/tichho "big," milli/tilha "run." In the FR construction, stem suppletion is controlled by the host NPz. Compare (11) with the plural stems and (12) with the sing.

(11a) [baktat im-ambo-at]Np hichho (12b) [baktat im-ambo-at]Np hichho "The man's men's house SUBJ big (PL) houses SUBJ big (PL)

2.3 A Test for Constituency: Adverb Placement

S-Adverb can appear between NPz and NPz, ruling out a Single-constituent Analysis.

(13a) [Jan-at]Np oblasaahab [of-it-at]Npz in-III-tok "Yesterday Jan's dog died.
J. SUBJ oblasaahab in-III-tok (one) dog SUBJ in-III-tok (one)

(13b) Jan oblasaahab im-of-at Np in-III-tok (fine) without oblasaahab

2.4 FR can Apply to its Own Output

(14a) [Jan im-amina]Np tyy-at Np oppolo "Jan's table's leg is broken.
J. III table leg SUBJ tyy-at Np oppolo (one)

(15a) [Jan-im-amina]Np tyy-at Np oppolo (two)

Given any string of stacked possessors like (15a), FR can apply repeatedly, subject to an unexplained constraint that at most one animate possessor can be raised. The process has limits; our examples with 3 PPs (and no 4 PPs) are all somewhat doubtful; but we suspect that these are pragmatic/performance limits, rather than something to be built into the analysis of FR.

2.5 Implications for the Projection Principle

We take it that NPz is the S-Str subject, and a separate constituent from NPz.

This rules out a Single-constituent Analysis (A). Any analysis consistent with PF must thus postulate one or more extra NPs in D-Str to match the S-Str; these NPs may be non-3 GFs (B), or extra arguments (C). An Extra-Argument Analysis (C) will have problems specifying the 3-roles of the extra NPs, given the range of meanings of FR predicates; "brown," "three," "run," "die," etc. Note that FR constructions always have the same truth value as the equivalent non-reraised examples, though (as NAG describe) the two often have different discourse functions. Both B and C will require special GFs, since NPz and NPz divide the "normal" syntactic subject properties, so that neither can be the "normal" syntactic subject. Note that a FR analysis gives a partial explanation, since lexical stem suppletion should not be affected by a FR transformation. Most seriously for the FR, all of these problems will be multiplied by the possibility of applying FR to its own output. In fact, if we are right in thinking that the number of applications in the output is not limited in count, a competence model would need to permit lexical stem suppletion to be forced on any given number of cases. An attempt to escape this by extraposition the head N to a position fails within EST, since the traces would not be NPz functioning as subject, and the second extraposition in (15) would violate subjectancy.

3. Conclusion: The Projection Principle must be Abandoned or Modified

D. Switch Reference: Chickasaw has a Switch Reference (SR) system, by which the verb of a subcategorized clause is marked to show whether its subject is coreferent with the subject of the main clause. This marking is controlled by surface subjects, and by NPz in the FR construction.

(16a) [cho yamna-t]Np [t-le-ha-at]Np ko moi "That woman's husband three...a) because they love her.
(16b) [cho yamna-t]Np [t-le-ha-at]Np [cho yamna-t]Np ko moi "That woman's husband's three...b) because she loves them.
coref"

Note that since FR determines coref and disjoint ref, FR could not be an "stylistic" rule.
The vastness of Natural Languages

This colloquium is an excerpt from Langendooen and Postal (forthcoming). Its aim is to show that the collection of sentences comprising each individual natural language (NL) is so vast that its magnitude is not given by any number, finite or transfinite. This means that NLs cannot, as is currently almost universally assumed, be considered recursively enumerable, hence countable (enumerable) collections of sentences. For if they were such, the magnitude of each would be no greater than the smallest transfinite cardinal number $\aleph_0$. There can then be no procedure, algorithm, Turing machine or grammar that constructs or generates all the members of an NL. For, by definition, any such system can construct or generate only recursively enumerable, hence countable, collections. A system which constructs some NL sentences must inevitably leave most NL sentences unconstructed.

Linguistic research over the past quarter century has largely been guided by two major assumptions introduced by N. Chomsky: (i) that the best theory of NLs is a theory of grammars that generate NLs; and (ii) that human beings know an NL in virtue of knowing a grammar that generates it. These assumptions cannot be maintained. The only adequate theories of NLs are, we contend, those that posit nonconstructive or nongenerative grammars. The theories of such grammars are truths about NLs in general or about specific NLs; one of these theorems states that no procedure can construct or generate all the sentences of any NL. Accordingly, if human knowledge of NLs is limited to what internalized grammars can generate, then knowledge is extraordinarily deficient. Put differently, if psychologically real (internalized) grammars are generative, then those grammars describe not NLs, but at best only proper subcollections of NLs.

Our conclusion concerning the vastness of NLs is based on a demonstration of a strict parallelism between the collection of all sentences of an NL and the collection of all sets. The discovery at the end of the last century and the beginning of this century of various so-called paradoxes showed that the collection of all sets is not itself a set, that is, is not a collection with a fixed magnitude and which is a member of other collections. These paradoxes are contradictions which arise from the assumption that various collections are sets, and thus prove they are not sets but rather what are called proper classes in set theory. See Cantor (1967). The contradictions in question include the Burali-Forti Paradox, Russell’s Paradox and, most importantly for present purposes, Cantor’s Paradox; see Beth (1959), Eisenberg (1971), Fraenkel (1966), Fraenkel, Bar-Hillel and Levy (1973), and Quine (1965). We show that it is possible to model Cantor’s Paradox in NL sentences from the assumption that the collection of all NL sentences is a set. This immediately entails that such collections are not sets but rather proper classes.

The modelling in question depends on the parallelism between NL coordination of sentences and the set-theoretic association of each set E with a provably bigger set called the power set of E (henceforth: P(E)). P(E) is the set of all subsets of E. The fact that P(E) is always larger than E is called Cantor’s Theorem, after its discoverer Georg Cantor; it is one of the most fundamental results in set theory. See Eisenberg (1971).

We argue that for each set F of sentences of the same type, e.g., declarative, of an NL L there exists some single sentence of L consisting of the coordinate compounding of all of the members of F. For example, let L be English and F the set in (1):

(1) a. Gregory is handsome.  
b. Figs can kill.  
c. Most pterodactyls are morose.

There then exists a coordinate compound of all of (1), namely:

(2) Gregory is handsome, figs can kill and most pterodactyls are morose.

We claim that it is no accident that a sentence like (2) exists for each set like (1), but rather that this is lawful for NLs. The principle determining that such a coordinate compound exists is called the principle of closure for coordinate compounding (henceforth: CLOSURE).

Consider again some arbitrary set of sentences F of an NL L. For each nonnull, nonsingleton member of P(F), there is, by CLOSURE, a distinct sentence of L. Let G be the set union of all those sentences with F. For example, if F is (1), then G is (3):

(3) a. = (1a)  
d. Gregory is handsome and figs can kill.  
b. = (1b)  
e. Gregory is handsome and most pterodactyls are morose.  
c. = (1c)  
f. Figs can kill and most pterodactyls are morose.  
g. = (2)

By definition, G is a subset of L. Since the members of G can be put into one-to-one correspondence with the nonnull members of P(F), the cardinality of G is, by Cantor’s Theorem, greater than that of F.

Now, suppose, contrary to what we wish to show, that L is itself a set of sentences. Then, by the preceding remarks, L contains a set of sentences whose cardinality is greater than that of L itself, namely, a set of coord compounds like (3), one for each nonnull member of P(L). But this is a contradiction. Hence L cannot be a set.

Given the demonstration that NLs are not sets, it immediately follows that no NL has any generative (proof theoretic, Turing Machine, procedural, or constructive) grammar, since, by definition, all such systems specify recursively enumerable collections, hence finite or countably infinite sets. Consequently, every theory of NL grammars which takes these to be generative systems is falsified. More specifically, what is demonstrated is that every logically possible version of almost every extant theory of NL grammars in false, e.g., every version of phrase structure grammar, lexical/functionual grammar, Montague grammar, transformational grammar, daughter dependency grammar, and many others. The overall program of generative grammar is shown to be based on a misconception of the nature of NLs and their grammars.

Basicall, this program is defined by the question: what is the right form of
generative grammar for NLs? But the present results show that no NL has any correct generative grammar, and so the whole program is misguided.

The only extant conception of NL grammars known to us which survives is the nonconstructive approach of Johnson and Postal (1980) and Postal (1982). This framework takes NL grammars to be combinations of statements which determine necessary and sufficient conditions for sentencehood via the logical notion of satisfaction but which provide no procedure for constructing sentences. Thus, the present results support this view of NL grammars, which in effect takes them to have the axiomatic character of, e.g., set theories.

A further consequence of CLOSURE and the nonsatisfaction of NLs is that contrary to the standard view that all NL sentences are finite in size (length), there is no upper bound on sentence length at all. Each NL therefore contains sentences of transfinite length. In fact, for any transfinite cardinal number \( c \), there is some sentence of each NL longer than \( c \). This consequence illustrates a further respect in which the assumptions underlying generative grammar are incorrect. If each NL sentence were, as assumed in generative grammar, a finite object, then NLs would fall naturally in the formal domain of what can be called theoretical computer science, a domain concerned with recursively enumerable sets, algorithms, effective procedures, etc.; see Hopcroft and Ullman (1979), Lewis and Papadimitriou (1981). Since NLs involve sentences of all transfinite sizes, however, they do not lie within this limited mathematical domain, but only within a much broader slice of mathematical reality studied in higher set theory.

References
Biographical accounts of the life and work of individual scholars are an important tool for historians of knowledge. All recent work in the history of linguistics includes such accounts, yet even major volumes include almost no references to the work of women scholars. This invisibility of women scholars is partly due to the fact that women did not begin to contribute to linguistics in significant numbers until the present century. However, at this time we have before us the work of a generation of women scholars whose careers have reached full maturity. The Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics has selected for biographical treatment six scholars, all either retired or deceased: Marguerite Durand, Eli Fischer-Jørgensen, Kerstin Hadding, Ruth Hirsch Weir, Adelaide Hahn, and Mary R. Haas. These women represent a variety of fields, experienced diverse career trajectories, and come from several national traditions. They share, however, attainment of the highest levels of distinction in linguistic scholarship. The presenters, who are all students or colleagues of the subjects, will assess their contributions, placing the scholarship of these women in the contexts of their lives and careers. The symposium will honor these scholars with a place in the annals of their science, contribute to the history of linguistics by 'making visible' the contributions of a generation of eminent women linguists in order to provide a balanced range of biographical materials for future historians of our field, and demonstrate to young men and women entering linguistics that the highest levels of linguistic scholarship are the province of both sexes.
JOHN OHALA, University of California-Berkeley
Marguerite Durand

Marguerite Durand died twenty years ago but through her writings she emerges as a very modern, very versatile, and very independent scholar of language. From 1936 when she submitted two theses to the Université de Paris ("Grammatical gender in Parisian French" and "Experimental study of consonant duration in Parisian French") to 1962 she made significant contributions to such diverse areas as the phonetics and phonology, including the perception, of the duration of speech sounds, child language, aphasia, sound change, poetics, psycholinguistics, and the phonetics and phonology of particular languages, e.g., Yoruba, Tahitian. She conducted research on speech perception at Haskins Laboratories in the early 50's and was perhaps the first person to apply the results of such empirically-based modern studies of speech acoustics to questions of sound change ("The role of the listener in the formation of the sounds of language" 1956). In her academic career, he began as a teaching assistant to P. Pouche (Eli Fischer-Jürgensen was one of her students) and ended as president of the Société de Linguistique de Paris in 1961. Her independence manifested itself in many ways: she delayed publication of her book, Long vowels and short vowels (1946) by 3 years rather than seek authorisation for publication from the occupation forces in France during the war.

ARThUR S. ABRAMSON, University of Connecticut/Haskins Laboratories
Eli Fischer-Jürgensen

Eli Fischer-Jürgensen's important contributions to linguistic scholarship can best be seen under two headings: research in experimental phonetics and assessments of trends in linguistics. Under the first, early in her career at a time when linguistic phoneticians, as contrasted with those in the biological or physical sciences, were not accustomed to doing so, she eagerly plunged into the use of instruments to test linguistic hypotheses. This led to a steady output of research efforts. Under the second heading, Fischer-Jürgensen has produced a number of expository and critical commentaries of descriptive methods, theoretical constructs, and new theories in general linguistics, with special attention to phonology.

This presentation will cover the highlights of a span of some fifty years in these endeavors. In addition, her role as a prime mover in linguistic education and international scholarly cooperation will be stressed.

MONA LINDAU, University of California-Los Angeles
Kerstin Hadding

Kerstin Hadding (b. 1915) started her career in phonetics relatively late in life, after rearing four children, and she ultimately became Professor of Phonetics at the University of Lund in Sweden. She got started with Kenneth Pike at Ann Arbor in the early fifties, and continued with Bertil Wallberg in Sweden. She also worked on research fellowships at the Phonetics Department of Edinburgh and at Haskins Laboratories in New York. In the fifties and sixties she was a pioneer in the use of electro-mycography, spectrographic analysis and speech synthesis on Swedish intonation material. Her contributions consist to a large extent of integrated work on prosody, but she has also contributed to the field of child language studies. She retired in 1979.
abstracts

of the American Association for Applied Linguistics
ROANN ALTMAN, University of Southern California

Interlanguage Modality

A very difficult segment of English for second language learners is the system of modality. In order to gain more insight into the acquisition of the English modal system, the oral interlanguage of 7 learners with 4 different native languages was investigated. Since the modal auxiliaries appear relatively infrequently in L2 learner speech, and when they do appear they seem to be performing several different functions, it was decided to use a functional/semantic framework for the analysis. The basic framework adopted is that of Fiber (1979), using the two major categories of epistemic (probability) and deontic (obligation) modality with three levels of strength within each. All modal expressions in the data (periphrastic verbs and adverbs as well as the modal auxiliaries) were categorized according to the functions they represented. The instances were tallied and only those forms occurring at least 3 times for any one function were considered in the final analysis. The results show that lower-proficiency students: (1) produce fewer modal expressions, (2) produce the smallest variety of modal expressions, and (3) tend to use one modal to express a particular function or set of functions (and there does not appear to be any correlation between the form selected and the native language of the learner). The results of this study lend further support to the need for including function as well as form in the investigation of learner interlanguage.

JOSH ARD, University of Michigan

A Differential Perspective for Second Language Acquisition Studies

The primary purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that studies of second language acquisition can profit from the adoption of a wide differential perspective. Differential linguistics (cf. Wilgen 1977, Ahkmanova and Polubienko 1979) is the branch of linguistics that analyzes and compares different language (sub)systems. Hence, second language acquisition studies form a portion of differential linguistics, since they involve a comparison of an interlanguage with (1) the NA, (2) the TL, and/or (3) stages of the TL found in child language acquisition. The investigation of second language acquisition from a differential perspective emphasizes similarities (universal) of differential analyses.

In this paper I will investigate differential concerns common to 2nd lg. acq. and main focus is on the way a microcomputer can make it possible to produce a bilingual dictionary focusing entirely on the cultural needs of a very small population. Of special interest is the fact that the influence is often very delayed temporally in both domains and the external influence is often just one of several interacting relevant factors on development. Finally, problems of justifying external influence as a causal factor in both domains will be discussed and compared.

FRANK BRANDON, UNICAMP

Cultural Factors and the Microcomputer in the Production of a Bilingual Dictionary

This paper reports on the use of a microcomputer to produce a culturally and linguistically appropriate bilingual dictionary for the approximately 5000 speakers of Satere, a Tupi language of northern Brazil. The main focus is on the way a microcomputer can make it possible to produce a bilingual dictionary focusing entirely on the cultural needs of a very small population. Something which would otherwise be perhaps too costly because the reduced number of potential users would make it uneconomical, resulting in no dictionary at all or a dictionary aimed at the majority culture. In this case, a version of the dictionary is also being prepared for the majority culture. The dictionary is viewed as an essential part of a bilingual education program and as a way of affirming the value of the minority language to both cultures. Although the report concentrates on a specific group and concerns a Portuguese-Satere/Satere-Portuguese dictionary, the methods developed should be of interest to those who work with any other of the very small minorities of the world, whose cultural/linguistic survival and capacity for fruitful and non-traumatic incorporation in the majority culture could benefit from the same sorts of bilingual programs more readily available to large minority groups.
SILVIA GALAMBOS, Yale University

Effects of Bilingualism on the Conceptualization of Grammaticality

The development of metalinguistic awareness, that is, the ability to focus on and reflect upon the structural properties of language was assessed in Spanish-English bilinguals and in English and Spanish monolinguals, ranging in age from 4.6 to 8.0. The bilingual and monolingual subjects were matched on IQ, SES, sex, and age. All subjects were administered two versions of a metalinguistic task, bilinguals receiving the two versions in different languages. Each version contained both grammatical and ungrammatical constructions. Errors in the ungrammatical constructions ranged from syntactic anomalies with little semantic similarity such as in My father had me go, to syntactic-semantic anomalies with much greater semantic force, such as in the photographer was my brother. The particular skills under investigation were the children's ability to note, correct, and reflect upon grammatical errors. The effects of IQ, sex, age, proficiency, linguistic balance and bilingualism on these skills were studied while the general results of this investigation are reviewed in this paper, the primary goal here is to explore the effects of bilingualism on the conceptualization of grammaticality. The comparisons between bilingual and monolingual children at different ages are described and contrasted and the explanations given by these children for having judged a sentence as ungrammatical are examined in depth.

CINDY GREENBERG, Graduate Center, CUNY

Word Stress in Second Language Acquisition

This paper reports on a study of stress assignment production and perception amongst Arabi speakers of various dialects who are learning English as a second language. The study tested the following hypotheses: 1) Syllables do not transfer word stress assignment rules to the target language 2) Other phonological and prosodic processes such as enepenthesis and consonant deletion influence or are influenced by stress assignment 3) There is a correlation between a learner's production of word stress and the target language stress pattern 4) Certain syllable types or positions will be preferred in production and perception for speakers of all dialects tested. The subjects were speakers of Cairene, Alexandria, and Palestinian Arabic. These dialects have different stress rules. The subjects were given two tasks: 1) Non-phonological tasks: 1) to choose the most likely English word pronunciation for a task of novel, yet possible English words and 2) to choose the most likely pronunciation of a word, they were to choose the form that seemed the most like English. The results of this study suggest that: 1) There is stress rule transference 2) Other processes are involved in stress assignment 3) There is a correlation between a learner's perception and production of L2 4) Amongst dialects, there is a preference for lst syllable stress.

JOSE GONCALVES, Georgetown University

A Comparative Look at Topical Development in the Acquisition of Portuguese as a Second Language in Classroom Interactions and in Naturalistic Conversations

This is a follow-up study. examining topic initiation and recycling in the reflexive nature of classroom interaction and in informal conversations. The research builds on functional and studies of classroom interactional discourse applying a fine-grained conversational analysis as the basic analytic tool. For this purpose speech exchanges of adult learners of Portuguese were transcribed both in classroom interactions and in small-group informal naturalistic conversations. The conversations were used to develop an adequate metric to determine the simplicity and/or complexity of thematic progress and recycling. In a functional qualitative and quantitative analysis, both linguistic and non-linguistic features are considered as topic annuncers, shifters and terminators. Topical development is analyzed both at a macro level of superordinate and subordinate topics throughout the discourse and at a micro level of devices, cohesive mechanisms and language functions. The analysis confirmed findings of the preliminary analysis indicating that adult second language learners rely on a complexity of interrelated devices to build and maintain topical cohesion with a fair amount of individual differences.
Based on several hours of recorded data, some interesting claims were made by Eckman (Lg. Lrnr. 1981) regarding the interlanguage of two groups of SSL learners: Spanish learners. They claimed to have a rule of word-final devoicing of obstruents ('dog' pronounced [dok]), and Mandarin speakers a rule of word-final vowel insertion ('dog' pronounced [doga]). Neither rule is found in the native languages or in English. However, as argued to be a construct of learning an abstract interlanguage system, this interpretation suggests that while interlanguages include phonological rules which are not target-language like, they do involve setting up lexical representations which are (with final voiced obstruents in the case of Spanish speakers and consonant-final in the case of Mandarin speakers learning SSL).

I am now replicating Eckman's research, and expect to be able to report no disagreement with his data. But my interpretation of the findings is different. Native language phonetic constraints determine perceptions of English words, and therefore the lexical representations they are assigned in the interlanguage lexicon.

SUSANNE JACOBS, University of Hawaii

The Acquisition of Modes of Cohesion by Child Writers

This paper seeks to provide an explanation for the fact that children at the earliest stages of composition writing use an attributive mode of cohesion more often than a narrative mode (Sower, 1979) and make almost no use of the relational mode of cohesion (Jacobs, 1982). We might expect narrative modes of cohesion to take over as children's writing develops because of the increased complexity of their writing. However, the use of the descriptive mode of cohesion in their writing is quite persistent at least as early as 5 to 6, and it becomes the preferred mode of cohesion for most children at least as early as 5, if not earlier. Children are able to discriminate between the two modes of cohesion and choose the one that is appropriate for the situation.

Children faced with the need to pay attention to spelling and penmanship in addition to content find it easier to use the attributive mode of cohesion since it demands little in the way of the ordering of predications. Narrative structuring, on the other hand, does not predicated, at the very least, be structured according to time. The most difficult mode is the relational, which requires a complex integration of abstract predications with lower order predications. The investigator has examined the acquisition of these two modes of cohesion and their interaction at the Kamehamea Schools in Honolulu.

DAVID JUDIA, Florida International University

Language Policy and Language Planning in the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam

Centuries of Dutch rule in the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam have given the Dutch language a foothold in the New World. While a complex language ecology and pressures of the modern world have begun to change the role of Dutch in Antillean and Surinamese society.

The Netherlands Antilles includes two island groups: Aruba, Curaçao, and Bonaire, in which the creole language, Papiamento, is the mother tongue of the 200,000 native-born inhabitants, and Saba, St. Eustatius, and St. Maarten, where a population of 10,000 islanders speak Caribbean English. In both island groups, however, the long-term presence of Dutch rule has made Dutch the official language of government and education. Surinam, which gained its independence from Holland in 1975, has an even more complex population. But the lack of homogeneity among Surinamese has led to a relatively strong position for the Dutch language in Surinam, compared to the situation in the Antilles, where a homogeneous Papiamento or English-speaking group presents a strong opposition to Dutch.

Impending independence in the Netherlands Antilles has fuelled a series of conferences to determine the place of Dutch in Antillean society. Papiamentu has already been introduced into the schools for the purpose of initial literacy. Both English and Spanish are likely to gain a wider role in the schools and in society, generally, should either language become the medium of education. In Surinam it can be expected that Dutch will continue to serve as the medium of education, but that the use of Surinamese and other languages will decline.