Linguistic Society of America
Fifty-fifth Annual Meeting
December 28-30, 1980

American Association for Applied Linguistics
Third Annual Meeting
December 28-29, 1980

San Antonio, Texas

Meeting Handbook
The LSA Secretariat has prepared this Meeting Handbook to serve as the official program for the Fifty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America. The Program Committee, chaired by Henry M. Hoensgawen and consisting of Stephen Anderson, Joan Bresnan, Jean Berko Gleason, William R. Merrifield, Stanley Peters, and Jacquelyn Schachter reviewed the submitted abstracts and assembled the program for this meeting.

We would like to take this opportunity to formally acknowledge the help which has been given by the San Antonio Local Arrangements Committee. This Committee was chaired by Stanley Peters (University of Texas at Austin), and consisted of David Cohen (University of Texas at Austin), Virginia Dailey (St. Edward's University), Helen Dry (University of Texas at San Antonio), Curtis Hayes (University of Texas at San Antonio), Frances Karttunen (University of Texas at Austin), John McCarthy (University of Texas at Austin), James Sledd (University of Texas at Austin), and Laurel Smith (University of Texas at Austin).

We hope that this Meeting Handbook will be a useful guide for those attending the meeting, as well as serve as a permanent record of the 55th Annual Meeting.

LSA Secretariat
December 1980
**General Meeting Information**

**BOOK EXHIBIT**

There will be an LSA Exhibit of Linguistic publications in Salon C of the Marriott. The Exhibit is scheduled to be open during the following hours:

- **Sunday, 28 December**
  - 12:00 noon - 6:00 p.m.

- **Monday, 29 December**
  - 10:00 a.m. - 2:00 p.m.
  - 3:30 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.

- **Tuesday, 30 December**
  - 8:30 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.

The display copies in the LSA Joint Book Exhibit will be sold beginning at 8:30 a.m. 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 25% greater than that given by the publisher, will be taken prior to 30 December if accompanied by payment. All books must be picked up on 30 December between 8:30 and 10:00 a.m. Unclaimed orders will be resold and the advance payment donated to Linguistic Institute fellowships.

**PAPER COPYING CENTER**

As a service to those attending this meeting each author on the program is invited to provide the Local Arrangements Committee with a reproducible copy of his or her paper at the Copying Center. Submission of such a copy is authorization for this committee to reproduce up to 50 copies for anyone at the meeting. Attendees may place orders for reproducible copies during the meeting. All copies will be offered at cost. The Copying Center will be located in the Bowle Room. The Center will be open during the following hours:

- **Saturday, 27 December**
  - 7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.

- **Sunday, 28 December**
  - 8:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.

- **Monday, 29 December**
  - 8:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.

- **Tuesday, 30 December**
  - 8:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon

**JOB PLACEMENT SERVICE**

A Job Placement Service will be open in the Bonham Room during the Annual Meeting.

On 28 and 29 December the Service will be open from 8:30 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. It will also be open from 9:00 a.m. until noon on 30 December. Lists of openings will be available and the staff will arrange interviews between the applicants and the employers. Interviews are asked to list openings and check in with the Service so that an interview schedule can be arranged.

**LSA BUSINESS MEETING**

This year the Business Meeting has been scheduled in Salon D on Monday, 29 December from 2:00-4:30 p.m. The meeting will be chaired by Ilse Lehiste, LSA President. Members of the Resolutions Committee Robert Longacre, Chair, Ives Goddard, and Carlota Smith. The rules for motions and resolutions appear on page xi.

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS**

Ilse Lehiste, the 1980 LSA President, will deliver the Presidential Address on Monday, 29 December at 4:45 p.m. in Salon A. The address is entitled "Prosodic Change in Evidence: Evidence from Estonian."

**DEPARTMENT & PROGRAM CHAIRS MEETING**

A meeting of the chairs of departments and programs has been scheduled for 8:45 a.m. Sunday, 28 December in Fiesta Room 7 of the San Antonio Convention Center. Robert Wachtel of the University of Iowa will chair this meeting.

**SPECIAL RECEPTION HONORING ARCHIBALD A. HILL**

A reception honoring Archibald A. Hill, LSA Secretary-Treasurer from 1951 to 1969, President in 1969, will take place in Salon A and F at 6:00 p.m. on 29 December. All members are encouraged to attend and greet Mr. Hill on this special occasion.

**CASH BARS**

Cash Bars are scheduled from 5:00 - 6:30 p.m. on 28 December and from 8:00 - 11:00 p.m. on 29 December.

**AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS**

The Third Annual Meeting of the AAA will take place 28-29 December 1980 in the Marriott Room of the San Antonio Marriott. In conjunction with the Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America the program for the meeting may be found on page v.

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**REGISTRATION & COPYING CENTER**

**REGISTRATION & COPYING CENTER**

**SUNDAY, 28 DECEMBER**

- 8:00 a.m. - 6:00 p.m.

**MONDAY, 29 DECEMBER**

- 8:00 a.m. - 6:00 p.m.

**TUESDAY, 30 DECEMBER**

- 8:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon

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**SPECIAL INTEREST**

**SATURDAY, 27 DECEMBER**

- Executive Committee Meeting
- Cash Bar

**SUNDAY, 28 DECEMBER**

- Department & Program Chairs Meeting
- AAL Business Meeting

**MONDAY, 29 DECEMBER**

- AAL Business Meeting
- Reception for Archibald A. Hill

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**AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS**

**SUNDAY AFTERNOON, 28 DECEMBER**

**APPLIED LINGUISTICS IN EDUCATION**

Chair: Peg Grifith

- 1:30 PEG GRIFFITH (U.C.S.B.): Introduction: Linguistics in Education.
- 1:45 CELIA JESNOH (U. Baltimore): Research in Language Learning: Native & Second Language
- 2:10 Brief reports -- emphasis on L1 and L2
  - STEPHAN JIN (George Mason U)
  - ELAINE CORRIGAN (U. Tenn.-Knoxville)
- 2:30 MARVIN BERNET (U. Minn.)
- 2:45 DIETER EISENSTEIN (U.Wisconsin)
- 3:00 Discussion
- 3:15 MARCIA WHITMAN (NIE)
- 3:45 Break
- 4:00 Brief reports
  - GUSTAVO GONZALES (U. Texas at Austin)
  - MARYLYN WILSON (U. Pa)
- 4:15 NICHOLAS COOK (U. Cal)
- 4:30 JOHN BARRETT (U. New Orleans)
- 4:45 Discussion

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**SUNDAY EVENING, 28 DECEMBER**

**APPLIED LINGUISTICS IN THE LAW COURTS**

Chair: Roger Shuy

- 7:00 ROBERT JOHNSON (U. Wis.): The Interpretation of interpretation: A case from American Sign Language
- 7:30 EUGENE BRIERE (OSU): Linguistics & Legal Issues in the Computation of Federal Court Interpreters
- 8:00 ROGER W. SHO (George-town [CA.]: The role of the linguistic as expert witness
- 8:30 DISCUSSION

**MONDAY, 29 DECEMBER**

**APPLIED LINGUISTICS IN MEDICINE**

Moderator: Elaine Anderson

- 10:00 SUSAN FISCHEL (D. Mich.): The selling of treatment: Decisions in Doctor-Patient communication
- 10:30 DEMIAN TURKE (George-town U): Frame analysis in a View of Doctor-Patient Communication in a Pediatric setting
- 11:00 ISMAIL HASSAN (U. Uta.): ISMAIL PAI (U. Uta.): The expression of uncertainty in Physician-Physician discourse
- 11:30 CAROLINE A. HILL (U. Kansas): The micropragmatics of medical encounters
- 11:45 PETER NICHOLAS (U. Kansas): The role of the linguistic as expert witness
### 1980 LSA Annual Meeting at a Glance

#### Sunday, 20 December

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Salon A/B(M)</th>
<th>Salon D(M)</th>
<th>Salon E/F(M)</th>
<th>Fiesta 1/2(CC)</th>
<th>Fiesta 4/5(CC)</th>
<th>Fiesta 7(CC)</th>
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<tr>
<td>8:30</td>
<td>Godinez</td>
<td>Ellsworth</td>
<td>De Guzman</td>
<td>H.J.J. Hewitt</td>
<td>Mahlick</td>
<td>Embler</td>
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<td>Penfield</td>
<td>Tenney</td>
<td>Hendrick</td>
<td>Noonan</td>
<td>Price</td>
<td>Sjoberg</td>
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<td>Poglock</td>
<td>Herrick</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Randall</td>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>ladyman</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>Bjorkman</td>
<td>L. Thayer</td>
<td>Wishko</td>
<td>Bybee</td>
<td>Stagg/Justason</td>
<td>Dallaghon</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Meilowski</td>
<td>J. Thayer</td>
<td>Kim</td>
<td>deChene</td>
<td>Houlihan</td>
<td>Long/Fabre</td>
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<td>Nesley/Upshur</td>
<td>Pullin</td>
<td>Wheeler</td>
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<td>Warner</td>
<td>Baltin</td>
<td>Gutmann</td>
<td>Odden</td>
<td>Kaal</td>
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<td>11:10</td>
<td>Knoch</td>
<td>Lin</td>
<td>Stowell</td>
<td>Iverson</td>
<td>Heider</td>
<td>Webb</td>
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<td>Thompson</td>
<td>Tsapera</td>
<td>Horvath</td>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>Wojcik</td>
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<td>11:50</td>
<td>Baron</td>
<td>Stenson</td>
<td>Borer</td>
<td>Vogel/Scalfise</td>
<td>Strauss</td>
<td>Garcia</td>
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<td>12:10</td>
<td>Munoz/Hamel</td>
<td>Sivers/</td>
<td>Moore</td>
<td>Withdrawer</td>
<td>Dogger</td>
<td>Leazer/Myn</td>
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#### Sunday Afternoon, 20 December

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<th>Fiesta 1/2(CC)</th>
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<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Horn/Prince</td>
<td>Westbury</td>
<td>McCarelle</td>
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<td>2:45</td>
<td>Enc</td>
<td>Faber</td>
<td>Haber</td>
<td>Daviss</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Linebarger</td>
<td>Tersma</td>
<td>Draper</td>
<td>Stump</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:15</td>
<td>Ernst</td>
<td>Ring</td>
<td>Usborne/Kirkpatrick</td>
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#### Sunday Evening, 20 December

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<th>Time</th>
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<th>Fiesta 1/2(CC)</th>
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<tr>
<td>8:00</td>
<td>Flynn</td>
<td>Powers/Sankoff/Pozadko</td>
<td>Defeant/Geavens</td>
<td>Bing</td>
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<tr>
<td>8:45</td>
<td>MCA/Waltie</td>
<td>Tannen</td>
<td>Bavin</td>
<td>Withgott</td>
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<td>Peters</td>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>COLLOQUO:</td>
<td>Clements</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:15</td>
<td>Woolford</td>
<td>Woodbury</td>
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### Monday, 21 December

#### Monday, 21 December

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<td>8:30</td>
<td>Armbrout</td>
<td>Rouse/</td>
<td>Haas</td>
<td>Stoffer</td>
<td>Holcomb</td>
<td>Cederberg</td>
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<td>Kramer</td>
<td>E.K. Hewitt/Engel</td>
<td>Rouse</td>
<td>Rouse</td>
<td>Underhill</td>
<td>Ganesh</td>
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<td>9:10</td>
<td>Dubose</td>
<td>Clark</td>
<td>Lehner</td>
<td>Chaminon</td>
<td>Bar-Adon</td>
<td>Marlow</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>Wheeler</td>
<td>Dawson</td>
<td>Inque</td>
<td>Tait/Kuchts</td>
<td>Erbbaugh</td>
<td>DI Paolo</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:50</td>
<td>Ratchenbach</td>
<td>Hayes</td>
<td>Jacobsen</td>
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<td>Nutter</td>
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<td>10:10</td>
<td>McClenon</td>
<td>Tsang</td>
<td>Ladszew</td>
<td>Trehelsel</td>
<td>Kovac</td>
<td>Ricksford</td>
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<td>Kurohime</td>
<td>Dauer</td>
<td>Danty</td>
<td>Pfizel</td>
<td>Faster</td>
<td>Mahnoud</td>
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<td>Wright</td>
<td>Barten</td>
<td>Repp</td>
<td>Roper</td>
<td>Covington</td>
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<td>Carden</td>
<td>Kim</td>
<td>Abbott</td>
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<td>Tymans</td>
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<td>Oettle</td>
<td>McClenon/Tschu/Witho</td>
<td>Tschj</td>
<td>Sohn</td>
<td>Pohnweg</td>
<td>Herbert</td>
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<td>Bolling</td>
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<td>hungry</td>
<td>Hasson</td>
<td>Birdsong</td>
<td>Lee</td>
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<td>12:10</td>
<td>Spears</td>
<td>Lene</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Manz/Breier</td>
<td>Sims</td>
<td>Allen</td>
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### Tuesday, 22 December

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<th>Fiesta 1/2(CC)</th>
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<td>Bedell</td>
<td>McLain</td>
<td>Halmann</td>
<td>Sorbet</td>
<td>Frankenfield</td>
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<td>Stockwell</td>
<td>Zupp/Meier</td>
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<td>Thompson</td>
<td>Williams</td>
<td>Szabo</td>
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<td>9:10</td>
<td>Anderson</td>
<td>Frank</td>
<td>Riddle</td>
<td>Couler</td>
<td>Applegate</td>
<td>Kalmar</td>
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<td>Kac</td>
<td>Fleming</td>
<td>Shankland</td>
<td>Holman/Herbert</td>
<td>Schulman/Herbert</td>
<td>Sherzer</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Dorning</td>
<td>Hylayer</td>
<td>Harvest</td>
<td>Koper/Sabasay</td>
<td>Tuffle</td>
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<td>Humberg</td>
<td>Hirzel</td>
<td>Hapolt</td>
<td>Schomburg/Carden</td>
<td>Lang</td>
<td>Nurnham</td>
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<td>Frankin</td>
<td>Hertelt</td>
<td>Nathan</td>
<td>Reberman</td>
<td>Frazier/Rayner</td>
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<td>Ledefoged</td>
<td>Davison/Lutz</td>
<td>Prince/Prince</td>
<td>Schwartz</td>
<td>Goodluck</td>
<td>Campbell</td>
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<td>Keating</td>
<td>Murray</td>
<td>Horn</td>
<td>Kline</td>
<td>Shand</td>
<td>Maxwell</td>
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<td>Kirkpatrick</td>
<td>Steever</td>
<td>Haro</td>
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<td>Hudson</td>
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<td>Tugger</td>
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<td>Abraham</td>
<td>Elia</td>
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<td>Shridhar</td>
<td>Rosenthal</td>
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STATION FROM THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE

The abstracts which appear in this Meeting Handbook are photocopies of the originals submitted to the LSA Program Committee. Infelicities of style, grammar, punctuation and spelling are the responsibility of the authors.

Barbara Abbott, Michigan State University

Ambiguity in Opaque Contexts

Arguments that the 'understandings' of opaque sentences do not constitute a genuine ambiguity have been presented in (Partee 1972) and (Kempson 1979). Partee reports David Kaplan's suggestion that the understandings are merely salient points on a certain continuum. I argue that this suggestion does not account for the salience of the understandings, that the continuum in question does not adequately reflect the difference in the understandings, and that this suggestion leaves the salient ambiguity in modalities without an explanation. Kempson argues that ambiguity is a theoretical, not an exceptional, issue; that all cases of primitive ambiguity should, on theoretical grounds, not be regarded as genuine ambiguities; and that the opacity ambiguity is a primitive one. I argue that her arguments that intuitions are not crucial depend crucially on intuitions, and this is also true of her arguments concerning primitive ambiguities, and that in any case the opacity ambiguities are not primitive.

References


Mieke Aarburg, University of Groningen

Discourse and the Analysis of Deceiving

Generally and intuitively speaking one would take the false-validation of an utterance to be a prerequisite of an act of deceiving. It is easy to show, however, that the felicity conditions for acts of deceiving and erring are much too complex to be solely contingent upon any single condition. For a deceving B appropriately the following relations are constituent: (a) A's competence to validate the designation of an utterance, du; (b) A knows what premises B validates du; (c) B does not know what premises A validates du; (d) B recognizes A's authority in respect of the validation of du. Deceiving is most adequately characterized as a make-believe-act, while lying is an act of uttering what the speaker himself believes to be untrue.

Literary examples (a Jewish joke taken from Salo Ba Landmann, passages from Handke and Kafka) are to show that the act of deceiving is not dependent on uttering sentences at all, and that consequently there is no clear boundary between a linguistics arguing in terms of speech acts, and a theory of actions.

Mieke Aarburg & Karen Lammers, Michigan State University

The Acquisition of Sociolinguistic Repertoire, Ages 2:0-3:6

This paper analyzes directives occurring in videotapes of 17 children requesting cookies and juice from their mothers and from an unfamiliar adult. Also included is early data from a recently-begun longitudinal study of a child videotaped at monthly intervals beginning at age 0:11, and intensive videotaped data on two close playmates at ages 3:0 and 3:6 in a variety of contexts. Analysis looked for social repertoire—variations related to social identity of addressee—and sequential repertoire, or the ability to upgrade and mitigate directive force when the addressee does not at first comply. Also considered were the applicability of Ervin-Tripp's categorization of directives and of Harvey's concept of the 'domain' of a directive. Preliminary results suggest that children use an implicit concept of social repertoire from the beginning of oral discourse, notably based on their view of the obligations of different adults toward them (speech act analysis). In sequential repertoire we find extreme sophistication in mitigation and aggravation of the syntactic imperative (e.g., 23 variants on one directive within 14 minutes) and varying discourse strategies (including a "surprise attack" strategy and a "real-approaching directive") by age 3:0.
Unlike Latin AD and DE, OB does not survive into Romance languages as either an independent preposition or as a prefix. A comparison of other obsolete particles with those that have flourished shows that the survival often had a single central meaning and a form resistant to phonological change. In contrast, as Latin verbs with OB became obsolete, they were not replaced by new prefixed verbs in Late Latin or Romance, but underwent semantic motivation for the formation of new OB compounds was weak and the form of the prefix became less consistent due to consonantal assimilation (cf. Latin OB-PRIMERE 'press upon', OE- PENDERE 'strike', OE-WIRTHERE 'lay aside', OR(S)-PRIMERE 'thrust upon'. OE- PENDERE 'hold out', OC-CIDERE 'kill', and OG-CNIRE 'grow at') and to vowel dissimilation (cf. OB-DUWARE 'be hard against, stand out', Sp. adurar, OFr. adurer). In light of such observations, many etymologies can be clarified by simplifying or even eliminating hypothetical Vulgar Latin forms.

STEPHEN R. ANDERSON, University of California, Los Angeles

Linguistic Theory is an Un-natural Act, but not Paraverse

Much recent research in linguistics has been driven by the desire to show that language is natural, in the sense of being explicable in terms of facts from other domains. This is particularly clear in phonology, where many have claimed that language is concerned only with 'what language owes to the fact that is spoken.' Facts from several areas will be reviewed, however, which show that adequate accounts of phonological structure cannot (in the general case) be constructed on rigorously 'natural' assumptions. This implies that language is based in part on uniquely linguistic cognitive faculty, not necessarily accessible except through the data of language itself. To investigate this faculty, we should not require immediate confirmation of its positive properties from elsewhere; rather, we should seek to construct a theory that brings coherence and meaning to the facts of language themselves (similar to the method of theory-construction in physics). This does not mean abandoning questions of the 'right' or external basis of theoretical constructs; but in the present state of our knowledge of the neurophysiological implementation of human cognitive faculties, it probably does mean that we should hold such questions in abeyance.

JOSEPH R. APPLEGATE, Howard University

Syntax in the Language of Drug Users

Previous studies of language in the drug culture have concentrated on special lexical items that are widely used in the drug community, and the results have appeared chiefly as glossaries of these special terms. In this paper, results of an investigation of syntax in the language of a group of heroin users are presented. The data were obtained in the form of autobiographical narratives from subjects in a therapeutic program in the metropolitan Washington, D. C. area. The contrast between replication of syntactic units such as the initial NP, e.g., 'the man, this man, he,...' and the repetition of formulaic phrases, e.g., 'you know,' as boundary markers makes it possible to identify discourse segments and to formulate rules for the construction of those segments. Differences between the rules for structures in the language of subjects identifying themselves as 'addicts' and those rejecting that identification are described.

W. BHASKAR, University of California, Los Angeles

The Indefinite Pronouns Still Definitely Masculine and Singular?

This paper investigates the use of indefinite pronouns such as anyone, everyone, and none in composition classes in order to determine what effect awareness of the male orientation of the standard language has in the college classroom. First, several representative composition texts, currently in use, will be compared. These handwriting all state that pronouns should agree in number and gender with their antecedents. However, in discussing what that statement means in case the antecedent is an indefinite pronoun, the text varies considerably as to whether feminine pronouns may also be used as generics and if and when plural pronouns may be used. Questionnaires will be administered to undergraduate students taking composition and to graduate students teaching it to find out how they would use indefinite pronouns in various situations. The questionnaire data will be discussed, compared with the textbook standards, and related to other data obtained from the subjects concerning age, sex, and attitudes toward language and current social changes.

J. HEBRARD, Harvard University

Evolution and Syntactic Identification in Southern Pilbara Languages

This paper deals with the syntax of two closely related groups of languages spoken in the southern Pilbara region of Western Australia: the Northern group consisting of Cherrgari, Oolimbirri, Wariyangerri, Djaru and Djin on the Kenyang group consisting of Bayungu, Burundu and Oolindji. These all have split-ergative case morphology, although their individual case marking systems differ in the coding of transitive subject and transitive object. The distribution of ergative case marking in some of the languages conflicts with generalizations stated in Silverstein 1976. Comrie 1978 and Dixon 1979. The pattern of accusative case marking has diachronic implications for both groups. Evidence is presented from a number of construction types to suggest that a category of syntactic subject must be recognized, not definable in terms of constituency or word order. An account is given in terms of surface cases.

W. BHASKAR, University of California, Los Angeles

Problem for a Theory of Base-Generated Topicalization

W. BHASKAR, in "On Wh-Movement" (1977), in P. Culler, R. T. E., & A. Kibler, eda. Formal Syntax: Academic Press) argues that topicalized constituents, which had hitherto been analyzed as arising in that position via a movement rule, are actually base-generated in that position; the analysis crucially assumes a parallelism between topicalized constituents and elements which are uncontroversially analyzed as occurring in sentence-initial position. Thus, the pre-subject constituents in both (1) Max I really like, and (2) As for Max, I really like his cooking, according to 45 Wh-base word, in the same structural positions. I will show that this analysis is incompatible with recent work done by Chomsky and others within the "Government-Binding framework" (Chomsky, 1979). "Markedness and Categorial grammar," unpublished paper, Pisa), and that if one accepts the binding theory proposed in these works, a topicalized constituent must occur within the minimal 1, while such phrases as the "as-for" phrase must be outside the 1. The crucial evidence for this assertion will come from dependencies between the acceptability of lexical anaphora properly contained within the two types of pre-subject constituents.
AARON BAR-ADON, University of Texas at Austin

The Acquisition of Gender and Number in Hebrew Child Language

Various aspects of language acquisition have been explored in recent years. English has become the most studied language. But in the case of English morphology, the child is hardly confronted with the problem of acquiring gender. Hebrew might be rather illuminating for this process.

The proposed paper aims at exploring the processes of acquisition of gender and number by Hebrew-speaking children. It is based primarily on longitudinal follow-ups of speech development in two Israeli children—a girl and a boy.

ZEV BAR-LEV, San Diego State University

The Worfian Why of Language

In one kind of lexical array made famous by Whorf, a language lacks a superordinate term to cover various existing co-hyponyms. The familiar match between the “I say/you say” notion of set/subset is not really appropriate for such arrays, because it fails to capture the degree that such a language may actually use for categorizing and generalizing. What is needed is a different formal notion, for which I propose the terms HYPOSET/HYPOSET, and formalize here with respect to set-membership, adjacency in semantic space, inference (for which an outline formalization is provided), and script-theory.

This formalized HYPOSET LOGIC is thus an amplification of set theory (along with fuzzy-set theory), as part of the natural logic needed for natural language. It is important to note that hyposet logic is needed for non-exotic languages, indeed, my focus here is mostly on samples from English.

NAOMI S. BARKIN, Brown University

Writing Review: A Functional Analysis of the 'Higher illiteracy'

The popular and pedagogical presses are debating the rise of "higher illiteracy" among college students. Some writers (e.g., Lyons, 1976; Copperman, 1976) charge that young adults can no longer construct coherent prose, while others (e.g., Stewart, 1976) deny the novelty of the problem. Linguistics, with its descriptive (rather than prescriptive) orientation, can use contemporary functional analysis (e.g., Halliday, 1978; Baron, 1980) to construct a value-neutral assessment of the issue.

We begin by posing three sets of questions. Functionally, we need to determine (1) what functions writing has in contemporary society, (2) whether we are currently training students to use writing for these purposes, and (3) whether some earlier functions of writing are now served by alternative means. To determine the functional relationship between writing and speaking, we want to know (1) whether the higher illiteracy extends to speech as well (and if so, why this has been ignored) and (2) what implications sloppiness in speaking and writing has for thinking. Finally, we should consider the social and political implications of a decline in higher literacy.

Answers to these questions suggest the efficacy of viewing the medieval trivium (grammar, dialectic, rhetoric) to be pedagogically distinct goals. These goals, as well as cognitive and political ramifications of writing for a society, are sharply seen through analogy with the development of literacy in classical Greece.

RUTH L. BAVIN, University of Oregon

Clause-Merger and Causative Constructions

In this paper, the nature of clause merger is examined with data from causative constructions in a variety of languages. The hypothesis is that causatives are not universally derived from two syntactic clauses.

Chomsky (1974, 76) argues for a deontal analysis with syntactic fusion of the clauses. The denoted subject (ES) is denoted down a hierarchy. Morphological evidence is used for determining the status of the denoted ES. I question this use of morphological evidence since case markings frequently mark semantic not grammatical relations.

It will be argued that while some languages derive causatives from two clauses, fusion of a causative element and second verb is frequently of a semantic nature. Grammatical relations are determined for a fused semantic unit, not two verbs. A deontal analysis is then redundant since ES never has an unmarked status. An analysis of semantic fusion accounts for alternate case markings that are allowed in some languages and it accounts for semantic shifts. An analysis of syntactic fusion must make abstract claims to account for these, and frequently its predictions are violated.

CHARLES BESSELL, University of California, Los Angeles (TUES MORR: I)

Theoretical Entities in Linguistics

In attempting to understand a language, linguists make use of theoretical entities. For example, there is much mention of 'phonemes', 'predicates', 'discourses' or 'sound changes', depending on which specific area of linguistics is being pursued. These entities are theoretical in at least two senses: (1) that they are not directly observable, but are inferred from other phenomena; and (2) that they themselves constitute a theory of the linguistic use of these phenomena. In the recent history of linguistics there has been some consistent resistance (consistent in the sense of cutting across the boundaries created by other issues) to dynamic theoretical entities such as 'transformations' as opposed to static ones such as 'sounds'. This resistance is based on the argument that in an inherently 'correspondences' may be taken in part as non-dynamic 'sound changes'. Organized inquiry is probably impossible without theoretical entities of some sort, and it is a legitimate enterprise of linguists to clarify and refine the ones they use. But we must expect that debate about theoretical entities will be only indirectly subject to empirical resolution. 'Language itself', or whatever we want to call the object of linguistic study in its broadest sense, is no less a theoretical entity than those mentioned above. How linguists conceive it determines how they operate--and how they operate determines what they find 'Language' to be.

STEFAN MULLER-BING, Inter-Link Associates (SUN MOR: IV)

Identifying the Possible Intonation Contours in English

In this paper I will argue that in English only three parts of an intonation contour are meaningful in the all-or-none sense of Bolinger (1961). These are the sentence-initial and sentence-final boundary tones and the direction of the nuclear tone. Intonation contours are defined in terms of these three elements. The claim that the direction, but not the position of the nuclear tone is meaningful is based on arguments that can be extended even to historical linguistics, where dynamic entities were seen to be inherent. 'Correspondences' may be taken in part as non-dynamic 'sound changes'. Organized inquiry is probably impossible without theoretical entities of some sort, and it is a legitimate enterprise of linguists to clarify and refine the ones they use. But we must expect that debate about theoretical entities will be only indirectly subject to empirical resolution. 'Language itself', or whatever we want to call the object of linguistic study in its broadest sense, is no less a theoretical entity than those mentioned above. How linguists conceive it determines how they operate--and how they operate determines what they find 'Language' to be.

Modelling of linear Syntagmatic

A recent study (Stemberg, 1980) proposes a mixed linguistic-spatial model for the solution of linear syllogisms (e.g., John is taller than Bill; Bill is taller than Pete; who is tallest?), whereby subjects linguistically decode the information in the premises, and recode the information into a spatial form that facilitates inference. While the results of the present study essentially uphold such a mixed model, it is also found that, if syllogisms containing nonsensical adjectives are included among the test items, a strategy shift may be induced towards a simplified spatial solution procedure for all syllogisms tested. Interestingly, comparison of learning curves suggests that marked sense adjectives are more resistant to the transfer of this type of meaning-blinded strategy than are unmarked counterparts.

Additionally, tests involving subjects at native, intermediate, and beginning levels of competence in French and English reveal that language proficiency is not a strong predictor of response times. It also appears that neither surface features (e.g., formal variations of comparatives and superlatives across languages, numbers of letters, etc.) nor evaluative judgments of sense adjectives (cf. Hamilton & Geiss, 1972) play a role in solving linear syllogisms. These and other findings help to specify the respective roles of propositional structure, linguistic form, and individual cognitive variables in the solution of reasoning problems and in the process of language comprehension generally.

PETER C. BJORKMAN, Purdue University

Cuban Loanword Analysis

Applied to borrowing phenomena in the Spanish dialects (cf. Cassano 1976), standard postulates of language borrowing have provided at best only partial and inconclusive answers about the mechanisms of borrowing and the workings of the native phonological component. One feature of loanword phonology, however, has become increasingly evident: while a fixed set of definable features is to be associated with the foreign segment, the sounds in the source or secondary language system (English) occur in terms of active phonological processes (viz. natural phonology) and not in terms of binary features (viz. generative phonology). What this means is that when, for example, a fixed phonological system is applied to a set of loanwords, differences in stress or the degree of nativization are thus to be determined by what processes have applied (viz. the processes of re-lexicalization) after an initial lexicalization of foreign words and morphemes.

JERRY A. BOLING, Air University

The Status of the Obviative in Shawnee

The obviative suffix on verbs and nouns in Algonquian languages marks a second third person. It has been characterized as the NP not prominent. The unmarked NP is called the proximate and is considered the topic of discourse. However, two aspects of the obviative in Shawnee call for a reexamination. First, when three third person NP's appear in a transitive relationship and two of the NP's are marked obviative, the third person must be marked obviative. Also, when two of three persons are in a non-reciprocal transitive relationship, the third person not capable of reciprocating the action must be marked obviative. This finding is similar to the situation in Navajo and in Shawnee. Gale presented a strictly linguistic analysis called subject-object inversion based on a ranking of nouns in Navajo. Witherspoon demonstrated that this analysis ignored the Navajo cultural definitions of living creatures which did not involve ranking, but rather depended on whether a being or animal was more intelligent than another being or is capable of exercising control over it. This finding in Shawnee suggests that culture also conditions the use of the obviative.

JENNA K. BREBNER, Ohio State University

Linguistics of "Metaphorical Interpretation"

It is argued here that a major difficulty with some recent theories of metaphorical interpretation (e.g., Givon 1977, Ortonty et al. 1980). It is claimed that metaphorical interpretations are based on a failure to define metaphor adequately. The traditional distinction between dead and nondead metaphors will be abandoned, and a taxonomy of metaphor will be proposed in which novel metaphors are viewed as a type of hyperbole, while nonnovel metaphors are analyzed as instances of lexical ambiguity. It will be concluded that there is no process of metaphorical interpretation distinct from ordinary language processing.
Structure Preserving Rules in Phonology

It has been claimed, most recently by McCarthy (1979), that in any language the application of a phonological rule is blocked if its application would create a string violating the restrictions on possible syllable structure operating in that language. This paper examines the predictions of this hypothesis with respect to rules of vowel syncope in several Arabic dialects.

JEFFREY R. BURKHAM (TUES MORI: VI)

The Innovation of a Plural Verb Suffix in Astecan

The purpose of this paper is to account for an unexpected suffix marking "plural subject" in several Astecan dialects and Pochute. This suffix resembles "passive/impersonal" -lo in Classical Astecan and "elsewhere in the language" -sis, -til, and is the original meaning of the suffix in Astecan and that "plural subject" -lo was an innovation. In these innovating dialects -lo (represented as -lo, -tlo, and -til) is only found in present and imperfect tenses, and with first person plural, first and third plural, or all plural subjects, depending on the dialect. I propose that the innovation of plural subject -lo was motivated by the loss of -b, which is the general plural suffix for present, perfect, and conditional in Astecan, after the general loss of final h in these dialects. -lo was then seized upon to distinguish first person plural and, in some dialects, third person plural. Then in some dialects -lo was generalized to mark plural subject with second person as well. The following verb forms from Classical Astecan will serve to illustrate the consequences of loss of final h: "you eat" ti-clak-a(h); "he eats" clak-a, "they eat" clak-a(h).

JOAN L. NIEE, State University of New York at Buffalo (SUN MORI: IV)

Testing for Degree of Relatedness in Verb Paradigms

Some forms in a paradigm are more closely related to one another than others are. In particular, the person/number forms of verbs within a tense, aspect or mood category are more closely related to one another than they are to person/number forms in another tense/aspect/mood category (Hooper 1979). This hypothesis was tested experimentally using a nonce probe task with Spanish-speaking adults. The nonce verbs had two stem allomorphs, and the subjects were asked to make a new form that required they make a choice between the allomorphs. The results show that the choice of allomorph was significantly influenced by the form in which the allomorph was presented. Thus if the subject was asked to supply a preterite form, s/he was more likely to choose a particular stem allomorph if it had been presented in another preterite form that it had been presented in an infinitive form. This supports the hypothesis that the preterite forms are more closely related to one another than they are to the infinitive. It also supports a theoretical model in which surface forms of paradigms are related to one another directly, over a model in which surface forms are each related separately to a single abstract underlying form.

WILLIAM A. CANTWALL, Wayne State University (TUES MORI: III)

Deleterious, Transformers, and Changelings

Suggestive is supposedly 'fills up' subject position or 'fills in' for the subject. It gives a means of referring to a propositional subject in a predication before stating what it is: 1, It should be apparent that a toek with a coin is morose, vs. That a toek with a coin should be appr. The general form of a coin is: "Prep. + 'fills up' subject position or 'fills in' for the subject. I argue that there is no coincidence just the ones marked "obligatory extraoption," e.g. 2. It turns out that Bessie likes strudel. I will argue that such it's supposed to be more understandable by inference from the later clauses, i.e., suggest it's more a variable that has come to be resolved by the later clauses. Some of these are transformers, like cream becoming butter, but some are changelings, unknown identities coming to be known. Such it's arguable enough to show coreference by anaphoric stress reduction and reification plus visibility, quantification, change of state, and differing viewpoints, e.g. 3. It may seem in your view of it that Tony will lose his pound but not as I see it. Analogous to 4. Create that's churned out as to be butter, in 5, it so turns out as to be that Bessie likes strudel.

GEY CARMEN, University of British Columbia (MON MORI: I)

Blocked Forwards Analyses and the Surface-Interpretation Hypothesis

(1) Next to John, he saw a rattlekake. (John & he)

In Reinhart's C-command analysis of the blocked coreference in (1), coreference is determined by surface structure, making it possible to maintain the larger claim that SS is the sole input to semantics. The only obvious alternative for (1) is a movement analysis like S's, which requires a coreference rule that applies before SB.

This paper gives evidence for two arguments against the surface C-command analysis of (1), and thus indirectly against the larger surface-interpretation hypothesis.

1. Evidence against C-Command: C-command predicts a subject/object asymmetry that is disconfirmed both by a collection of spontaneous productions and by experimental evidence.

II. Evidence for Coreference before Preposing:

Next to Penwick, the investigators believe that he saw a rattlekake. (he & he)

A movement analysis predicts that forwards coref will be blocked, as in (1); a surface C-command analysis predicts good forwards coref. An experiment shows that forwards coref is significantly inhibited in both (1),2, disconfirming the surface C-command model.

The good coref is (3) shows that it will not help to label the preposing "stylistic."

(3) Then Mary first interviewed Bill, she recalls that she thought him unprepossessing. (Mary & she)
A Dynamic-Tone Treatment of Japanese Accent

Japanese accent was traditionally viewed as a dynamic tone, a drop in pitch, occurring at most once in each word. In this paper, I argue in favor of this traditional view by showing that the accent which involves accent is stated in dynamic-tone terms and made subject to certain general conditions on phonological rules (for example, to a "localization" condition which states that phonological rules must involve segments which are, in certain cases, adjacent to one another, and to some extent, in another). Consequently, the result is an elegant and highly realistic theory of tone for Japanese.

The traditional dynamic-tone approach is superior in this respect to level-tone treatments like those of McCawley (1968) and Goldsmith (1970). In Goldsmith's (1970) level-tone approach, all lapse of a dialectic accent feature "h" or "w," as I will show in the paper, gives the theory too much descriptive power. A more constrained level-tone approach can be obtained by eliminating the accent feature and stating the accent rules directly in terms of the accent feature, with no segment. However, the "accents" treatment will show that this dynamic-tone approach fails to capture important generalizations which are easily obtained in the dynamic-tone approach; for example, it fails to provide a unified account of normal "forwards" accent-denial, as in the phrase kanoko no namae 'the heart' (kanoko being the "name" of the word 'heart') and the "backwards" accent denial we find with "predominating particles like kari only' (cf. koro kari only a heart').

GEORGE N. CLEMENTS, Harvard University

Compensatory Lengthening: An Independent Mechanism of Phonetic Change

In a recent article, de Cheme and Anderson (1979) have maintained that compensatory lengthening does not constitute an independent mechanism of phonetic change. They claim that apparent cases of compensatory lengthening involve the weakening of a postvocalic consonant to a glide and the monophthongization of the resulting diphthong to a long vowel, in two separate steps: VCV > VVC > VC. The evidence they present to support this claim are perhaps even more convincing. Their evidence shows that the VCV > VVC > VC process has been generally maintained. Two types of cases are examined and exemplified from NE Bantu languages. The first type involves compensatory lengthening exemplified by the readjustment of timing relationships within a syllable, structure. For example, Proto-Bantu 'slash' 'person' develops into Luganda mu-nu-tyi and Kinyu mo-noo, in which the long vowel that results is biazi. The second type involves the lengthening of consonants induced by the loss of vowels, as in Proto-Bantu 'ilimun' Luganda ek-wa [we]. Although not many types of syllable structures show with glides to plausible or historically motivated. Such cases suggest motivation for a hierarchical view of syllable structure, in which compensatory lengthening can be naturally characterized as an effect of the reallocation of segments to positions in the syllable left empty' by rearfilliation or deletion process, as suggested in Clements (1978).

RICHARD A. CONVINGTON, Yale University

SUN EV: IV

Electronic Evidence for the Fully Specified Lexicon

Jackendoff (1975) distinguishes 2 alternative theories of the lexicon, the dictionary theory (DT) and the impoverished-entry theory (IET). In IET, lexical rules build up the initially incomplete lexical entries for derived forms by mapping information from them to their roots. In DT, both roots and derived forms have complete entries, and the lexical rules serve to indicate that some of the information in the lexicon in process. The DT is correct for entries that are complete and a priori, whereas DT cannot be predicted by the rules. The DT is correct at all in the lexicon's independent information content (IIIC): information predicted by rules that have exceptions counts partly; and unpredictable information counts immediately. Redundantly derived forms like Eng. untruth, uncleather (in OED), Ger. Kindl (from King 'dow'), Pruss. cesaita, etc., pose a problem for IET since they do not show the change of form or mapping normal associated with the affix: what lexical entry do the rules map onto? In DT, however, the rules can apply rootlessly, capturing (for example) the generalization that untruth shares the meaning-element 'cause to become not' with other un- words. The dialectal or idiolectal replacement of that by untruth thus effects a slight reduction of the IE of the lexicon. But not IET explains the slight functional pressure in favor of such redundant derivation.
The Characteristics of a Nahualt Língua Franca

The analysis of a series of Nahualt documents from the Valley of Guatemala written in the sixteenth century suggests that the Indian language was a língua franca more closely tied to the sixteenth-century Nahualt dialect of the Valley of Mexico than to Pípil and Ixtilhuacán varieties. However, recent work by Uma Cevera and others has identified a number of innovations originating in the Nahualt dialect that had begun to spread to other Central American communities. The fact that Nahualt speakers, who share only some of these innovations, provides linguistic evidence to support historical mention of the early existence of a Nahualt língua franca from the central part of Mexico predating the late Aztec empire.

REBECCA M. DAHR, University of Edinburgh

Stress-timing, Syllable-timing, and Isochrony

Recent experimental studies on stress-timing and syllable-timing have concentrated on whether or not isochrony (equal time intervals between stresses or syllables) can be shown to exist in a language on either the level of production or perception. Most published work has been done on English, which phoneticians generally agree is a stress-timed language. In the present investigation, data from continuous texts in English, Greek, Thai, and Spanish, a syllable-timed language, are compared (with additional references to published work on French and Japanese). In these four languages, the average interstress intervals are longer, ranging from about 0.4 to 0.5 seconds, and the range of the majority of intervocalic intervals was found not to differ greatly (75% fell in a range of about 0.3 to 0.4 seconds). No production evidence for isochrony of either stresses or syllables could be found in the data. The equal time-interval constraints rather than any language-particular rhythm. It is concluded that our feeling of stress-timing or syllable-timing is based more on factors such as syllable structure, vowel duration, and realization and distribution of stressed syllables, than on isochrony. Stress-timing and syllable-timing may be regarded as two poles of a scale along which languages, language varieties, or historical stages of a language may be placed.

WILLIAM D. DAVIES, University of California, San Diego

Choctaw Evidence for Postal's Antipassive Analysis

Postal proposes a universal characterisation of Antipassives in which the subject (SU) is demoted to direct object (DO) status and redefined to be the SO of a finally transitive clause. Although Postal provides empirical evidence for initial transitivity and final transitivity, he provides no empirical evidence for the DO status of the Antipassive SO. The purpose of this paper is to present data from Choctaw, a Muskogean language, which provide evidence, historical and lexicostatistical in the literature, for the DO status of Antipassive SOs and further empirical evidence for DO status from verbal agreement data in which Antipassive SOs determine the same type of agreement as DOs. Compare (1), the Antipassive, with (2), the straight transitive.

(1) Oma sa-yanne.
  water I-pick

(2) Chooyoo sa-piss-tee-k.
  woman-I see-leaf

The woman saw me.

Arguments are also presented for the Antipassive analysis of certain Choctaw clauses.

W. D. DAVIES & RICHARD LUTZ, University of Illinois

Measurement of Syntactic Complexity Relative to Discourse Content

Optional transformations like Passive are generally believed to create surface structures that are more difficult to process than their untransformed counterparts. In terms of a syntactic pattern, these rules alter word-order, case-marking and other clues to underlying structure, requiring additional parsing efforts. It is hypothesized that Passive, Adverb Proposing, Hole Insertion, Raising to Subject and to Object create such structures, but that their operations affect which NP is perceived as topic. The initial position of the subject allows the inference that its referent is topic at that point in discourse. A reaction time experiment will test the effect of previous context creating expectations about the topic NP of the following clause, affecting the time needed to process it. Subjects will see pairs of context and target sentences, and reaction time will be measured from the onset of the target S to the subject phrase presents a key indicating that the S has been 'under focus'. There are three kinds of context S combined with 2 forms of each target S. It is predicted that reaction time will be slower for the version in which a rule has applied if the context is neutral or if it misleads the reader about the initial NP of the target S. Reaction time may be decreased if the context gives the reader correct expectations about the topic NP of S. If these predictions are borne out, the results will have implications for the definition of topic as a category in discourse, and its relation to syntactic structure.

R. DAVIES, University of Washington

The Tone and the Suffix -pp: A Case for Two Binary Vowel Features

These tonal processes provide evidence in support of the two binary tonal features or tones postulated by Yip (1983), a High (H) or L) Tonality (Yip's Tone) and a Upper Register. Yip proposed that these two tones are independently antonomous in relation to each other, resulting in tonal processes that refer to only one of two possible tiers; and partial lexical entries for tones that specify only one tier, as in the following.

\[ \text{[Upper]} \quad \text{[Upper]} \quad \text{[Upper]} \quad \text{[Upper]} \quad \text{[Upper]} \quad \text{[Upper]} \quad \text{[Upper]} \quad \text{[Upper]} \]

\[ \text{pp} \quad \text{pp} \quad \text{pp} \quad \text{pp} \quad \text{pp} \quad \text{pp} \quad \text{pp} \quad \text{pp} \]

\[ \text{NLL L NLL L NLL L NLL L NLL L} \]

Thus, the surface tones of -pp can be accounted for by a unitary statement without recourse to a complicated tonal rule; and Yip's claim that two tonal tiers are independently antonomous is further substantiated.

CHARLES E. DEBRAK

The Theory of Language Maintenance

The term 'theory' is used in reference to continuing efforts by the author to provide an explicit account of how languages are maintained within the linguistic repertoires of speech communities. Language maintenance is defined as the efforts of social groups to maintain among themselves a general capacity for verbal communication. Such a capacity may be monolingual, bilingual, multilingual, bidialectal or diglossic. In any case it entails switching among a diverse set of varieties according to situational criteria, and undergoes change as it is transmitted from generation to generation. In isolated monolingual societies the output of language maintenance is some particular language, and a grammar may be considered a representation of it. The entire phenomenon of language maintenance involves language acquisition, language change and language use, as well as grammar, and entails both individual and communal levels of competence. An adequate theory of language maintenance should make predictions about directly observable language behavior.
JAPANESE PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY: EXPERIMENTAL EVIDENCE

The experiment reported was designed to test the productivity of several phonological rules in Japanese and to determine the morphological segments on which they operate. We tested nitive speakers on the stretch of Japanese verb forms. The method involved training subjects in a set of sentence-completion tasks, devised to elicit particular members of a verb's paradigm when given another member as part of the cue; subjects were trained on actual lexical items and then required to extrapolate to nonsense items. Results relative to the productivity of phonological rules suggest a continuum of degree of productivity; while the rule \( \frac{2}{3} /\) is fully productive, for instance, the rule \( \frac{2}{3} /\) is only semi-productive. This result may explain the initially striking result: the tendency to analyze verb stems as vowel-final and to supply endings beginning with \( \frac{2}{3} /\) when a choice was available; this echo of the exact realizations described by Halle (correct terms in Linguistics 11, 1975) can be seen as reflecting Japanese orthographic practice.

DAVID ROSS DECOHUT, University of Connecticut, Haskins Laboratories, & Department of Defense

Effects of Extraction Sites on Phonetic Decisions

In some cases, syntactic boundaries appear to block the application of phonological rules which normally operate across word boundaries. In these cases, it is natural to suppose that the boundaries as a structure in the speaker's mind are blocking any information from influencing adjacent segments preceding the boundary. As we might predict, then, both words are part of the same syntactic unit, not when reordering ends a proposed adversarial. The present study was designed to determine whether syntactic integration might be sensitive to phonetic integration in the case where the immediate acoustic environment is held constant. In one experiment, the Wi-extraction sites, which clearly affects phonological. In an experiment, the W-extraction sites, which clearly affects phonological. In an experiment, the WI-extraction sites, which clearly affects phonological.

DAVID ROSS DECOHUT, U Connecticut, Haskins Labs, & Dept. of Defense

Speech-Perception Evidence that a Performance Model Needs a Competence Component

A silence the length of a stop closure is normally perceived as signalling a stop. DeChowit (e.g. the preceding abstract) has shown that this cue does not work when the silence falls at certain syntactic boundaries. To argue that the hearer fails to make use of the acoustically-present silence cue at these boundaries because (1) the cue depends on the hearer's perception of the material preceding the silence as part of a continuous stream of context and (2) phonological processing is blocked by the relevant syntactic boundaries. To view this formally, we need a model for perception that calls upon a model of production. If a performance model for perception called on a performance model of production, that model would predict possible (though less frequent) non-silence for the segmental information within such units. The production model must be a competence model: Actual performance data for producers shows that the relevant independence of production is blocked completely in production. If a performance model for perception called on a performance model of production, that model would predict possible (though less frequent) non-silence. The perception model, which is concerned with questions related to the knowledge and abilities of real, individual speakers and listeners, is limited and restricted to the analysis of limited and restricted data.

DAVID ROSS DECOHUT, University of Colorado

SFP DEGEMAN, University of Calgary

(SUN NONS: IV)

The Focus Constituent as Subject of Identificational Sentences

In some recent articles, cleft sentences have been described as having the form constituent, namely, the focus constituent and the inclusion constituent. It is both cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions, the focus constituent is considered the predicate where it carries new information. As a consequence, a structure of the type ang-NP + ang-NP which is the identificational or construction in Tagalog, the analysis given to the first ang-NP is that it is the predicate because it carries the new information, and, thus, the second ang-NP is the subject. This matches the typical sentence order of focus + subject, true of Philippine languages. In this paper, I would like to argue that the first ang-NP of this particular type of construction is the subject instead and, at the same time, focus. I will attempt to show some systematic evidences for such an analysis and propose that identical construction in Tagalog follow in effect the more general process of topicalization.

SUNDEE DELANAY, University of Colorado

(SUN NONS: IV)

The Locational Account of Transitivity

I present the locational hypothesis that linguistically transitive events are treated as a special case of simple motion, and suggest that this reflects the original perceptual-cognitive analysis of transitivity. We advance this as an alternative to Hopper and Thompson's account of a canonical, transitive clause as an actual transitive event. That this account of these features with one another can be explained in a locational framework as a clause-level phenomenon, with reference to discourse facts. The role of a canonical, transitive clause is an analysis of the locational account of transitivity. The incomplete transitivity of negated and dislocated clauses can be analogues in many languages in the treatment of nominal events, which are often are coded differently according as they are actual or hypothetical events.

WINNIE DEWING, University of Alberta

(TUES NONS: IV)

Language Structure is Psychological or Cognitive, not Physical, in Character

Language forms (utterances) are not "natural" objects like rocks or chemical elements, but are human products: they are produced by human beings in order to be interpreted or comprehended by other human beings. Whatever "structure" language forms "have" is that which has been put there by speakers or which is interpreted as being there by hearers. The physical language event, e.g. the acoustic wave form, has no linguistic structure discover; even discrete "phones" represent interpretations of the speech signal, not physical realities.) Language forms can be represented and/or described in numerous ways: in grammatical structures which match specific types of structures by speakers or interpreted by hearers correspond to any kind of empirical reality against which linguistic theories can be evaluated or tested; the purely arbitrary and descriptive-artificial. No explanatory science of linguistics is possible which restricts its attention to language forms, the regularities or universal tendencies they exhibit, the ways they change through time, etc. If linguistics wishes to validate empirically one (descriptively adequate) linguistic analysis against any other, linguists must become vitally concerned with questions related to the knowledge and abilities of real, individual speakers and listeners. This realization has important methodological implications for the entire field, including the widespread introduction of controlled experimental techniques.
Recent studies of the English auxiliary system such as Lapointe ("A Lexical Analysis..."), Akemian, Steele, and Mason (1979), and Baker ("Learnability and the English Auxiliary System") restrict the grammar to prevent overgeneralizations in Standard English (SE) such as in (1)-(3); however, many speakers do find these sentences acceptable. This paper discusses how the grammar can be restricted so as to produce only the right strings of auxiliaries for SE while at the same time leaving open the possibility of " diagnostic variations" in (1)-(3). In examining this question, I will focus on double modal constructions such as (1) which I have collected a large set of data in northern Texas that indicates that double modals are commonly used by all speakers in the areas studied. By using the phrase structure and subcategorization rules for negation and auxiliary verbs from the three analyses, I will compare the theories for both the SE modal data and also the Southern American (Texas) English data and present a syntactic framework that allows for SE as well as variations such as double modals. By using [-aj] as an Aux feature, the Lapointe analysis seems to rule out the possibility of postulating a modal phrase for double modal constructions.

JAMES DIZZING, Harvard University

The Original Syntax of Germanic Adjectives in *-like-

Germanic adjectives in *-like- e.g., friendly, freundlich, are usually assumed to have originated as compounds with a noun *like-shape as second element, thus *X-like-having the shape of X. Sometimes *-like- has been taken to be an adj. *X-like-(like X), thus *X-like- *like X. Some of the problems with these analyses are not yet resolved: (1) the type namely behavior where the adj. modifies an abstract, (2) the fact that the first element is in a verb stem (and the corresponding passive vergleichlich forgettable), and (3) the frequent genitive case form of the first element (whether concrete or abstract) in early Gmc., e.g., Oht. gedihtir literally "pleasing". It is suggested here that adjectives like *X-like- are formed with a *-like- like *-like- originally governed a (pre)ceding genitive. Accordingly, a regularly behavior might be explained as "behavior suited with respect to a man", vergleichlos as "inclined toward forgetting" and "suited for forgetting", and vergleichlich as a relic of the aretistic syntagm noun (gen.) + -like-.

Other suffixes may have originated in the same way, e.g., -sana- (Oht. street, gen. -sana- and -sanaರ- (Oht. -sanaರ)); indeed, it is otherwise difficult to explain their present, which are analogical to those of *-like-.

BARIARA T. DONGER, Navarro College

Towards a Theory of Generative Morphology

Purpose

This paper argues for the "word" as a frame for both grammatical and phonological investigation, specifically within a Transformational-Generative framework.

Abstract

Following a review of the study of word formation within the Word and Paradigm (WP) and Item and Arrangement (IA) models, evidence which demonstrates the importance of "the word" within a Transformational-Generative framework of linguistic inquiry. Work in morphology by Matthews (1974), Marchand (1969), and Aronoff (1969) is examined in support of a Chomskian view that words) are 1) topically constituent, vs. subject-verb-object word order; 2) conjunct vs. subordination; 3) use of morphology, either as an (1) use or an (2) usage; 4) ratio between; 5) number of information patterns per sentence; 6) quantity of verbalization; 7) number of words support for the use of these variables as indicators of increasing communicative function in the re-emerging linguistic behavior in aphasia. In addition, the differences in performance of the two groups suggest that the temporal and reticular changes in aphasic behavior and, as a result, capability remain good media for learning.

DAVID R. DOWDY, Ohio State University

Sentence Adverbs and Verb Phrase Adverbs Revisited

The motivation for distinguishing on semantic grounds between a category of sentence adverbs and a category of VP adverbs is now well-known (cf. Stalnaker and Thomas, Crosswell). There are apparently also good syntactic reasons for distinguishing between S- and VP adverbs as well (cf. Jackendoff). However, Sally McConnell-Odet has observed (unpublished work) that these semantic and syntactic criteria sometimes give conflicting results: reluctantly, for example, must be a VP-adverb by semantic tests but is in S-adverb by syntactic tests. A solution to this paradox is presented in this paper in a formal model of syntax based on Montague Grammar.

DAVID J. DUNBAR, Baptist Hospital of Miami & Pennsylvania State University

First linguistic Change in Recovery from Aphasia

Two groups of aphasic individuals were taped in conversation and picture description tasks at intervals of approximately 2-30 weeks post-CA. They participated in a controlled program of remediation. In one group of aphasia, the therapeutic program consisted of temporal training and a set of narrative sentences under picture stories of 1 to 10 pictures in length. The other group received a test set of random sentences without the temporal training, using the traditional melodic intonation therapy protocol.

1. Unique approach to analysis of aphasic linguistic behavior during the recovery period was taken.
2. Seven linguistic variables were studied as indicators of increasing syntactic complexity. These variables were 1) topic-comment vs. subject-verb-object word order; 2) conjunct vs. subordination; 3) use of morphology, either as an (1) use or an (2) usage; 4) ratio between; 5) number of information patterns per sentence; 6) quantity of verbalization; 7) number of words support for the use of these variables as indicators of increasing communicative function in the re-emerging linguistic behavior in aphasia. In addition, the differences in performance of the two groups suggest that the temporal and reticular changes in aphasic behavior and, as a result, capability remain good media for learning.
This paper raises two questions: (1) Can pronouns perform copula functions, and (2) what damage do they do if they do.

To answer the first question, the paper presents evidence from Egyptian Arabic to show that in the absence of a copula form in a language, a language may use pronouns to perform copula functions. The evidence here is based on the use of pronouns to mark yes/no questions, their use in equational sentences, and the fact that they behave like other verbs with respect to negative future tense. It is argued that the use of pronouns in these contexts is not limited to the scope of the quantifiers.

To answer the second question, the paper will focus on the use of pronouns for negative placement. It will be shown that sentences with "copula pronouns" and those without different discourse functions. The former are more marked and have certain conversational implications. It is argued that the latter do not have.

RICHARD GERMAN ELSMORSE, UCLA Neuropsychiatric Institute

The Vertical Cycle and Psychological Reality

Transformational derivation exemplifies a horizontal processing mode; that is, the structure of a rule variable reference requires complete-sentence output from deeper-level components to subsequent components: the transformational component, for example, can only reference a phrase-marker representing a complete sentence. Fragments, then, are not analyzable within vertical transformations. In contrast, as language is not produced at the level of complete sentences, but more often in stages (i.e., both production and comprehension operate simultaneously), the alternate formalism, vertical derivation, is proposed, wherein fragmented discourse can be derived by processing segments of varying length from deep to surface form regardless of the "completeness" of the deep-level structures. This vertical processing mode can then, account for the ability to begin uttering a sentence before knowing how it will end. In addition, the vertical formalism rejects structural change and adheres to constraints of semantic invariance.

SHEILA M. EMHIGTON, York University & University of Toronto

Incorporating Borrowing Rates in Lexicostatistical Tree Reconstruction

A persistent concern of lexicostatistics has been the omission of all meanings susceptible to borrowing from the test-list used in family-tree reconstruction for a group of related languages. However, it is not clear that any meanings exist which are completely immune to borrowing, especially in situations of large-scale language contact. There are also considerable statistical advantages in the use of a longer test-list. Therefore, lexicostatistical tree reconstruction methods can be improved by incorporating borrowing rates as well as replacement rates in the reconstruction process. This involves reconstructing a geographic area as well as a history of the tree. The system of differential equations necessitated for this reconstruction (where the replacement rate r and the borrowing rate b are known) will be presented, together with a computer simulation of the divergence of a language family in which both lexical replacement and borrowing are involved. The results of comparisons of the reconstructed trees with the computer-generated trees for different lengths of test-list and for different values of r and b (using three different measures, each highlighting a particular aspect of the comparison) show a high degree of accuracy, both in the topology of the tree and in its relative branch lengths, can be obtained, even for values of r and b considerably higher than those found in actual historical language change.
Thomas E. Holy, Indiana University

Grist for the Linguistic Mill: Idioms and "Extra" Adjectives

It can be shown that the traditional idea of idioms having non-compositional, "non-linguistic" meanings is false. In a sentence like "With the recession, all companies are having to tighten their Gucci belts, a representation of tighten one's belt as Spring is inadequate, since we must account for the modification of the by Gucci, and the figurative implication that the companies are very rich. Some element corresponding to belt must be included, and our representation of the idiom must be flexible enough to permit such internal modification. Sentences like "She looked a political gift horse in the economic mouth similar's to a second way of combining 'extra' adjectives with idiom's: She hit her husband below the emotional belt, we are dealing with a unit intentional, with an adjective which takes in its scope the entire idiom in which it is embedded. This unusual structure/scope relationship must be accounted for.

In order to handle these two distinct patterns of modification, it is proposed that a semantic rule create at least two (possibly three) distinct representations for the given idiom. One allowing internal modifications as in the case of the one cited above, and one giving the adjective a wide scope over the entire idiom. Finally it is shown how pragmatic restrictions normally restrict the interpretation of such constructions to one of the possible readings.

Alice Rafter, University of Florida

Phonetic Reconstruction

In this paper, I illustrate how detailed consideration of the sounds involved can explain the results of the comparative method. The example used is the phonic parallelism in the Semitic languages. In addition to s' and t', there are four correspondences for one of the language. There are three additional identical segments, traditionally reconstructed as s, t and t'. Segmental study of the three s' versus t' phonemes suggests that they were s' and t', respectively. The evidence for this conclusion comes from the treatment of Semitic languages. The changing values of the letters in the Semitic languages supports the view that the s' and t' sounds were originally identical and have since diverged. The differences in the Semitic language family, the relative frequencies of the various phonemes, and the naturalness of the changes needed to derive the attested systems from the reconstructed system. This reconstruction has implications for any comparison of FS with reconstructions of related Afroasiatic languages (Chadic, Cushitic, Omotic, Berber, Egyptian) and for attempts such as that of Bonhard (1977) to relate Proto-Indo-European to FS.

Ann K. Farmer, University of Arizona

On Eliminating the "Scrambling" Role in Japanese

Phrase structure rules have always held the role of defining the structure of category. That is, relating supercategories, X, in which X is some lexical category, to the head of the phrase is identified as X**, or as X if it is the terminal node. For Japanese, we will propose a phrase structure rule that is as follows: the definition of supercategories of X, X**, in which X is some lexical category, to X. The head of the phrase is identified as X*X, or as X if it is the terminal node. For Japanese, we will propose a phrase structure rule that is as follows: the definition of supercategories of X, X**, in which X is some lexical category, to X. The head of the phrase is identified as X*X, or as X if it is the terminal node.

Such an approach requires that lexical insertion be concept-free. Any lexical items may be inserted under any node marker. After lexical insertion, the features associated with it are altered to "look up" to their respective maximal projections (i.e., X). One significant result of this particular way of viewing the role of the PS rule is that lexical insertion is that "scrambling" no longer has to be a "rule" but is simply a result of the way the system is set up to interact.

John Fischer & Joan Fowman, National Technical Institute

Constructive Constructions in American Sign Language

This paper will present an analysis of the causative construction in American Sign Language (ASL). The expression of agency and causation requires a highly complex interactive system involving many devices, such as shift of eye gaze, changes in classifier handshapes and changes in manner of movement. In addition, there is also an interaction between the semantic classification of the verb and the privileges of occurrence of causative inflections. We asked a group of fluent signers to describe a number of situations involving indirect and direct causation, as well as situations involving persuasion, coercion, and direct control. A variety of causative-like constructions emerged from these elicitation tasks, this presentation focuses primarily on the inferential-causative and its function as a part of the verbal group in ASL.

Sam Fleischer, Summa Institute of Linguistics & University of Illinois at Arlington

Elicitation Identification and Content Cohesion in Narrative Discourse

A cohesive discourse is not built out of statements about unrelated referents. The aspect of referent identification examined in this paper is how an author establishes a cohesion between a new referent and those already known within the text. Data from texts from several languages (including Nukain Greck) will be used to illustrate the extent to which the type of cohesiveness is included in the text and some types of structure are employed to achieve it. The latter include participation in a common event, realized by an independent clause; the use of relative clauses; establishing a common location; the use of kin and social relationship terms; and the question of which referents cohesion is tied to. We also consider the ranking of the referents within the discourse. Some factors that often enter into establishing ranking include identification by the use of proper names versus class terms versus kin or social relationship terms; the use of certain articles; the use of existential; participation in direct, indirect or no quotations; etc.

Robert F. Kervin, Hampshire College & University of Massachusetts

Categorical Theory of Structure Building

This paper proposes that phrase structure grammars be discarded as devices available in the description of natural languages. In their place, a theory of structure building operates along the lines of the categorial grammar proposed by Kripke in the 30's is suggested. In brief, hierarchical organization is defined unambiguously given assignment of lexical entries to categories. Particular assignments are adapted mostly from Montague's 1965, modified and extended on the basis of more recent work. Left-right order (in strict word order languages) is specified by a language particular ordering convention. The ordering conventions for several languages are proposed, including English, Dutch, and Hungarian. In each case, a wide range of low-level generalizations about specific languages is highlighted by a language particular ordering convention. One significant result of this particular way of viewing the role of the PS rule is that "scrambling" no longer has to be a "rule" but is simply a result of the way the system is set up to interact.

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Diane C. F. Frank, University of Pennsylvania

Interpretative: Their Functions and Interpretation

Four subcategories of the class of speech acts Searle labels representatives are given: informing, correcting, consenting, and explaining. After a discussion of the criteria and function of each subcategory, this elaborated taxonomy is applied to two stretches of talk recorded at an information desk. This attempt to apply the taxonomy to use reveals that the interpretation and categorization of utterances begins with the hearer's expectations which are generated by the social context enabling the analyst to identify the starting point for interpreting the utterances. The crucial contribution of this study, then, is not simply that it elaborates an existing taxonomy of speech acts but that it provides some insights into how such a taxonomy can be put to work in more than an intuitive fashion.


Elinor Frankenberg, University of Maine

The Syllable as an Affective Domain

Previous investigations by the author have shown that certain psychological processes correlate significantly with certain classes of consonants, e.g., the relative incidence of aspirated consonants correctly indicated the presence of depression or anxiety in 61 out of 66 cases. This paper extends these findings by showing that the syllable is a particularly important affective domain. At one level, the relative incidence of open- versus closed syllables directly symbolizes the individual's receptivity. At another level, certain consonants and certain vowels that occur in the stressed syllables of multisyllabic words have specific significance, e.g., that the relative incidence of front vowels versus back vowels measures the degree of psychological isolation that is the opposite of aggression.

Victoria A. Fronkin, University of California, Los Angeles

Language as a Mental Reality

It is reasonable to assume that the 'object' (aim) of most if not all linguistic inquiry is to discover, describe, and, if possible, explain the nature of human language. Since linguists differ, then, is in their view of the 'object' (universe of discourse).

I will argue that language is a mental reality and that only if it is considered as such can we account for slips of the tongue or sar, pathological language as observed in aphasia, and the results of psycholinguistic perception and production experiments. The primary evidence to be discussed in support of this position will be speech errors such as the following: 'Are there any seven footers — I mean seven footer here?'; 'we risked the take' for 'We took the risk.'; 'I'm afraid that's beyond my opportunity to be of any comment on that.'; 'I'm very strange about his definitions.'; 'Television isn't a necessary evil for television isn't necessarily an evil.'; 'He was very understandable.'.
Eyes Movements in the Reading of Structurally Ambiguous Sentences

One goal of psycholinguistics is to identify the class of "unparseable" linguistic structures. The Garden-Path theory of sentence comprehension claims that numerous unconscious errors of analysis are made during the processing of many everyday sentences. If this theory is correct, then characterizing the class of unparseable structures will presuppose an understanding of the revision procedures the parser uses to correct an initial misanalysis of a sentence; a sentence will be unparseable only if it defies both the parser's first-pass analysis attempts and its attempts at (normal or unconscious) reanalysis.

Subjects' eye movements were recorded during the reading of garden-path sentences. Results provide further evidence for the Garden-Path theory of comprehension and support the "intelligent reanalysis" hypothesis which claims that the human parsing mechanism typically diagnoses the source of an erroneous structural analysis of a sentence and reanalyzes just that portion of the sentence.

STEPHEN J. GAIRS, University of Northern Iowa

Foreigner Talk Discourse: Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Perspectives

This paper reviews research in "foreigner talk discourse" (FTD) and argues for continuation of the trend to explore the area from a sociolinguistic perspective. It is argued that the study of FTD has followed the pattern of second language research as a whole: from the analysis of FTD as linguistic input alone to the exploration of FTD as verbal interaction (including the study of sociolinguistic intentions).

Current work in the analysis of FTD, including an investigation currently being conducted by the author, are used to illustrate this shift in focus in the study of FTD.

MARTIN M. GARCIA, National Center for Bilingual Research

Non-standard Para + LOCATIVE in the Spanish of El Paso-Juarez

In standard Spanish, the function of a locative complement in a verb phrase of motion can be signaled by a 'a' or 'para,' toward. Interview data from the Spanish language community of El Paso-Juarez, on the U.S.-Mexican border, show variation between para and a in critical discourse contexts (especially where the use of a preterite tense indicates arrival at a destination) that indicates that para is being bleached of its standard meaning by some speakers.

I use data from 15 speakers who show the greatest percentage of para use in the sample of 20 to show that there is orderly differentiation in the linguistic constraints which favor its non-standard ('bleached') interpretation. Two types of evidence are presented: 1) the syntactic constraint hierarchy of the following locative complement, and 2) the discrete stages showing the increasing semantic range of discourse contexts in which para can occur. The evidence suggests that the variation may be structured change in an early phase and not random drift which might be assumed in the absence of orderly differentiation.

JOHN B. GERST, University of California, San Diego

Surface Filters in Balkoneme

In this paper, I discuss the proper formulation of two surface filters: the Balkoneme, a Salish language of southwestern British Columbia. The first filter prohibits proper nouns as surface ergatives, as exemplified in 1); the second filter prohibits 3rd person subjects when there is a 2nd person object, as exemplified in 2):

1) "qi 'alata 'o mery k'0o s'c'ten
"a'ñi bəke-tr-3erg det Mary "Mary baked the salmon.'

2) s'ni x'mak'=o b'sma
"a'ñi k'0o w'éj'ge
"The man kissed you.'

I also discuss these filters with respect to a non-derivational theory such as Relational Grammar. Data involving extraction of the subject provide evidence that these filters must be stated in terms of surface and not final level of structure.

ANSEL GODEZ, JR., UCLA Phonetics Laboratory

Lighting Movement in Chicono and General California English

Hartford (1978) has recently claimed that the diphthongs produced by Chicanos are variable, especially from those of General American English and that these differences are attributable to synchronic interference from Spanish. Though the author bases her observations on personal fieldwork, she nevertheless fails to present any data to substantiate her claims. In this paper, I examine Dau's (1971) data and show that the differences are not attributable to interference.

Data from Chicanos and General American English speakers are examined to test the claim that systematic phonetic differences exist between the dialects of these two groups of speakers. The diphthongs of the two groups were then compared with those of Chicanos Spanish. The results of the present study find systematic differences between Chicanos and General American English speakers. The results also put into question the validity of an interference model suggested to account for the differences found (e.g., Garcia, 1974). It will be argued that rather than being primarily determined by 'interference' from Spanish, Chicanos English represents an autonomous social dialect with distinct characteristics passed on by the usual processes of linguistic transmission (Godez and Maddieson, 1980).

ELIZA A. GOLDBERG, Cambridge University

A Discourse Particle: An Analysis of "ya'now" in Casual Conversation

The analysis of the particle "ya'now" in natural, spontaneous conversation is provided. The study examines the particle as it relates to both a conversation and the role it plays in the phenomenon of "repair." Previous analyses have treated this particle as a random and meaningless filler item. The present author presents a broader spectrum of its occurrence in discourse.

MARZIA A. GROSSER
Backward Anaphora in Child Language

Young children have been found to avoid coreference between an NP and a null or pronominal NP that precedes it (Lust in press; Solan in press; Tavakolian 1978). I will present results from toy-manipulation experiments that investigate whether this tendency of backward anaphora is confined to cases in the adult grammar for which coreference is optional (e.g., null/pseudosubjects, subjects, pronouns, or pronoun subjects). This hypothesis was suggested by experiments testing a structure for which backwards coreference is obligatory in the adult grammar (preposed temporal clauses with null subjects), in which children did not avoid backward coreference. My initial results hypothesize that children's grammar is restricted by the adult optional/obligatory distinction in English, but can be interpreted as evidence that optionality of coreference is a relevant parameter in children's grammar. Children aged 4-6 tend to treat the pronouns and structures (tested similarly, regardless of optionality of coreference in the adult grammar, excepting children favoring co-referential (backward anaphora) interpretations of pronouns, and some favoring non-coreferential interpretations. Pronouns and null NPs are distinguished to some degree, however, with backward anaphora occurring more occasionally, and will discuss implications of these results for learnability, suggesting that children's performance may indicate the unmarked status of obligatory coreference for null NPs.

MORPHOLOGICAL PRODUCTIVITY AND CONDITIONS ON MORPHOLOGICAL RULES

The purpose of this paper is to explore the validity of the notion of productivity of morphological rules. Consider the English suffix -en which attaches to adjectives in form verbs, as in harden. At first glance, it seems to be unproductive, since there are a vast number of adjectives that it does not apply to. But there are a number of phonological conditions which a form must meet in order to be eligible to undergo the rule of -en suffixation (Siegel 1974). Therefore, once these conditions are provided, the rule will apply. Exceptions to the rule are in fact ineligible to undergo, and are thus irrelevant to an evaluation of its productivity. Considerations of this sort lead to the following hypothesis: for each morphological rule, it is possible to state conditions on its application which sufficiently narrow the set of eligible forms so that in fact the rule applies to the majority of these forms. In consequence, all rules are roughly equally productive, and the notion of productivity turns out to be a useful one. This hypothesis will be tested against several specific morphological processes in English. If time permits, the notion 'possible condition on a morphological rule' will be examined. This notion must be constrained in order to avoid an trivial confirmation of the hypothesis through the formulation of ad hoc conditions.

RAISING IN BAVAN FIJIAN

Raising to object in Fijian is clearly a movement process. A number of its features are schematically interpreted. Raising to object is not restricted to raising the subject of the complement clause: almost any NP contained in the complement clause can be raised to object. When an NP other than the subject or object is raised, a pronominal Type B raises to the complement clause. Raising to object appears to be an unbounded movement. I present arguments which show that the raised NP cannot be base-generated as the object of the matrix verb. Further, arguments are given to prove that raising to object is governed by the matrix verb. Finally, I attempt to provide a more workable account of the process.

(8) illustrates raising to object from the source sentence (A): (A) E vinakata na tagane ko Tinci me Iako. (B) E vinakata na tagane ko Tinci me Iako. (C) E vinakata me Iako. (D) E vinakata me Iako. (E) E vinakata me Iako. (F) E vinakata me Iako. (G) E vinakata me Iako. (H) E vinakata me Iako. (I) E vinakata me Iako.
TIMOTHY HABICK, La Salle College

On the Acoustic Variability of Phonetic Systems

As has been known for some time, the formant values on which individual phonemes are acoustically based are not absolute or predetermined but vary considerably from speaker to speaker. This acoustic variability is one of the major reasons why automatic phoneme detection or speech recognition machines have been difficult to build. In this report, some of the limitations of speech and articulatory variability were examined by diaribman and by Lieberman. In addition, several competing theories of this aspect of speech perception will be rejected. Specifically, Lieberman's (1975) assertion that listeners calculate the size of speakers' vocal tracts in order to decode their speech will be argued against.

RICHARD N. HALPERN, University of Illinois

On Asking New Questions in Syntax

I wish to focus on a yet neglected aspect of Noam Chomsky's original generative approach to syntax; i.e., the asking of new questions to which it naturally led. It will be my purpose to show how Chomsky's stress on generating the grammatical sentences of a language led researchers to investigate the scope and limits of various productive paradigms. In turn, led to the discovery of various fascinating grammatical anomalies. For example, one can safely assume that such striking data as "John is an easo man to please," and the limits on mention rules embodied in the Chomsky/Ross constraints are a direct by-product of this very line of inquiry. In general, my emphasis will be upon helping to put into perspective the generative contribution to the study of syntax, to date. Doubtless, it is a common desire to move beyond methodological questions, so as to enable one to focus on the genuine discoveries, moreover, the most exciting aspects of language.

CAROLYN HARTNETT, College of the Mainland

Cohesion in Rhetorical Forms

The cohesive ties that Halliday and Hasan classified (1976) are the specific elements in one sentence that relate it to another. The ties also express communicative or rhetorical purposes or forms when they indicate exactly how the sentences relate. Cohesive ties can help with the discovery or invention of ideas; they indicate organization of arrangements and contribute to style. They aid in memory and are essential in delivering written composition. Cohesion in oral discourse differs from cohesion in writing, in both situations rhetorical expression with cohesive ties develops from basic mental structures that cognitive psychologists are beginning to describe. A practical application of the relationship of cohesive ties with cognitive processes and rhetoric is in an efficient organization of language via course to basic writing. The experimental course consisted of a dozen units each teaching a cohesive tie, its rhetorical purposes, the mental processes that it reflects, and the traditional mechanics of grammar and punctuation needed for its use. For example, to observe the details that will go into a description, one must focus attention on the thing to be described. Third person pronouns are cohesive ties that focus attention on the subject and hold it there.

JILL MAYS, Yale University

A Theory of Phonology and Current Theories of Stress

This paper will examine the implications of Yiddish phonology for current proposals concerning the representation of stress. It is shown that the pervasive influence of an underlying syllable count in Yiddish phonology could not be straightforwardly accommodated for under a purely segmental stress theory. Further evidence, from replication and singing performance, suggests that the two competing suprasegmental stress models proposed by Solomons and by Lieberman and Prince. The latter should be preferred, in that these phenomena can be best understood only by invoking Liberman and Prince's proposal that stress representations include constituent structure.

RAYMOND HENDRICK, University of North Carolina

Subject Auxiliary Inversion and Core Grammar

This paper considers the implications of treating Subject Auxiliary Inversion as a special instance of the rule 'never never' in a core grammar framework. On the grounds of the model, it appears that Subject Auxiliary Inversion should co-occur with both SOM and sometimes and at other times AUX should remain a daughter to S after inversion has taken place. This suggests that there are, at least two, or more traditional theories of transformations of multiple landing sites would involve postulating multiple rules of Subject Auxiliary Inversion. The core grammar contains these two possibilities as a linguistically significant generalization. After a restricted theory of transformations in which landing sites are predicted by linguistic theory and not specified in the formulation of rules.

FRANK BELLE, University of Groningen

Lexical Grammar Based on Well-formedness and Truth Conditions

It has been suggested that the relation between syntax and semantics is explicit in the type-category one-to-one relationship of categorial grammars can be given linguistic interest by placing proper constraints on the syntactic operations permitted. I want to suggest another possibility: that the major interest in the semantic-syntactic relationship lies in generalisations based on the one hand on details of the truth conditions associated with lexical items, and on the other hand on a single, enriched set of well-formedness conditions which define the syntax of those items. Although weakly a categorial grammar, the grammar derives no strength from the category-type structure. The claim is exemplified by reference to English tense, aspect and time adverbials. These are all assigned the rather uninteresting categorization of sentence operators. Sentences are interpreted as functions from time intervals to truth. It is shown that the semantic oddity of "John has gone to town yesterday" and the syntactic ill-formedness of "John yesterday gone to town has" and many apparently disparate phenomena can be naturally captured by reference to the details of the truth conditions and well-formedness conditions for the items in question — and their mutual interaction.
Alternative Scenarios in Linguistic Reconstruction

Theories which delimit the set of possible changes by which languages move from one typological class to another have been termed Theories of Relative Origin. Theories of Exclusive Relative Origin refer to states with a single possible origin, e.g., it has been asserted that the only source for nasal vowels is the loss of a nasal consonant. Theories of Multiple Relative Origin are more common, and they obviously cannot permit the same sort of inferences to be drawn about the histories of the languages. This paper purports to be the first of a series of updates on the history of language. It is, however, not always been one of invalidation; if it is possible to show that a particular condition/process was not present in the past, then one relative origin theory may be discounted.

In this paper, three types of examples involving the application of multiple origin theories are discussed. The first concerns prenasalized consonants, which may have three distinct diachronic origins. Under limited conditions, it is possible to infer the processual origin of synchronic Ng. The second example concerns the reconstructed history of certain voiceless aspirates in Bantu languages, which may have either articulatory or perceptual origins; associated conditions may be used to select one or the other scenario in a reconstructed history. The final example involves a different nature, illustrating how the operational domain of a particular process may provide insight into its origin, e.g., processes applying only across a favor perceptual rather than articulatory origins.

How to Describe the Five Kinds of Letters

An earlier paper by the author has shown that a written language can have 5 different kinds of units which are popularly called "letters", and that each of these kinds of "letter" functions differently in the language. This paper shows how each kind of "letter" can be described in a linguistic analysis. The "letters" defined by their shapes and by their cooccurrences with suprasegmental phenomena are graphs; the functional properties of the graphs that make up these "letters" as they are defined by their names and alphabetical order are parts of the ordinary linguistic communication, but are parts of the popular metalanguage describing languages. The "letters" defined by their names and functional properties are the standard categories for their description, a complicated nomenclature which is outlined in this paper.

Different Drummers: The Syllabic/Accentual Bases of English Prosody

The generative prosody's search for abstract rules governing English verse has failed because English prosody is neither universal nor abstract. In this paper I adduce the progress of English prosody from the Anglo-Saxon accentual patterns through the influence of the French syllabic meter and the emergence of Languedoc pentameter up to contemporary American verse. The use of prosody required two words in the preceding century, but it was also based on highly audible phonetic patterns because when the line in time lengthened out, it depended on the alliteration to direct the audience to discount for melodic variations. The imposition of the French octosyllabic tradition, which ignored stress but provided stress, produced a blend which has confounded those who are convinced that a single prosodic tradition extends from Chaucer through Shakespeare because the verse incidentally was often isonic and when the ten syllables was replaced by the eight, the result is the "English isonic pentameter." But such a description of our prosody fails to account for much of Wyatt's syllabification rhythm nor does it do justice to Shakespeare whose prosodic genius consists often in a skillful interplay of the old alliterative accentual and the new rhymed syllabic traditions. More importantly, it doesn't describe such later poets as Hopkins and Pound who also apparently both the accentual and syllabic drums.

Surfacing in a Name: Contemporary Toponyms

The world's rivers and forests, bays and settlements, deserts and waterfalls, are all but completely catalogued. Their developers have shifted the streets of suburbs, and astronomers have labeled features as far as 18 billion miles away. There is little opportunity, for more, for place names to be bestowed by private individuals. In exception, a sense of control over the naming of hundreds of such names in one Southwestern city.

They reflect many aspects of contemporary popular culture, e.g., social and regional interests, ethnic influences, "aristocratic" environmental setting, architectural style, as well as names of persons associated with the ownership or operation of these buildings. The syntactic constructions are limited, as might be expected, but still more varied than those of ordinary geographical toponyms in English.

Perceived Beneficary as a Pragmatic Condition for Ordering

Much has been written about the syntax and semantics of the direct imperative, but not about the pragmatic conditions which limit its use. The direct imperative is usually associated with the illocutionary force of ordering, its actual use is very restricted. This paper will focus on the pragmatic conditions which must obtain for an illocutionary act of ordering to be appropriate in a social context.

The 'perceived' beneficary of the illocutionary act of ordering in the one who receives the primary benefit of the completion of the required act. I contend that the 'real' beneficary of that act is always the speaker. 'Perceived' beneficary is only important to an order in the sense that, if an order is perceived as being for the addressee's benefit, it may increase his desire to complete the required act. This, in turn, will have a great effect on determining the appropriateness of an order in a pragmatic framework.

Bridging a Communication Gap in Health Care

Communication between doctors and patients is often impeded because of a language gap. Doctors speak "doctor language" and patients speak "patient language." For effective communication, it is necessary for one member of the dyad to speak and understand the other's language (Shuy 1975, 1976). This description applies as well to communication between patients and other health care professionals. Pharmacists in modern pharmacy practice are classified as two broad classes: one middle class to whom the pharmacist dispenses pre-packaged, pre-printed prescription with prescription drugs or dispenses these drugs alone. Pre-printed information encouraged patient-initiated drug consultation with pharmacists in light of the dispensing situations; patient-initiated consultation occurred in 4% of the situations without accompanying printed information. Ironically, one of the arguments against dispensing such printed information has been that it might supplant pharmacist-patient consultation. This non-prescription printed information acted as a bridge between "medical care" and "patient language." It persuaded patients that the pharmacists actually wanted to communicate with them. In so doing, it also helped to overcome the reticence of both pharmacists and patients to be consultation initiators. It took "you first" attitude has been cited in several studies and surveys as a major block in pharmacist-patient communication.
For every verb in the language there are pairs similar to this, in which identical pronominal affixes are understood as having different relations with the verb.

Emi'q-a-le

Heard-PREM-SG.,-MASC.SG. 'he heard her'

(qam-7am?-a-le

Past-Heard-PREM-SG.,-MASC.SG. 'she heard him'

All syntactic criteria show that the semantic agent (underlined) is the subject and the patient is the direct object in both sentences. It is argued that a word-skeletal transformation and adjunction of object affixes to the verb stem to create the VOS order in (a) from prior VSO order. Two constructions reflect the morphological anomaly: (1) sentence like Emi'q-a- she heard, which are understood to be subjunctive to the degree that they do not attach to structures like (a) but not (b), to avoid VOS order of affixes; and (2) the use of independent object pronouns, instead of suffixes, with structures like (a) but not (b), to avoid VO order of affixes.

GARY B. NOLAND, University of California, Berkeley

Verbal Prepositions and Postpositions in Diachronic Perspective

In Homer, prepositions may occur before their nouns, after their nouns, and interspersed in non-adjective sequences. And khotatois (from the ground, i.e., from the sea), not from his parent land. Explanation for this variation in position fall into two groups. Traditional grammarians (Delbruck 1900, Wackernagel 1921, Miellet 1937, Schwemer-Deremer 1950, Chatterjee 1952) maintain that this freedom is simply a product of a generative system, and that limitations in position are a later development. Typological grammarians (e.g., Lehmann 1971, 1974a) argue that this variation is a result of change from OF to VO order. Neither approach explains the difference in accentuation, the existence of the interposed types, and the limitations in position. There are no sequences of Non-Adjective ('proper') postposition in Homer.

I suggest that although the shift in verb-object order cannot have caused the shift from postposition to preposition, there are similarities in the operation of the two shifts. Various scholars have argued that 'amplified' sentences (Sonda 1959) are transitional between (4) VSO and (5) WO order. Just as sentences may have amplifications which result in SDG structures, so too NPA sequences are best regarded as 'amplified' postpositional phrases, and are transitional between postpositional and prepositional structures. Comparative evidence shows that NPA sequences are not merely a stylistic device in Homer.

V. MELISSA NOLAND, American Institutes for Research

Discourse Principles in a Medicaid Recertification Program

This paper extends principles of text comprehension to the domain of public documents, focusing on application forms. Taking a particular form, a presentation to identify for Medicaid, we show how it is designed according to principles of coherence, communicative cooperation, and global interpretive schemas, such as the kinds of documents addressed in traditional analyses (e.g., Halliday & Hasan, Grice, Kuno, & van Dijk).

The document is designed in turn, be assumed to be understood and use the Medicaid form. We argue that it is just these principles which are not assumed by typical users of this form: They do not treat the document as discourse. We support this argument with experimental evidence of a smaller system of data, our account correctly predicts that sequences like (2) are equally acceptable without only, i.e., as simple claims; there is evidently no direct equivalence between it that said that said that. It's account is also unsatisfactory, since it lacks the projection properties of true conventional implicatures.

Similarly, naturally occurring examples will be cited to demonstrate that any purely syntactic approach to exhaustiveness is misguided. It will be argued that exhaustiveness is in fact a detachable but non-cancelling generalized conversational implicature of focus construction, filling a gap in the pattern of behavior of "prepositional" phenomena.

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Movement in "Logical Form": Evidence from Hungarian

The essential similarity between syntactic structure and the level of representation relevant for semantic interpretation, referred to as "Logical Form" (LF), has been proposed in recent versions of the Extended Standard Theory of generative grammar (cf. H. H. Harman, 1977; Chomsky, 1979, 1980). More specifically, it has been hypothesized that the rule "Move a" is involved not only in the derivation of surface-structures but also in the mapping of s-structure onto Logical Form, the main evidence having to do with the properties of sentences with quantified expressions (cf. May 1977)'s Quantifier Rule). This paper will deal with the LF-representation of Wh-questions and Focus sentences. It will be argued that on the basis of the addressing of the structurally conditioned interaction rules "IMPERSRATIVE" and "PROGRESSIVE/PERFECTIVE ASPECT" of Hungarian in the above two constructions - that in this language, the position of phrases with Wh-Q operators and with Wh-Q operators is different at the level of Logical Form from their position in syntactic S-structure. Thus, Hungarian provides striking empirical evidence for the existence of phonologically "invisible" movement rules, applying in the interpretive component.

KATHLEEN HOLLIDAN, University of California, Los Angeles

On Defining Aspiration in Final Position

Aspiration has been defined as a delay in voice onset time after the release of closure (Liberman and Abramson 1964) and as a period of voicelessness after the release of closure of the evening segment (Ladefoged 1971). These definitions seem to be adequate for aspiration of voiceless consonants in initial position, but they do not characterize the aspiration of voiceless consonants in word- and utterance-final positions, where the following segment may or may not be voiceless.

This paper addresses the question of defining aspiration in word- and utterance-final positions. Spectrographic and aerodynamic data will be presented from a group of speakers of Eastern American, one of the few languages in which there is a contrast between voiceless unaspirated and aspirated consonants in final position. Spectrographic data from one speaker of Nepali will be presented for comparison. Preliminary results suggest that aspiration in final position can be defined in terms of the duration and intensity of noise preceding closure. Intracranial air pressure may also be important. The extent to which this definition characterizes initial aspiration and the so-called "voiced aspirates" will also be considered.

GROVER HUDSON, Michigan State University

The Questionable Status of Reciprocative Conditioning

In transformational phonology ABCD may yield AEFP, where C conditions E, and reciprocally, E conditions C. But given nontransformational A\[BCD], C is only potentially present, so cannot condition E, and E similarly cannot condition F. The importance of reciprocative conditioning for nontransformational phonology has been noted (Wells 1949, Hudson 1980), so this paper examines the five claimed cases of reciprocal conditioning presented by Kisseberth and Kenstowicz (1979) and finds them questionable.

For example: Klamath san-e-aa-ke makes a dog bark and would come from an-ke, where a is the stem conditions insertion of the copy in the prefix, and the prefix conditions deletion of the stem-vowel. But if the vowel of the prefix is indicative of composition of the stem, it is not necessarily a COPY of the stem-vowel. A discontinuous morpheme analysis or a metathesis would equally account for the alternation.

In fact, nontransformational phonology clarifies the relationship among these three transformational analyses, by abstracting from them the crucial fact they share: the non-linear and invariant status of the stem-vowel quality.

GORDON EDWARDS, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

The Pragmatics of a Japanese Conditional

In this paper, I discuss the pragmatics of one of the four conditional expressions in Japanese, the nara-form, e.g. nan-nara, nara-nara. "If you are sleepy, so am I." I propose that the appropriate use of this expression in Japanese is constrained by two parafunctional conditions on the situation that the speaker can refer to in the antecedent clause. First, it requires that there be a specific referent which prevails concurrently with, prior to, or subsequent to the speech act. The speaker's utterance is nara-nara only if there is a person who is sleepy. Second, despite the specificity of the antecedent clause, the speaker's knowledge of it must be such that he is unable to fully commit himself to its occurrence. The speaker can use the nara-form and say "If you are sleepy" (and not "because you are sleepy") for instance because he is unable to assert fully the existence of someone else's physical state; he can merely conjecture it. I will demonstrate how the speakers of Japanese effectively exploit these characteristics of the nara-conditional to achieve various rhetorical purposes. This study provides insight into not only the conditionals in Japanese, but also the rhetorical function of hypothesizing in natural language in general.

EMILY L. HUTTAR, University of Texas at Arlington

Coque-Marindian Pidgin of Suriname

The trade language reported by de Goeje in 1906 and 1908 is still in use between speakers of Djuka (a creole language) and speakers of Wayana and Trio (Cariban languages) in the interior of Suriname.

Hilli notes and recordings made in 1970 indicate an SOV language with more structural and syntactic similarities to the Cariban languages than to Djuka. Nominal morphemes are Cariban, while content morphemes are both Cariban and Djuka. Phonology reflects modifications toward both languages, and provides evidence of the independent application of some Djuka words, intermediate between their English or Dutch sources and their current form.

(Usual features of this pidgin include the marking of dual and the optional occurrence of copula in NP-be-Adj clauses.)

FRANCES INGELMANN, University of Kansas

(p. 35)
Phonologically definable paradigmatic gaps have been reported for Russian (Halle 1973), Arabic (Hetzel 1975), and Swedish (Ellisson 1975). In Swedish, for example, there are no neuter singular forms (-s suffix of the adjectives råd 'advisor' and färd 'drudge or certain others (lat 'lazy', gravid 'pregnant', etc.), presumably because of some deep restriction against combining stem-final dental plosives of specific (by no means all) roots with suffixes of the same form. But as in the Russian and Arabic cases, the resulting paradigm lacunae in Swedish are especially surprising because, independently, there must be rules posted which would otherwise appropriately "fix-up" the offending strings, e.g., found/et becomes find 'found', neš, or through their effect on voice assimilation and degemination, yet råd/et may not surface as råd, or as anything else.

The account of paradigmatic gaps suggested here involves associating lexical exceptionality even with surface-valid rules like voice assimilation. Without posting any further machinery, such as Halle's ad hoc [-Lexical Insertion] feature, gaps in paradigm thus turn out to be the natural consequence of filling a taxonomic void in the cooccurrence of exceptions with transparent rules. This characterization also explains the fact that paradigm lacunae apparently are always rule related, i.e. that if the language's independently motivated phonological rules were allowed to apply there would be no lacunae.

GREGORY K. IVerson, University of Iowa
GERALD A. SANDERS, University of Minnesota

**Phonetic Generalizations and Rule Functions in Phonology**

This paper deals with the relationship between rules of grammar and laws, or lexical generalizations, about the forms of linguistic expressions. We argue that this relationship is one of government, such that the characteristics, functions, and functional interactions of the phonological rules of a language are governed or delimitied by true lexical generalizations about its phonetic structure.

By taking phonetic laws rather than rules as the primary axiomatic basis of grammar, it becomes possible to construe each grammar as an explanatory theory about a language whose laws are each subject to independent determination of truth or falsity. We hope to show here, however, that this assumption of law-primacy also has a number of more concrete values for linguistic analysis and methodology, with specific implications for the universality of rule types, their modes of interaction, and their derivational functions.

WESLEY JACOBS, University of Chicago

**Japanese Potential Constructions and the Semantics of Simple Happening**

In English, two modes of expressing potential meaning are available: one which ascribes the possibility of an event to the ability of an agent to bring it about, and the other to the inherent propensity of the event to occur. Cf. I can't open the window vs. the window doesn't open. In Japanese, there is a clear tendency to use the latter mode of expression: はさく as はさむ (window NOM open-MOD), not はさく as はその はさむ (window NOM close-MOD). The introspective morphology of the はさむ construction, combined with a patient subject, gives rise to a construction which bears a close affinity to passive constructions, except that no agent is allowed. I will argue that such constructions are not to be categorized in a larger class of spontaneous constructions, essentia lly of form HAPPEN(S), where S = an event. Potential constructions are to be distinguished as a subclass of this category by virtue of a particular aspectual character they bear, whereby they are divorced in reference to a pervasive text-collection and linguistic analysis in Antoni 1975, it is clear that the order of subject (S), object (O), and verb (V) in the oldest, *Northwest Germ an* inscriptions (ca. AD 150-600) was predominantly SVO. Yet the *minor excep tion* that Antoni lists to Runic Germanic's being a Grammatical (SVO-Language in fact constitute extremely suggestive evidence that a previous stage to Runic was (O V) (≠ SVO or TSO); aside from O V, practically all combinations are ordered modified *≠* modifier (S = Int., Adj., Title, Gen. (preponderantly); there are no postposi tions, only prepositions). Since these general order-patterns themselves shift as later Runic gains verbal STO, they are unlikely to be the trigger/precursor of this.

RICHARD D. JANKA, University of California, Los Angeles

**Evidence for VO in Proto-Germanic from *Saw*—Runic Norse?**

Previous treatments of Proto-Germanic (PcGr.) word-order, in contrast to those of the major of its ancestor Proto-Indo-European (PIE) and its descendent English and German, have largely been in agreement with one another, and their consensus is that PcGr. was SVO (cf., e.g., Smith 1971, Lehmann 1972, Hopper 1977). Some of their insights for this order comes from internal reconstruction and the comparative method as described in historical stages of the individual Germanic dialects/languages with (relatively) extensive, continuous texts. However, much of the weight of evidence that PcGr. itself was SVO has been lent by runic inscriptions. From the archaeological evidence and linguistic analysis in Antoni 1975, it is clear that the order of subject (S), object (O), and verb (V) in the oldest, *Northwest German* inscriptions (ca. AD 150-600) was predominantly SVO. Yet the *minor exception* that Antoni lists to Runic Germanic's being a Grammatical (SVO-Language in fact constitute extremely suggestive evidence that a previous stage to Runic was (O V) (≠ SVO or TSO); aside from O V, practically all combinations are ordered modified *≠* modifier (S = Int., Adj., Title, Gen. (preponderantly); there are no postpositions, only prepositions). Since these general order-patterns themselves shift as later Runic gains verbal STO, they are unlikely to be the trigger/precursor of this.

RICHARD B. KAC, University of Minnesota

**Universals in Syntactic Theory**

It is widely assumed that a central goal of syntactic theory is to define the notion of possible grammar through a definition of the notion 'possible rule'. I take issue with this assumption for several reasons. First, the goal of defining the set of possible human languages does not depend on a definition either of 'possible grammar' or 'possible rule'; moreover, the rationale for constraining the notion 'possible rule' rests ultimately on the lexicographic regress of constraints, constraints on constraints, constraints on constraints, and so on. My position is that the only defensible concept of linguistic universals identifies this notion with that of tentative universals. I will also comment on the difference between a theory and a framework, and its relevance to this issue.

RICHARD B. KAC, University of Minnesota
Proximate and Obviative in Eskimo

The Eastern Eskimo fourth person is said to identify the subject of the so-called subordinate verb or the possessor of a possessum with the subject of some superordinate clause. If the subject of the subordinate verb differs from the superordinate subject, it is said to require the "subject-changing" suffix -tik; in a similar situation, the possessor is said to take a third rather than fourth-person suffix. But an analysis of texts from a number of Inuit dialects reveals that the facts are more complex. The subject of a fourth-person verb is in reality often different from that of the matrix clause, even when -tik is not used. Furthermore, often no superordinate clause can be identified at all. The choice of fourth-person pronouns is not governed by the grammar of subordination but by the pragmatic category of "main character". The fourth-person ending marks the verb (or possessum) whose subject (or possessor) is the main character in the text, or - if there is more than one main character - the one that has been mentioned first. The suffix -tik is used on verbs whose subject is not the main character only when the speaker intends to maintain the same main character in the subsequent discourse. Thus the use of the fourth person parallels that of the proximate person in Agnonigian.

WAHUTLI LEXICOGRAPHY

During the past four hundred years about a dozen dictionaries and major vocabularies of Nahautl have been compiled, of which Alonso de Molina's 1571 dictionary and Rémi Simon's Nahautl-French dictionary of 1885 are major works of ca. 10,000 entries each. Older Nahautl, traditionally known as Classical Nahautl, Modern Nahautl has not been extensively documented in the dictionaries of Kay and Key (Zacapoaxtla, 1953) and Brewer and Brewer (Tetelcingo, 1971). Wordlists and sets of minimal pairs sets in the 19th and early 20th centuries are derived from older century sources. The works compiled prior to 1975 are either modeled after Molina or according to a format devised by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The former generally fail to record distinctive vowel length and glottal stop, while the latter are less analytical that the canonical form is often a prefixed form of the stem. New directions in lexicography have recently been undertaken by J. Richard Andere, J. Joe Campbell, and Frances Karttunen.

BIOLOGICAL CONSTRAINTS ON LANGUAGE VARIATION

Two observations are central to linguistic research: first, the rich variety among languages and variation within any one language; second, the relative rapid and automatic mastery of a native language by any normal child. A major goal of linguistic theory is to reconcile these two apparently contradictory observations. It is reasonable to assume that all people have the same phylogenetic, or cognitive mechanisms. These biological factors constrain and structure the set of possible human languages, that is, they determine the ways in which all languages must be the same, and the ways in which they can be different. This general approach is applied to phonetic data on stop consonant voicing in Polish and English. Measurements of voice onset time in different languages and speech situations results in a wide range of values for each voicing category. However, given a biological predisposition to categorize VOT in a highly constrained way, the language learner can immediately impose some order on the surface data. The stylistic variations which are superposed on the underlying phonetic categories can then be determined. This approach will also be illustrated with an example from phonology.

PHONOLOGY AND VOCAL REDUCTION

The fixation of word-accent on the root syllable in the Germanic languages has been attributed to the reduction and loss of most vowels in stressed syllables in these languages. Apocope (the loss of an stressed vowel word-finally: ich fahr vs. ich fahre 'I drive'), enclisis vs. my Haun (at home) and syncope (the loss of an unstressed vowel: gesteat vs. geseat 'said') have been attributed to vowel loss to morphological conditioning. Vowels are claimed to be lost due to the relative strength of morphological category (case, number, person, etc.). I will argue for a phonological conditioning for both the vowel loss and the sequence of loss, accounting for the dialect variation in apocope and syncope. Both apocope and syncope will be shown to spread by a series of atomic and complex rules.

DICTIONARIES GIVEN BY MILDLY MENTALY RETARDED AND NONRETARDED ADULTS

This paper presents the results of a study of route directions given by mildly retarded adults living in the community compared to those given by nonretarded adults. Fifty sets of directions to their home given over the phone were collected from each group. The directions from the nonretarded adults were analyzed to determine the ideal form of the route work done by a set of directions. The structure of an ideal set of directions was determined to include such major elements as: an orientation section in which a starting point and a starting point for the actual route are established; the route itself, which includes GO and CHANGE directives and optional orientational references; and a location and description of the destination point. The directions given by the retarded adults were then compared with the idealized form and with the directions given by the nonretarded adults, both in terms of overall structure, and in terms of accuracy and effectiveness. Although it was found that nonretarded adults often give complete or inaccurate sets, the directions given by retarded adults differ significantly on a number of dimensions.

PRETENSIONS AND ELISION IN METRICAL PHONOLOGY

In metrical phonology (Halle & Vergnaud 1978; Clements & Keyser 1980), the syllable structure has been proposed as playing the role of monitoring the well-formedness of the phonological string. Thus, when the syllable template inverts a "stimulated" consonant, a minimal syllable structure is assigned to it, and a vowel is inserted under the empty slot. For example, if the permissible syllable structures in a language are CVC, CV and CVC, a string like CVC would leave the first and final C's unstressed, i.e., CVC, and a vowel would be inserted under the empty nodes to construct minimal syllables. These problems relating to this will be discussed.

1. On what principle is the syllable template assigned? Given permissible syllable structures of CV, VC, and CVC, is a string of CC assigned the template C C C C, C C C, or C C C C? 2. Can a phonological rule violating the syllable structure be allowed to apply, only if another rule whose sole function is to repair the damage done by the previous rule (e.g. in Klamath, a vowel is elided to yield an ill-formed syllable structure. An "opaque" C cluster would be "neutralized" to rectify it.) 3. An unpermissible C cluster can be resolved either by a vowel epenthesis or by a cluster simplification (i.e. a C elision). Is there a principle that governs this choice?
MICHAEL N. KIM, University of Southern California

Quotative Complements and a Constraint on Extraction in Korean

The most prevalent syntactic element in Korean quotative complements is a complementizer وة, since almost all syntactic phenomena in sentences containing quotative complements are related to this element. The presence or absence of the complementizer وة affects other elements in quotative complements. For instance, syntactic processes such as the change of copular ending, copular deletion, the quotative predicate verbalizer وة deletion and contraction of embedded predicates are triggered by the absence or presence of the complementizer وة. This paper attempts to show all these syntactic phenomena taking place in quotative complements. NP extraction out of quotative complements is also affected by the absence or presence of the complementizer وة. Chomsky's SSC and PIC cannot explain data found in Korean quotative complements. A new constraint similar to Bresnan's The Complementizer Constraint on Variables (Bresnan 1977) is formulated to explain the same data.

ROBERT D. KING, University of Texas at Austin
ALICE FABER, University of Florida

Historical Linguistics and History: Yiddish Prehistory

The Rhine land area of Germany, called "Lotse" in medieval sources, is traditionally regarded as the crucible from which Yiddish emerged during the Middle Ages. Jews fled from Germany to Poland as a result of the Crusades, populating an area of Eastern Europe previously unoccupied by Jews. This is the received view of Jewish settlement in the East and of the linguistic evidence clearly points to Bavarian as the German dialect from which Yiddish developed. This linguistic evidence permits us to revise radically the settlement history of Ashkenazic Jews in Eastern and Central Europe—a nice example of the service provided by linguistics in illuminating a murky and poorly documented period of Jewish history.

ROBERT THOMAS KIM, University of Frankfurt

Prepositional Usage in German Causative Constructions

The purpose of this paper is to present data on prepositional usage in German which support an analysis of causative constructions in terms of German which support an analysis of causative constructions in German. The prepositional usage in is a case in point. There are no clear-cut syntactic or entailment relations in English, there are no clear-cut syntactic or entailment relations in English. The prepositional usage in German is a case in point. There are no clear-cut syntactic or entailment relations in English, there are no clear-cut syntactic or entailment relations in English. However, many of these rules were replaced by other rules, which have been shown to be preferable. The first subclass mentions the alpha variable on only one side; thus it is not to the point to ask any question. However, many of these rules were replaced by other rules, which have been shown to be preferable. The first subclass mentions the alpha variable on only one side; thus it is not to the point to ask any question. However, many of these rules were replaced by other rules, which have been shown to be preferable. The first subclass mentions the alpha variable on only one side; thus it is not to the point to ask any question. However, many of these rules were replaced by other rules, which have been shown to be preferable. The first subclass mentions the alpha variable on only one side; thus it is not to the point to ask any question. However, many of these rules were replaced by other rules, which have been shown to be preferable. The first subclass mentions the alpha variable on only one side; thus it is not to the point to ask any question. However, many of these rules were replaced by other rules, which have been shown to be preferable. The first subclass mentions the alpha variable on only one side; thus it is not to the point to ask any question. However, many of these rules were replaced by other rules, which have been shown to be preferable. The first subclass mentions the alpha variable on only one side; thus it is not to the point to ask any question. However, many of these rules were replaced by other rules, which have been shown to be preferable. The first subclass mentions the alpha variable on only one side; thus it is not to the point to ask any question. However, many of these rules were replaced by other rules, which have been shown to be preferable. The first subclass mentions the alpha variable on only one side; thus it is not to the point to ask any question. However, many of these rules were replaced by other rules, which have been shown to be preferable. The first subclass mentions the alpha variable on only one side; thus it is not to the point to ask any question. However, many of these rules were replaced by other rules, which have been shown to be preferable. The first subclass mentions the alpha variable on only one side; thus it is not to the point to ask any question. However, many of these rules were replaced by other rules, which have been shown to be preferable. The first subclass mentions the alpha variable on only one side; thus it is not to the point to ask any question. However, many of these rules were replaced by other rules, which have been shown to be preferable. The first subclass mentions the alpha variable on only one side; thus it is not to the point to ask any question.
ELIZABETH KRAVNER, Stanford University

How to Grab Power in a Group Discussion, and What Does That Have to Do with Class or Race, Anyway?

In an analysis of taped discussions among a group of women of varied social class and race backgrounds, I intend to isolate the linguistic devices that each woman uses in her attempts to gain control of the discussion and/or to take her turn. I will then look for patterns of usage of and reaction to these devices among these women that correlate with their social class backgrounds, and to a limited extent with their ethnic backgrounds as well.

I will examine structural features (such as pronouns, models, passive, conditional tags, inflections), jargon, interruption patterns, and speech acts. I assume that there will be individual, class and race differences, based on the reflection through linguistic devices of such psychological processes as degree of self-involvement, proximity to others, degree of commitment toward self and others, importance allowed feelings is personal experience, and the experience of personal power or powerlessness.

This analysis, as one of many, can help investigators track the distribution of power in verbal interactions. Thus it can lead us to a greater understanding of how people each are and are oppressed through language and of how language serves as an effective and/or invalidating force in the evolution of society, or whether they are the result of the evolution of the individual human being. Consequently it is not clear whether it is preferable to speak of the observable patterns in a society, or whether one should make reference to some faculty of an individual such as linguistic competence, or moral conscience.

ANTHONY KNOCH, University of Pennsylvania

The ECP in Real-Time Syntactic Generation

More than one observer has noted that the "island" constraints might be, rather than features of grammar, reflections of the parsing and generation mechanisms used by speaker-hearer. As a preliminary to real-time processing, in this paper we argue, on the basis of observational data from connected spontaneous speech, that at least one of the proposed constraints on wh-constructions, the Empty Category Principle (ECP), reflects a limitation of the real-time syntactic generator and, therefore, that it may have to be reassigned to a "downward-entailing" expression. An item is a license for polarity-Sensitive any if it can be interpreted as a function f with the property that f(A) is a subset of b, \( b/A \) is a subset of f(A).

The distribution of the English determiner any is restricted by the requirement that it never occur elsewhere in a sentence of an expression with certain syntactic properties. The analysis in Lasdun 1979 treats the any's in (1) and (2) as occurrences of distinct lexical items.

(1) John didn't eat anything
(2) John will eat anything

The negative-polarity item any in (1) is an existential quantifier which must occur in the scope of an effectively negating that you can put it on, in the rain. Conversely, resumptive pronouns like the above occur with low frequency (less than 38); but when the clause violates the ECP, the resumptive analysis always appears (100% of 51 cases). Statistical analysis shows that the ECP necessarily causes the speaker to lose track, and so the ECP must reflect an inherent limitation of the real-time syntactic generator.
Borrowing is a part of linguistic study which has not received a great deal of consensus regarding its potential value. A term borrowed from one language into another is a double-edged sword, casting light on both the lending and the borrowing languages. This is particularly useful in historical linguistics, where a little direct evidence is available. Now a language interprets the phonemes of a borrowed word helps define two areas at once: the phonemes of the alternative proposal which lacked this hypothesis would look like. The purpose of this paper is to sketch the outlines of such a theory. To claim a universal phonetic alphabet is to claim that function which maps phonetic representations onto sets of utterances is a universal, LANGUAGE-SPECIFIC property. Since this function generates "phonetic substance" directly expresses the treatment of language as well as universal context effects in terms of vocal tract structure and dynamics, and c) versatile expression of timing differences. Among issues that separate the two approaches are the implied scale of controllable phonetic detail, and the malleability of the perception and production systems.

ADRIANNE LANG, UCLA Neuropsychiatric Institute

Alpha Wave Asymmetry in Autistic Children's Response to Speech

Adult aphasic patients with left hemisphere damage often retain automatic speech, similar to stereotypic routines and echolalia found in autistic's speech. This similarity suggests a location for automatic speech centers somewhere other than the left hemisphere. EEG studies of alpha brain waves in normal adults have indicated a disassociation between the left and right hemispheres' responses to verbal and spatial tasks: the slow asymmetrical rhythmic alpha activity (alpha desynchronization) with a predominance of activity in the hemisphere engaged by the specific task, e.g. left hemisphere for speech. This report of a pilot study compared three groups of subjects, normal controls, normal adults and autistic children, in their responses to four types of stimuli: (1) passive listening to a story, automatic speech, stereotyped speech, and music. Results are pending; however, it is expected that differences in the autistic children's response to automatic and stereotyped speech will be evidenced in variations in the alpha asymmetry as compared to normals. The presentation will include a discussion of the issues involved and some implications.

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A main verb analysis of the modern English (NE) auxiliary system based on Mann (1976) is presented. This analysis assumes an internal structure for the NP in which \( V \), \( V_v \), and \( V_b \) are generated as \( N \), \( V_v \), and \( V_b \), and the morphological form of which is \( V \). Subcategorization of possible auxiliaries. A number of rules affecting the NE auxiliary will be presented. Differences between the Old English (OE) and NE auxiliary will be reviewed. Modals have non-finite forms in OE. Sequences of auxiliaries which are possible in OE are no longer possible in NE and vice versa. Subject-Verb inversion from main to aux is as well auxiliaries in OE. An analysis is offered for the auxiliary verb in terms of the analysis of the NE system only minimally in the contents of a number of lexical entries. Differences from the NE system only minimally in the contents of a number of lexical entries. Differences from the NE system only minimally in the contents of a number of lexical entries. Differences from the NE system only minimally in the contents of a number of lexical entries. Differences from the NE system only minimally in the contents of a number of lexical entries. Differences from the NE system only minimally in the contents of a number of lexical entries. Differences from the NE system only minimally in the contents of a number of lexical entries. Differences from the NE system only minimally in the contents of a number of lexical entries. Differences from the NE system only minimally in the contents of a number of lexical entries. Differences from the NE system only minimally in the contents of a number of lexical entries. Differences from the NE system only minimally in the contents of a number of lexical entries. Differences from the NE system only minimally in the contents of a number of lexical entries. 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Differences from the NE system only minimally in the contents of a number of lexical entries. Differences from the NE system only minimally in the contents of a number of lexical entries. Differences from the NE system only minimally in the contents of a number of lexical entries. Differences from the NE system only minimally in the contents of a number of lexical entries. Differences from the NE system only minimally in the contents of a number of lexical entries. Differences from the NE system only minimally in the contents of a number of lexical entries. Differences from the NE system only minimally in the contents of a number of lexical entries. Differences from the NE system only mim...
Grammatical relations (GRs) intervene in the connection between the semantic roles or relations (SRs) of a verb and the expressions of these roles (structural positions, case markings) in sentences. Only two GRs, subject (SU) and object (OB), exist within a lexical entry for a verb; SRs link to SU and OB, and SU and OB link to expressions of SRs. The remaining SRs are associated with the verb and are linked directly to their expressions. A verb is either transitive—has a SU and an OB—or intransitive, has only a SU. Some languages may allow a verb more than one OB. Lexical rules apply to lexical entries of verbs and must be composed of the following primitive operations: 1. Removal of the SR from SU or OB, 2. Addition of a SR to SU or OB, 3. Transitivization (removal of OB), 4. Detractivization (removal of SU), 5. Passivization, for example, is detractivization and the removal of the SR from SU; the "promotion" of OB to SU is an automatic consequence of these operations. In many languages, causativization involves transitivization and the addition of an agent role to SU. Besides restricting lexical rules more strongly than competing theories, the above theory proves better able to explain several phenomena prevalent cross-linguistically, which will be reviewed as time permits. These include the use of the same morphology within a language to signal different roles (e.g., impersonals and passives, passives and reflexives) and the restriction of so-called "native Movement" in certain languages to transitive verbs.

STEWART MARLATT, University of California, San Diego
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

CHANGE-OF-SUBJECT MARKING IN SERI: EVIDENCE FOR SYNTACTIC LEVELS

A current issue in linguistic theory is whether there is reason to posit more than one syntactic level. The framework of relational grammar is one which claims that nominal may bear grammatical relations at levels other than the surface. This paper presents evidence from Seri, a Hohokan language of Mexico, which bears on this important question. Seri has a change-of-subject marking system which does not make reference to surface subjects, as the following example illustrates.

Seri: ki? toXi, na yapštìt 'When a deer died, deer the it died differently, it was eaten.'

It is shown that these facts provide a new argument for an analysis of passive clauses which posit more than one syntactic level. It is also argued, based on an analysis of a raising construction in Seri, that the generalization for change-of-subject marking cannot refer to initial (or logical) subjects. A new notion of 'first' subject, which is available only in a framework recognizing more than one syntactic level, is proposed to account for the facts.

ELLI PÉDRAZ MARLATT

SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND LINGUISTIC CODE SWITCHING

On the basis of a preliminary analysis of interview material of Malagasy dialects of French spoken in Madagascar, it can be concluded that the social roles of authority as well as the particular topical of discussion are the primary factors in the choice of codes (dialect vs. standard) and have a decisive effect on code mixing/sixing. Some more general aspects of linguistic attitudes and identifications and male/female roles will be discussed.

ERIK KURY

SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND LINGUISTIC CODE SWITCHING

The paper argues that c-command should be replaced by cl-command, thus avoiding the increasing number of cases where the first branching node in c-command "does not hear" and making new predictions.

Sociolinguists...
The primary claim of this paper is that there exists a vast
intrinsically structured multi-leveled manifold of speech act types which
has as its root the class of social pressures (e.g., obligations). I call
this the PCW.

In part one I define and argue for the existence of the PCW. In
part two I demonstrate the PCW's relevance to speech act theory by using
it as a perspective to argue for a cumulative series of revisions
connected to (i) that Austin's 'experiential class' should be reintroduc-
ed as a superclass; (ii) that all exercisers partake of a character-
istic tricompositional design (the speech act, the entailing, the
illocutionary), as Spaulding shows; (iii) that Searle's direction of fit analysis
in his classification needs revision because for the directives,
commissives and representatives it is a feature of the illocutionary
act, while for the declarations it is a feature of the illocutionary
act.

DONNA JO NAPOLI, University of Michigan
Subject Pronoun Drop in English and Italian

There is no rule of Subject Pronoun Drop in English. The evidence against
such a rule is threefold. If it were a syntactic rule, it would have to be
chronologically conditioned, since the presence of and type of auxiliary
system is relevant. Floating quantifiers can't appear in SPD sentences, but
floating would have to occur before SPD, leading to a contradiction. And
SPD sentences sound worse as the sentence gets longer, a suspect condition
on a syntactic rule. Italian, likewise, lacks a rule of subject pronoun
drop for the strong form of the subject pronoun. However, I argue that
Italian has clitic subject pronouns which must undergo SPD. This analysis
explains some otherwise unaccounted for differences between Spanish and
Italian (and French) on the one hand, and French on the other. It allows a unified
system of all pronouns (subject or otherwise, strong or clitic) in Italian
and French. The contrast between English and Italian with regard to SPD
follows from my hypothesis that null anaphors and proform anaphors
occur in complementary distribution. This hypothesis turns out to be best state-
ment of the kind of rules that can occur in a grammar rather than
as a constraint on rule interaction or on phrase structure. Data is
taken from Mod. Eng., Mod. It., Old It., and a variety of dialects.

GEOFFREY S. KAYNAN, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
What Can All These Be's Be?

It is traditionally assumed that all occurrences of the English copula
be are syntactically equivalent in some basic way. There is assumed to be
no syntactic distinctions between the use of the copula in the passive
and as the main verb of a sentence. There is at least one construction, however, which apparently discriminates between dif-
f erent functions of the copula. For some speakers of American English, a
singular form may be used with a plural subject in WH-questions while
an equivalent object. (i) Floating the WH-word does not change the
spokespersons who allow this kind of neutralization, the only case that
allows it is the purely copular use of be, and not a be used in peri-
phrase constructions such as the progressive or passive. This gives
the following filter: Where in hell's the answers? VS *Where in hell's the men running?* Such a distinction has important
consequences for such questions as the deep structure of passives, and
wider implications for most theories of syntax.

PETER B. HENDEEY, University of Washington
On the Day 'The Crying Baby' but not 'The Eating Baby'

Robert R. Lees, in his Grammar of English Nominalizations, observed that
intransitive progressive participle may occur prenominaly, with
the exception of those whose stems are also subcategorized for direct
objects: the crying baby, the running boy, but the eating baby,
the reading student. This paper offers a formal explanation for
his observation. The following two hypotheses are crucial to that explana-
tion:

1) Eat, read, etc. are always transitive, even when no
superior object appears. That is, both deeply and superficially,
the student reads is represented as the student [NP,
student, NP, NP, noun phrase ("The Flanked Trace Fill Filter")
blocks all derivations in which a trace is flanked on either its
left or its right. After preposing, the reading student is
represented as the student [E[NP]). That phrase is
therefore excluded by the filter.

2)
**Adversity Causatives in Japanese**

The existence of 'adversity' interpretations in connection with the suffix *-sase* has long been recognized in studies of Japanese grammar. Such interpretations arise in other contexts as well. For example, sentence (1), which contains the 'causative' suffix *-sase*.

1) Hanako wa musuku o sinase-te.

Hanako topic-marker son object-marker die:SASE:past is applicable to situations in which Hanako (a) intentionally brought about her son's death, (b) let her son die, or (c) failed to prevent her son's death. In addition to these three interpretations, (1) supports an interpretation in which it is applicable to a situation in which Hanako played no role in her son's death but suffered as a result of it. This is the 'adversity' interpretation which arises in connection with *-sase*, and it can be shown that under certain circumstances, simple lexical transitive verbs can support such 'adversity' interpretations as well. The circumstances which give rise to 'adversity' interpretations in the cases discussed above must be distinguished from the circumstances which allow an 'adversity' interpretation in connection with *-skee*.

It is possible to formulate two distinct concepts of 'adversity' which accord well with the linguistic and pragmatic factors which condition the possibility of 'adversity' interpretations in these different contexts. Finally, we comment briefly on the syntactic consequences of these facts and our analysis of them.

**The Noun-Class System of Kabre**

Kabre has an unusually complex noun-class system for a Gur language. There are 10 classes, 9 of which may be used for singular nouns, 6 for plurals. Many singular/plural pairings have so far been discovered that all class markers are suffixes on nouns, but concord is indicated by both prefixes and suffixes. In our paper, we examine the morphology and syntax of the noun-class system, discuss the semantic content of the classes and class pairings, and speculate on the links between the class system of Kabre and other Gur languages and Proto-Benue-Congo.

**Individuality, Bifurcation, and Linguistic Idealization**

When Chomsky equates his picture of idealized competence with Saussure's notion of langue (at the beginning of *Linguistics and elsewhere*), he assumes as most modern linguists that there is no empirical difference between an idealization to language as an individual fact, and as a social fact or collective representation, provided the idealization is sufficiently severe. It is easy enough to show that this equation is justified only where it is commonly known-- in the favored sense-- that each individual is subject to the same performance considerations, roughly, as each other, so that any speaker can construct his phonology, for example, in private consultation with the properties of his own mouth. But while the conditions that allow the equation of the two idealizations do hold for the performance factors that constrain the selection of a phonology and syntax, they do not hold when we come to construct a semantics, since no one speaker could construct a theory of the meaning of a word, for example, without asking himself about the antecedent disparities of belief that he observes within the community. This point is much emphasized in recent philosophical work on meaning, particularly by Putnam, Kripke, and Caruth Evans, but its consequences for linguistic methodology have been largely ignored in the lexicon, at least, an idealization to the competence of an individual is vastly more severe than an equivalent idealization in syntax or phonology, and so is correspondingly less fruitful.
Much of the discussion in the literature on Chican English concerns whether Chican English is simply the product of language interference with Spanish or whether it is truly a social dialect with community norms of its own. While some authors have attempted to list phonological/grammatical variants which reflect shared norms, none have proposed the notion that some variants could be assigned both to the interference and normative behavior. This paper examines variants of English used by various Chicanos with the goal of assigning them to interference behavior, normative behavior, or both.

STANLEY PETERS, University of Texas at Austin

An Alternative to Wh-Movement

Unbounded dependencies such as that between the on-phrase in dislocated position in (1) and the verb preceding the 'gap' in that sentence have been taken as the best evidence for transformations, e.g. wh-movement.

(1) On whom did Alice say she thought Bill relies — for advice?

And phrase structure trees are augmented by the addition of links connecting dislocated phrases in their surface structure position to the location in surface structure of the 'gap' they are associated with, then the syntactic, morphophonological, and semantic peculiarities of unbounded dislocation constructions can be accounted for straightforwardly, in terms of a single structural description.

A highly restricted theory of syntax emerges from these considerations -- a slight generalization of phrase structure grammar. The linguistically significant generalizations for the expression of which it has been argued that transformations are required can apparently be given quite simple and revealing formulations in this theory, which will be illustrated by presenting an application of it to English.

MARIANNE PLIMLEY, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

The Use of Grouping Variables in Language Acquisition: Age vs. Protoing

In language acquisition research, the grouping of the subjects is often crucial in revealing developmental trends. This is especially true between the ages of three and seven. Some studies have shown that children of different ages use different strategies for interpreting particular constructions. However, it seems just as common to find that age has no effect, particularly when the construction being examined is syntactically complex.

As part of a larger study, children ages three to six and a half were given four tests: 1) imitation of complex sentences with that complements, 2) imitation of sentences with infinitival complements, 3) interpretation of SS and CR relative clauses, and 4) interpretability of unbounded dislocation sentences with that complements, where the wh moved referred to a gap in the complement sentence. Analyses of variance showed that while age was a significant factor in tests 1 and 2, it barely reached significance (.055) for tests 3 and 4. If an F ratio was used, age was not significant. When the first two tests were used to group the subjects, Group was a significant factor for tests 3 and 4 at the .001 level (.025 with F'). The use of the protostat 1 and 2, which were designed to test the child's linguistic knowledge of elements crucial to the interpretation of the construction, yielded good test scores from complements (tests 3 and 4), providing a clearer picture of the strategies used at different stages which the use of age as a grouping obscured.
Borrowing: The Symphony of Loanwords

Traditionally, studies of borrowing have concentrated on either the phonological restructuring of loanwords, or the assignment of grammatical features such as gender and derivational morphology, or the sociolinguistic correlates of loan use. All these aspects, however, operate simultaneously during the borrowing process. Thus we undertake here a comprehensive quantitative investigation of the dynamics of loanword assimilation, taking account of all of these processes. During this period, the number of hypotheses advanced in the literature, e.g., that phonological integration of loanwords increases as a function of its frequency of usage, that the second-generation mechanisms of word formation, such as suffixation and inflection, are used more by speakers with high prestige status, and that the Loanword Integration Index is a valid predictor of loanword success. Our analysis confirms the importance of these factors in the assimilation of loanwords, and suggests that the Loanword Integration Index is a useful tool for predicting the success of loanword assimilation.

P.J. Prince, Haskins Laboratories

Japanese Flags, American English Flags and Distinctive Feature Theory

Flaps in Japanese (J) and in American English (AE), it is shown, manifest substantial acoustic, articulatory and perceptual similarities. The number and type of distinctions maintained in the two languages, however, differ considerably: in AE, intervocalic flaps at the end of an utterance with J and do not with retroflex or palatal phonemes. Though the area of overlap of J with AE may be large, differences exist, primarily in the probability with which a particular feature may occur, e.g., voicing in closure or extension.

Ellen Prince 

Differentiating between Topicalization, Focus-Movement, and Yiddish-Movement

The problem of how children learn exceptions to rules must be addressed by language acquisition theory. Given the rule-governed way in which children learn a grammar, how does child grammar differ from an incorrect generalization without negative evidence (Raker 1970) is about the performance of an act, like command, promise, decisions, etc. These two types are frequently distinguished by complement forms, as in English: "I told/ persuaded her that it was so" and "I told/ persuaded her to do it." These meanings underlie the episodic/ nominal distinction in modal and the similarities and differences among speech act and non-speech act types. A second set of complement meanings involves a nondiscrete scale of alternatives to the proposition and the performance of the act: the act is extended. One also extends the modal analysis beyond II and "I told/ persuaded her to do it," to the act itself. This is the case in "I told/ persuaded her that it was so" and "I told/ persuaded her to do it." These meanings underlie contrasts between factive, implicature, assertions, and extensions. Both sets of meanings underlie sentences, simple or embedded.

Ellen Prince

Ella Ackerman

Haskins Laboratories
Old English forton and fornónde Revisited

Available accounts of the origin and relationship of OE forton and fornónde (van Dijk, 1957; Mitchell, 1965; Carkeet, 1974a; Erickson, 1977; Pyle, 1977) are incorrect, each at least one respect. In the earliest OE texts (GF, 2r, and ChronoA), forton but not fornónde appears as an adverb or as a 'correlative'. Both appear as conjunctions subordinating a reason clause, but only fornónde appears separated from the reason clause, to the extent that those connecting the two originate in Pre-Old English prepositional phrases functioning as reason adverbials. Fornónde plus reason clause originates as (A):

(A) [for [Det Hing Scope]]

while forton originates as (A) without the complement S. The two prepositional phrases then undergo a restructuring caused by the deletion of the head noun 'cause, reason' and the construction comprising of Det plus Det plus pp. By the time of our earliest OE texts, the head noun Hing rarely appears, and its appearances provide crucial evidence for regarding (A) as the origin of forton and fornónde. 'Correlative' forton is a copy of forton plus reason.

Sense or Non-Sense?

The need to account for the epistemological value of expressions of the form and led Fregé to distinguish sense and meaning of a string of signs. He characterizes sense vaguely as highlighting the particular way in which a referent is being given. Montague offers in interpretation of the Fregéan distinction according to which sense is not in general a function taking arguments in a set of ordered pairs of possible worlds and points of time, and whose values are denotations of a specified type. It is the purpose of this paper to give evidence that Montague's definition, even though it is the appropriate one, is not adequate. Most of the problems of the reducible sense as a separate category, can with some justification be viewed as an explication of Fregé's reference, 2, offer an explication of Fregé's sense according to which the sense of an expression is being determined by its function in a particular kind of logical configurations called 'contexts', and 3, discuss the question in how far the characterization of sense offered is compatible with both Fregé's original idea and Kontáges' interpretation. The question as to which of the two interpretations, Kontáges' or the one given here, is preferable over the other one will be addressed but left open.

Theoretical Aspects of Denasalisation in Brazilian Portuguese

Schane (1971) has proposed that "if, on the surface, a feature is contrastive in some environments but not in others, that feature is lost where there is no contrast." Thus in French, oral and nasalized vowels contrast word-finally and before a non-nasal consonant (cf. [b] 'beautiful', [b] 'good'; [bete] 'with boots', [bete] 'goodness'), but not before a nasal consonant, where now only oral vowels occur. According to Schane, in French, only nasalized vowels preceded a nasal consonant; a rule has since been added which deasalizes a vowel before a nasal consonant, precisely in the environment in which there is no surface contrast.

Another example of this is a major dialectal difference in Brazilian Portuguese (cf. [ãnãvã] 'animal', [bnãhã] 'banana' in Northern Brazilian; [ãnãbã], [bnãbã] is Southern Brazilian), previously analyzed as a difference in nasallization rules (e.g. [1970 8]; it is more adequately explained by the presence in the Southern dialects of the rule of denasalisation, similar in form and function to Schane's rule for French. Thus, Brazilian Portuguese constitutes another case for Schane's hypothesis, at least as far as the Southern dialects are concerned.

Additionally, it is true that this analysis is consistent with Kiparsky's (1973) "Elsewhere Condition," which correctly predicts that the two rules of nasallization and denasalization in Southern Brazilian must be applied disjunctively.


discussion function

The Function of Tenseless Sentences

In this paper I argue for a distinction between two uses of propositions: those whose truth at a particular point in time is asserted/questioned, and those which are merely "mentioned". The former are tensed and the latter tenseless. E.g., in the statement "Jan is speaking," an act of speaking is predicated at the time of the speech act. This contrasts with the tenseless (since it lacks a tense) "Jan speaking, where no such predication is made. This sentence merely serves as an identification. A number of results in below on English such as infinitival clauses (I want to look at his pilot), subjunctives (I asked that he leave), and questions like "Is a bug? Never!" will be shown to all involve mentioning a proposition without making or questioning a claim about its truth at a particular point in time.

Freeman and Schmerling have offered somewhat similar analyses of tenseless why questions and imperatives, respectively. I attempt to give a single analysis which handles all tenseless Ss in English (other than usual speech fragments) and show that this tenselessness serves a particular discourse function.

Denasalisation in English

In this paper I report on a study of the language attitudes of twenty-four individuals in the Creole-continuum community in Guyana. These attitudes towards "English" and "Creole"—the accretional and baselialectal poles of the continuum respectively—are revealed in their responses to direct questioning and in their evaluations of three matched-guises samples. These attitudes are compared with the productive competence of these speakers, as determined from elicited samples of their casual speech and in their performance on formal "correction" tests.

The results obtained are more complex and interesting than the assumptions which are usually drawn. While the language attitudes of creole speakers are related to the social classes of speakers, e.g., all members of the sample link the use of more standard language varieties with higher status jobs, the estate class members differ sharply from the non-estate class members in rating the baselialect Creole speaker most likely to become their friend. (Cf. earlier studies of West Indies Creole individuals at Del (1960). Some estate class individuals see Creole norms which seems to be part of a larger philosophy that in language as in other areas, the dominant social order must be overturned.

It is the existence of this dual-value set of attitudes which helps to explain the otherwise paradoxical fact that the Creole pole of the continuum is alive and well even though Creolization has been taking place for a century or more.
Structure in Morpho-phonological Conditioning: From Colonial to Modern Cakchiquel

The role of grammatical marking in sound change has long been an important topic of discussion. In current, phonological theory it is generally held that phonological conditioning is regular and predictable whereas morphophonological conditioning is less so. The classic example of morphophonological conditioning is the reduction of *-ing to *-n in Middle English (Crandell 1958). In this example, the conditioning forms are irregular and predictable if we discriminate between prepositional and non-prepositional uses of the verb, e.g. "He can't clean the room [= *can't CLEAN the room"]

In documents of the 16th century in Spanish, the (absolutive) 3sg. pronouns were in and out today, they are *he *she *it. Tone on tone environments due to both phonological and morphological conditioning are more problematic. Conditioning in the phonological environment is this: if *it-occurred before an animate 3sg. pronoun, the shift took place (e.g. *sin-ki-to > Sin-ki-to 'they helped him') whereas if not, the shift did not take place (e.g. *sin-ki-to> Sin-ki-to 'they helped themselves'). The morphological environment is this: if *in/-at-occurred before an animate 3sg. pronoun, the shift took place (e.g. *sin-ki-to > Sin-ki-to 'they helped him') whereas if not, the shift did not take place (e.g. *sin-ki-to > Sin-ki-to 'they helped themselves').

If the past emphasized the non-phonological nature of morpho-phonological conditioning, the future provides opportunity to investigate the non-phonological nature of morpho-phonological conditioning.

THOMAS ROBERF, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Some Facts and Thoughts on Parameters in Real-Time Acquisition

We shall argue (1) that linguistic theory has gained sufficient precision to allow us to replace the evaluation matrix with a parameter-setting approach (Chomsky 1980), that evidence from acquisition, in subtle detail, conforms to the predictions made by case-theory. In particular, disintegration of syntactic categories (I like to sing) before they acquire them with subjects (I like for you to sing). We shall also discuss the appearance of prepositional phrases (I like for you to sing) before they acquire them with subjects. The parameter-setting approach provides a logic which allows a number of instantiations. For instance, it is either the concept preposition, or the specific trigger for, or an aspect of the meaning of for which it is the trigger for the recognition of the for phrase in subject position. A natural suggestion is that the Prep in normal FP's (I got it for John) triggers the subject (for John to go). However evidence from acquisition suggests that the concept(s) for makes the environment for this triggers only (I like for you to step on it) before I like for you to sing. Thus we argue that the instantaneous model makes a number of precise predictions which, nevertheless, allow several ontological instantiations.

JANE M. ROSENTHAL

How Do In the Aztec Possessive?

The expression of possession in Classical Nahuatl and the modern Aztec dialects differs from such expressions in other Uto-Aztecan languages. The Aztec possessive is characterized by having no real allomorphic/comparable opposition, and location and similar "prepositional" notions are expressed with possessed noun phrases. Some of Aztec's unrelated Middle American neighbors show certain similarities in their possessive phrases: Totonac in the juxtaposition of elements and Nayan in the expression of locational relations as possessive. This paper examines the possibility of a possible shift in the title and its features with these in other Uto-Aztecan languages and in other Middle American families.

NUNO SANCHÉZ, Centre de Recherches Mathématiques, U Montreal

The Free-choice Switching Notice: A Language-in-contact Typology

The free-choice switching constraint characterizes code-switching in Spanish-English bilingual communities: no switches occur between constituents ordered in an ungrammatical way. weather language, and no switch separates a bound L2 morpheme and a free L1 morpheme not already integrated into L2. Poplack has shown how this implies a typology of 3S behaviors - assigned bilinguals are more likely to switch tags or single nouns. This paper extends the typology along both linguistics and sociolinguistic dimensions. Apparent violations are readily classified as contact phenomena other than the native language, e.g., since L1 Loanwords, whether esoteric or widely used, are integrated (L2), and since important classes of words are resistant to borrowing, we can show that apparent violations to the free morpheme constraint in Arabic-English situations and to the equivalence constraint in Guang-Tok Pisin situations are borrowings rather than switches. violations of the equivalence constraint in Ghanaian-English are associated with internal grammatical English constituents, indicating a possible reflexification process. interference can often be distinguished by accompanying hesitation and repetition behavior not associated with C5. While these and other apparent weakenings are diagnostic of various bilingual phenomena, strengthening of the constraints in particular situations is indicative of special sociolinguistic configurations, such as the cited lack of intrasentential switching among partial bilinguals.

JAMES F. SCHULBERG, University of Texas at Austin

The Proper Treatment of the Relationship Between Syntax and Phonology

This paper explores a conception of the relationship between syntax and phonology espoused by Montague's "Universal Grammar" that permits revealing account of diachronic and phrasal phenomena that have been problematic for the standard theory (Bresnan). The alternative theory I propose exploits recent research recognizing that phrasal units (phrases, terminal words) and phonological phrases) in addition to segments but not to counterpoint of the standard notion of phonological interpretation of surface structure, instead, the proper expressions of a language-in-the-UQ sense are analyzed through a hierarchy of structural units, its formal operations are defined with reference to phonological units, and its syntactic rules comprise a category filter. The paper includes a preliminary formalization of the theory and an English fragment treating problems like how the king of England's throne and the special phrases associated with that clause (this is the cat that chased the rat that ate the cheese).

LUKE J. SCHWARTZ, Indiana University

Agreement Attraction in Latin

well-established in Latin texts and well-known to Latin grammarians is the phenomenon of 'agreement attraction', in which an agreeing element ( adjective, verb, pronoun) has as the values of its agreeing categories the values of the element which usually controls its agreement but the values of some other element. For example, instead of having the agreement values of a coordinating subject, a predicate adjective may agree in gender and number with the single closest member of the head; instead of agreeing with its subject, a verb may agree in person and number with a predicate nominal; instead of agreeing with the head of its clause, a relative pronoun may agree in gender and number with a predicate nominal. This paper will attempt to provide a unified account of the varied instantiations of 'agreement attraction', such as those cited above, by (1) characterizing the conceptual "pairs of variability" in terms of a hierarchically arranged set of categories with clause membership, adjacency, and linear order; and (2) characterizing the relation of the proximate, agreed-with, element to the controlling element in terms of co-occurrence and set membership.

MARGARET SHERWINE, Brigham Young University
A series of experiments employing congenitally deaf subjects who utilize American Sign Language (ASL) as their principal means of communication provided evidence that linguistic gestures are ASL signs remembered in a sign-based code, but printed English words are recoded into a code based upon the systematic conventional properties of their sign equivalents, and the characteristic properties of the serial position curves for the recall of ASL signs by such subjects resemble those for auditory presentation of words to hearing subjects, rather than resembling sequences of characters (orthographic) presentation of linguistic items. Certain differences which arise between auditory and visually presented linguistic material which have been observed with hearing subjects may result not from differences in the auditory and the visual systems but from different interpretations and theories. Certain differences which arise between auditory and visually presented linguistic material which have been observed with hearing subjects may result from different interpretations and theories.

These results are discussed in terms of their implications for linguistic theory. In particular, it is proposed that a substantial body of experimental, psycholinguistic data which has been interpreted in support of the notion that the auditory system is "special" for language and the visual system "general," will require revision if the data is interpreted and theorized in terms of the differences between auditory and visual presentations that have been documented in previous experiments, or based on the notion that the auditory system serves as the channel through which speech is conveyed. The importance of separating characteristics inherent to language from influences imposed on its perception and form by modality is also addressed.

MARTY ELLEN SHANKLAND, San Diego State University & University of California, San Diego

Factivity: Another Category Square?

The notion of factivity was originally introduced by Kiparsky and Kiparsky, who attempted to define it using a series of syntactic characteristics, and to motivate these characteristics using the semantic notion of presupposition. However, they admit themselves that there are problems with their approach: a significant and real fact that are semantically factive, in that the proposition of their embedded clause is presupposed, fail to show many of the defining syntactic characteristics they propose.

Since then, semantic characteristics have been suggested as being primary in defining factivity. A verb phrase defined as factive includes the property of aspect, which is constant even when the verb is negated, or the sentence is turned into a yes/no question, or embedded in another sentence. However, there are problems with this approach, too, in that the counterexamples are legion.

It was suggested a solution to some of these problems by designating some verbs such as make and discover as "semi-factivities." In this paper, I go one step further than Karttunen by proposing that factivity is best handled as another example of Ross's categorial square. Thus far, there has been a list of definitively factive, some syntactic, some semantic, such that while all these features can be found in some factive verbs, no single verb will display all of them.

SUSAN C. SHEPHERD, Stanford University

Strategies and Semantic Distinctions in the Acquisition of Standard English and Creole Modes

Comparison of the acquisition of selected models in the speech of children learning standard English in the U.S. and children learning Antiguan Creole indicates that in both groups children (ages 2-5) tend to assign unique functions to each form as it is acquired. The child may focus on a distinction which is marginal or made incompletely in the adult model, and apply it strictly. The tendency may be adopted as is, or be interpreted by the child. In standard English, it is used for some words, usually distinguished on the basis of immediacy. English-speaking children tend to a single language system, as evidenced by the use of English from a standard English-speaking child going to it is used for events the child has control over, which is most cases are more immediate. Will is used for distant events, usually controlled by someone other than the child. In the adult model, which the adult model treats as semantically equivalent, may also be distinguished by the child. In the creole two forms, go and con ("going to") are used interchangeably by adults. One child acquiring the creole differentiates the two on the basis of source of control. It is used for activities he controls, while go is used by others. In this context, it is noted that all children will assign the same function to a newly acquired form. This is striking and significant as their acquisition is that the strategies (such as "source of control") used for assigning unique semantic functions to the forms are often the same, even across the language varieties discussed here.
Is Language Behavior Rule Governed?

The purpose of this paper is to consider the possibility that linguistic behavior may not be rule governed. Language usage as far as suggests that speakers use rules to produce novel forms. Nonetheless, certain critical cases show that an analogical approach to language usage is more appropriate. These critical cases include the following: (1) the transition in behavior across a "rule boundary" is probabilistic in nature, and the exactness of the transition depends upon the density of the bar rule; (2) the closer an exceptional form is, the greater the probability that behavior will be like the exceptional form; (3) probabilistic language behavior cannot be reduced to deterministic explanation, but nonetheless there are severe conceptual difficulties in learning and using probabilistic rules.

IAN SMITH, Pomona University

Should Alternations Be Listed In Lexical Representations?

The proposal by Hudson (1974, 1980), Hooper (1975, 1976) et al. that the alternating parts of a morpheme should be listed only prospectively in its lexical representation is examined in the light of available evidence concerning psychologically realistic analyses.

Crucial data are of the type mentioned by Hale (1973). Hale's oft-quoted example concerns C - S alternations found in Maori verb paradigms, as illustrated in the following active/passive pairs: whi/whiti, hopu/hopukia, ara/aruamia, tohu/tounia, etc. Hale demonstrates that for native speakers, the active serves as a base from which the passive is derived by suffixation of -tia, -ia, -ia, etc. Since the Hudson/Hooper model would allow the alternating component to be assigned to the root rather than to the affix, it fails to predict the strategy native speakers will use in abducing a grammar. A model which does not suffer from this defect is one which assumes (a) that lexical representations are existing word-forms (rather than roots or stem and affixes), and (b) that one paradigmatic form (usually the most frequently occurring or that found in the most unmarked morphological environment) serves as a base for the generation of the other forms.

References will appear on the accompanying handout.

MARY REGINA SMITH, University of California, Los Angeles

Phonetic Vowel Length and Stress Perception

The binary feature of phonetic vowel length is important in phonological descriptions of word stress in English. However, it is uncertain whether this feature is used by listeners in the act of perceiving stress. If it is used, then evidence should exist that listeners find different vowel durations suitable for stressed and unstressed long vowels. Further, these durations should be different from those suitable for stressed and unstressed short vowels, other factors being equal. Perceptual experiments were conducted with nonsense syllables that varied only in the phonetic length and actual duration of the vowels. The results show no evidence that such a binary feature is being used. Rather, a more continuous dimension such as inherent vowel duration seems to be important to listeners. Complex information about the first syllable in the target word appears to constrain the expectations listeners have about the properties of the second syllable. In a degree, they are the key way by which listeners learn the properties of the vowels in the language. However, the binary feature of phonetic vowel length does not characterize this knowledge.

Note Mixing and Psychological Models of Bilingualism

This paper attempts to evaluate the adequacy of current psychological models of bilingual language processing in light of recent studies of intrasential code-switching or code-mixing. The data are drawn primarily from Kannada-English code-switching but previous studies of Spanish-English mixing (e.g. Pfaff 1979, Poplack 1979) are also used. It is shown that the so-called "linguistic independence" or separate storage model is unable to account for the syntactic properties of code-sized utterance. When psycholinguistic issues such as complexity of processing, psychological reality of constituents, stages in sentence production, relationship between syntactic units and thought units are also discussed in light of the new data.
SANDFORD B. STEELE, University of Chicago

Three Subject-Verb Agreement Rules in Twil

In Twil agreement between a subject and finite verb is signalled by verb suffixes that simultaneously express person, number, gender and are incorporated as morphemes. In Twil there is an existence of three separate agreement rules: one each for person, number, and gender. In specified grammatical and pronominal contexts, one morpheme may occur in for another; e.g. n̓ log(2) plh for n̓ log(1) plh; the

NANCY STENSEN, Minnesota (SUN MORR: II)

Negative Formation in Easter Island

The Rapa Nui language of Easter Island uses four distinct morphemes to mark negation in main clauses. The two published grammars of the language, those of English and Fuentes, discuss negation only briefly, and do not always agree in their discussion of the use of these morphemes.

The purpose of this paper is to account for the distribution of these four morphemes on the basis of field data with a native speaker, to investigate in more depth their relationship to the tense/aspect system of the language.

LAURENCE STEPHENS, Stanford University
JOHN E. JUSSEN, University of South Carolina

The Statistical Structure of Vowel and Consonant Systems

Previous discussion of the statistical, cross-linguistic relationship between vowel and consonant systems suffers from several weaknesses: 1) no attempt is made to control for sample bias; 2) reporting only the extreme values of inventory sizes makes identification of the form and parameters of the frequency distributions impossible; 3) expression of the quantitative relation is mathematically awkward; 4) no implications are drawn from either general phonetic theory or for diachronic state-process theory. Based on a genuine random sample stratified according to the genetic diversity of the language phyta of the world, the present paper demonstrates that V and C systems are independently and logarithmically distributed. Earlier apparent observations of "balance" are chance effects predictable from the likely structure of judgment samples. The lognormality and independence have implications for distinctive feature theory, among them: 1) the number of usable distinctive features for V and C systems should be normally distributed, a prediction which is confirmed; 2) if distinctive feature theory is to have cross-linguistic predictive power, it must be compatible with the statistical independence of V and C systems. Current theories are evaluated accordingly. Finally, diachronic processual regularities causally responsible for the observed statistical results are outlined.

THEODORE P. STONEWELL, University of California, Los Angeles (TUES MORR: I)

Speaker's Knowledge vs. Grammar as Linguist's Creation

My paper's position is that speakers 'know' grammars in some sense that is reflected, somewhat indirectly, in the grammars linguists write. This claim is extremely difficult to interpret because it is always possible to imagine a variety of access strategies that can mediate between the 'knowledge' represented by the grammar we write and the surface output in such a way as to process equally well any conceivable form of abstract cognitive structure. My position is that we not only don't know what the forms (and structures) we design are at all, and that we probably never will, but that it wouldn't matter to linguists what those forms might conceivably be, because it is not the aim of writing grammars to model them. I shall argue that (1) linguistics is not a branch of psychology in any sense, (2) linguistics is not concerned with cognitive processes in any way, (3) speakers' algorithms for producing sentences are variable and unspecified but very wide range, and (4) while it is important for psychologists to study how humans learn and produce grammar, the grammars that humans learn (partially) and 'process' (imperfectly) exist only as speakers' and linguists' conceptions of norms that they extract and generalize from behavioral data. I shall claim that it makes sense to talk about 'the grammar of a language' but that it does not make sense to talk about 'the grammar of a speaker'.

MAYA A. STONEWELL, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (SUN MORR: III)

The Characterization of Syntactic Positions

Within the theory of generative grammar, it has long been assumed that in the so-called configurational languages such as English, the phrase structure rules of the base language are generically awkward. It was known that the rules of the base language do not in fact have this power to impose asymmetries in the expansion of various categories, and that the rules of the base ought to be restricted to some elaboration of the general core principles of X theory. Taking the syntactic subject position as a case in point, will show that most of the restrictions on the phrasal structure of various categories in the phrase structure of various languages can be explained in terms of other principles of syntactic theory, such as the assignment of syntactic case and the association of referential indexes with thematic roles. In syntactic theory, the independent principles are satisfied as is possible for other categories (AP, PP, etc.) to contain syntactic subjects, and it is even possible for non-nominal constituents to fill this position. This conception of phrase structure makes it possible to resolve longstanding problems associated with copular deletion and violations of X principles.

TERRY L. STRAUSS, University of New Mexico (SUN MORR: V)

From Accusative Loss and the Multiple Application Problems

Anderson (1974) has argued that multiple application of the rule of accusative loss in V-V-[accent]/+[unaccent] C,-C, [-pall] is in accordance with a simultaneous algorithm. Vago (1977), however, has reformulated the rule as V-V-[accent]/F/[unaccent] C,-C, [-pall] in which a leftward direction seems to work. Anderson's rule requires a non-directional, iterative application of the simultaneous algorithm, an extremely powerful (cf. Johnson 1972), hence undesirable device. Vago's rule has an optionality and eases the computational and structural description of the structural description of the process of the structural description of the process of the simultaneous algorithm. However, the three rules make different predictions for forms resulting from four consecutive factors: A predicts both V-V-yr V-yr-Y, Y, V predicts V-V-Y, Y, and S predicts V-V-Y-V-Y. This paper will attempt to decide among the proposed analyses by reporting on findings obtained from a native Acoma speaker in which data containing four consecutive factors will be considered for the first time.
The literature on Geppings is replete with arguments both for a deletion analysis of sentence like (1) and for an interpretive analysis. Both approaches entail that both
(1) He paced about swiftly, and she 0 mindingly.
are anaphoric—i.e., that they stand for some portion of the surface structure or logical form (LF) of their host clause, and that their relation to that antecedent is specified by a linguistic rule. Here, I examine elliptical expressions like those in (2), which
Grady (1972, 6) terms 'deceptive absolutes' (DA's). After a preliminary comparison of
(2) They paced about, he 0 swiftly, she 0 mindingly.
DAs and gapings, I argue that the gaps in certain sorts of DAs aren't anaphoric—that they cannot be related to superficial or logical antecedents by any linguistic rule (whether this be a rule of deletion or a rule of interpretation), but are instead evaluatively inertially; I further suggest that the pragmatic principles by which language users evaluate such gaps suffice for the interpretation of DAs generally, and of gapings. In this view, the issue of whether Geppings is a transformation or a rule of interpretation simply does not arise.

LASZLO SABA, University of New Brunswick

The Conject as a Single Verb in Malecite Sentences

Aided by the American Philosophical Society.

Malecite (Passamaquoddy) is an Algonquin Indian language, spoken in New Brunswick and Maine. The 'conjunct' is an order in the verb inflection. In the linguistic literature, the formal peculiarities of the conjunct verb have been described, but nobody has ever studied its functions. The author of this paper has submitted for publication three articles on three common functions of the conjunct, namely: subject or its attribute; object or its attribute. Temporal, locative, and other adverbial functions. In all these functions, the conjunct does not usually appear as a single verb in the sentence; there are two verbs in the sentence, one of them is a conjunct. But there is one more important function of the conjunct. This is the main topic of the present paper. The conjunct can appear as a single verbal phrase in the sentence.

The result of the study is: if the sentence does not contain two verbal phrases, one of them being a conjunct (for instance: conjunct plus indicative, conjunct plus relative, conjunct plus imperative), the simple conjunct expresses a special aspect of the action. It brings out a permanent name, a permanent peculiarity or ability, a durative, habitual or repeated action; e.g. psiv nit el-iokha tiyeik-baan skibe 'All that we did at school.'

MARY TAP & BRUCE KOCHS, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

Evidence for Trace in Russian Reflexives

In traditional Russian grammar there is no well-motivated way to account for certain classes of reflexive verbs. Catherine Chvany (1975) though working from a revised Aspects model makes the following timely statement:

Finally, although adverbial elements leave an optional phrase with geiba ('oneself') as a trace, ... and a Direct Object may leave a -sja, the agent is incapable of leaving a trace in another position; that is because it did not start out in any position other than Subject. (7.157)

Unfortunately in her book on HR-sentences she develops this no further. In the light of recent work (Chomsky, 1980, Lasnik to appear) it is possible to more fully articulate Chvany's findings in regard to reflexive verbs and the distributional pattern of geiba and to thus begin the process of applying trace theory to a highly-inflected language. This must necessarily involve a rigorous testing and refining of a theory largely developed for English CP. Our proposed analysis will test this theory and describe a basic element of Russian syntax.
JAMES I. THAYER

Typewriter Keyboards for West African Languages

Efficiency in the typing of materials in extra-character languages can be enhanced by making use of certain principles which determine the placement of added characters on the altered keyboard. A number of factors are involved in the overall expansion of typewriter keyboards. Varnumian keyboards are an example for which the typewriter is to be usable; whether the national language is said to be typable using the same keyboard; which of the numerals and other non-letter characters are to be retained; the need for diacritics in some languages; and the overall form of the key in the keyboard process: vernacular languages are likely to be used in the overall process.

The results upon which the suggested principles are based are the following: (1) The typewriter keyboard should be designed for efficiency of use with the national language; (2) The typewriter should have all the letters and diacritical marks required; (3) The low frequency characters and diacritical marks (on dead keys) are the only extra characters that should be in the right-hand area. High frequency characters should be added on the top row, closest to the key of an associated sound. Cloness is decided in terms of the finger used in typing. Sample multi-language keyboards are devised which have worked for random languages of three language groups in W. Africa.

LINDA J. THAYER, University of Texas at Arlington

Tone Orthographs—Conventions for Languages with Two Tone Levels

Practical orthographies for tone languages of Africa have often gone to one of two extremes: (1) no tone is symbolized, or (2) an attempt is made to symbolize all tones. Economy in keyboard orthography means maximizing the possibilities of the native speaker needs as clues to decode/encode ambiguously marked utterances. Conventions regarding how to use tone marking symbols are suggested for a typical West African type of tone language. Conventions include marking (1) the tonal syllable of the tone spread unit, and (3) lexical low tones on words where undistinguished tone results in meaning ambiguity. The right-hand boundary of the tone spread unit and the tone spread nucleus syllable (the left-hand boundary of the tone spread unit). The majority of potential readers need less need to recognize occasional tone in words; they also must learn to react to the symbols which signal the tone ending and end of a tone spread unit. Full tone marking system need be mastered by only a minority of persons: writers, editors, those who will read aloud public texts heavily marked for tone, and language analysts/dictionary compilers or users.

ROGER M. THOMPSON, University of Florida

Portuguese Influences in the Copula of English-based Creoles

Based on lexical and historical evidence, Whinnom (1965) suggested that English-based creoles grew out of pidgin Portuguese rather than simplified English. But because of the syntactic differences between the two languages, the question of the origins of pidgin and creoles has included little syntactic evidence. Second-language acquisition studies indicate that the copula is an early syntactic development when adults learn English. Therefore the copula in English cannot be considered a Romance feature. The Portuguese base since in English (as in Spanish) two verbs, ser and estar, function for the English be. Ser is used with the verb phrase E médico 'He is a doctor', and with adjectives showing a personal or existing attribute E rico 'He is rich'. estar is used with the verb phrase Está trabalhando 'He is working', and with adjectives indicating temporary condition Está doente 'He is sick'. Representative English and Portuguese dependences from a world are expressed as E lindo, E rica, E bonito, E bonita, E bonito. The Portuguese foreigner talk elicit native speakers' responses indicating temporary condition E está doente 'He is sick'. The Portuguese responses are identical to the English responses: E doente, E doente, E doente.

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Some acoustic correlates of Mandarin tones and their interaction have been tested. Production studies have demonstrated that lexical tones were most clearly demonstrated when produced in citation forms. The phonology specifies how lexical tones can be 'reduced' by way of assimilatory effects (spontaneous speech) or 'stressed' by way of stress rules and different neutralization rules. Production data of Mandarin Chinese speakers was used to test these predictions (36.132). Acoustic analysis of the production data made it possible to determine whether a one-to-one correlation could be found between the phonological prediction and the actual phonetic output. A low correlation (.58) could be attributed to the phonological prediction and the actual phonetic output. Complementary production studies show that when forced to identify lexical tones in spontaneous speech, listeners' performance was randomly poor (All of correct identification). The results show that the actual production and perception of spontaneous speech is very likely a cognitive decision involving linguistic/extra-linguistic factors. A native speaker's knowledge of the language and his ability to generate and to perceive only partially specified phonetic information in narrative communication. There appears to be a trade-off affect between the lower level phonetic, phonology and the other 'higher' linguistic levels. Phonology and phonetics alone are insufficient in predicting the actual output of sentences regarding tones.

MARIA TSIAFARA, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Organic Metaphor: The False Start of Historical Linguistics

The term "organic" in the philosophical base of the early Romantische movement, in Kant, was a metaphor for the creation of the "product," an identity and therefore an absolute knowledge of things as in perfect and organic, the mind is involved in the creation of the "adaptive," and therefore perfect knowledge is possible. "But to make intelligible to ourselves the organic existence in this phenomenal world, we are constrained to view them not as a system sufficient causes, but as natural purposes; that is, as things which develop toward ends which are inherent in the organism itself, and therefore not by means of a combination of parts to achieve a previsioned plan of design." (Abrams, The Mirror and the Lamp, p. 309). This parallels Freidlander's view that "In the Indian and Greek Languages, e.g. the root of each root is active, that which bears the signifies, and thus seems like a living and productive germ, every modification of circumstance or degree being produced by internal changes... All words thus proceeding from the roots bear the stamp of affinity, all being connected in their simultaneous growth and development by community of origin." (Schlegel, On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians, p. 449). Thus concepts of "organic" that apply to language are: 1) language operates on its own laws; 2) language possesses self-contained goal toward which it strives, constantly changing until it reaches a state of "full development"; 3) there is a mystery in the active force of language; 4) the growth and development of the language is always spontaneous; and 5) there is a perfect integration of part and whole.

DAVID DUGGY, Summer Institute of Linguistics & University of California, San Diego

Eponymy of {i} in Classical and Tetecling Phenomena

A phonological rule eponymizing {i} can be motivated for Classical Mahnui and for Tetecling Mahnui and most other Na Notebook dialects. Among the alternatives this rule could be used to account for are {k-lj}- 'he/she/it obj', /n-gl/- 'I subj' (other suboblique uses), all the oblique uses, and the voice of a 'supportive' vowel such as (1) looks 'say'. Historical developments cast doubt on such an analysis for at least some of these alternatives: e.g. in Tetecling 'you pl. subj.' changes from {n-} to {ng-} to {ng-}, destroying an environment for Eponymy to produce {k-lj-, but it keeps some meaning that suggested that such positive exceptions are best accounted for by claiming that commonly occurring forms are explainable by rule, speakers will still incorporate the forms involved into their lexicon. This gives them the option of the alternations as suppletive, while still maintaining the rule that accounts for them as an active rule.

DAVID DUGGY, Summer Institute of Linguistics & University of California, San Diego

Epenthesis of {i} in Classical and Tetecling Mahnui

We provide a typology of possible stress patterns for simple words, and examine the stress patterns of complex words in relation to this typology. In derivation and certain types of compounding, when a stress pattern arises that does not conform to a possible word structure, the offending sequence is modified by the following reorganization rules: 1) the stress of the word is deleted to the right of the vowel (stress on the right), and then shortened; 2) the stress is shifted to a pre-vocalic syllable; 3) the pattern of stress is adjusted to fit the stress pattern of the word. In the case of stress patterns that are not conform to a possible word structure, the offending sequence is modified by the following reorganization rules: 1) the stress of the word is deleted to the right of the vowel (stress on the right), and then shortened; 2) the stress is shifted to a pre-vocalic syllable; 3) the pattern of stress is adjusted to fit the stress pattern of the word. In the case of stress patterns that are not conform to a possible word structure, the offending sequence is modified by the following reorganization rules: 1) the stress of the word is deleted to the right of the vowel (stress on the right), and then shortened; 2) the stress is shifted to a pre-vocalic syllable; 3) the pattern of stress is adjusted to fit the stress pattern of the word. In the case of stress patterns that are not conform to a possible word structure, the offending sequence is modified by the following reorganization rules: 1) the stress of the word is deleted to the right of the vowel (stress on the right), and then shortened; 2) the stress is shifted to a pre-vocalic syllable; 3) the pattern of stress is adjusted to fit the stress pattern of the word.
The Importance of Personality Factors in Determining Perceived Meaning

Most linguistic theories fail to take into account how perceived meaning diverges from intended meaning. Attention has been devoted to the influence of paraphrase, pragmatism, and shared presuppositions. Kinetics is still not recognized by old fashioned grammarians but is eventually coming into focus. The background of the perceiver is considered only anthropologically and not psychologically. The latter is the concern of this paper.

Statistical evaluation of forced-choice rating tests administered by this author and his students show that in addition to verbal, nonverbal, pragmatic, and cultural factors, personality factors depending on the combination of sex, age, and profession play a vital role in determining what a message means to the receiver.

KAREN Z. WALTENSPERGER, Wayne State University
ROBERT K. HERBERT, State University of New York at Binghamton

Individual Differences in Schizophrenic Language

Interest in schizophrenia, dating to at least 1400 B.C., has frequently focused on the odd communications that schizophrenics sometimes produce. Attempts to provide "defining characteristics" of schizophrenia (e.g., Chaika 1974; Rochester & Martin 1979) have not met with success for a number of reasons. First, there is by no means agreement about what schizophrenia is: individual diagnoses as schizophrenia may be in error, or generalizations about schizophrenic behavior may be inapplicable to some or all schizophrenics. Second, theoreticians have not recognized the range of individual variability and difference among schizophrenic types and among individuals within a single diagnostic category.

In this paper, in addition to a review of the relevant literature, the authors report a survey of practicing clinicians who were asked to describe the linguistic characteristics of schizophrenic patients. Not surprisingly, there is little agreement, although each clinician is certain that he/she could recognize schizophrenia. An attempt is made to provide a preliminary model, integrating the possible contributions of a theory of individual differences with the basic definitional problems inherent in the concept of schizophrenia as a single disease process. In particular, attention is paid to that small spectrum of the schizophrenias which seem to have an underlying organic, and hence quantifiable physiological, basis (e.g., Gur 1978).

RICHARD G. WARNER, Colorado State University

Neurolinguistics and Grammatical Theory

Paradis (1978), in discussing the stratification of linguistic levels from a neurolinguistic point of view, has suggested that the evidence from studies of aphasia in bilinguals supports a modified form of the stratification grammar described in Lamb (1972). The present paper argues that there is no theoretical reason why generative grammars, arguably more satisfactory on formal grounds, are incompatible with the criteria of adequacy identified by Paradis. It is further argued that a generative grammar which rejects the autonomy of both the phonemic and syntactic levels is in fact more satisfactory on purely neurolinguistic grounds.

JASON D. WAPTS, University of Texas at Arlington

The Usury Triumph of a Concept: The 'Disease' Conception of Alcoholism

This paper (a) briefly examines the history and eventual triumph of the 'disease' conception of alcoholism in American society; (b) discusses several problems and challenges to the 'disease' concept of alcoholism, particularly in respect to the positivistic understanding of the concept.

Earlier views of alcoholism stressed that alcoholism was 'immoral', emphasizing the notion of personal culpability and moral failure. The 'medicalization' of alcoholism proceeded steadily in the twentieth century, until the 'disease' concept was formally confirmed and the whole concept of alcoholism was so taken for granted that the medical community saw no need to contest its 'disease' status, and indeed, began to perceive the 'disease' status of alcoholism as a special status for medical science.

The positivistic 'disease' concept of alcoholism has been formally discussed and its contours are now well known. Critics of alcoholism as a disease have emerged from labeling theory and from the growing disenchantment with positivism in the social sciences. The absolutistic and all-encompassing nature of the term 'disease' here attempts to explain all, but in the opinion of many critics explains little or nothing. Continuing debate over the basic concepts and nomenclature of alcoholism will go a long way in determining the future of alcoholism policies and programs, and indeed beyond that the attitudes toward this complex phenomenon held by professionals and citizens alike in American society.

CHARLOTTE WEBB, San Diego State University

A Source of the Doubled Roots in Arabic

The patterning of the double roots in the verbal paradigm in Classical Arabic is unusual when compared to the other major dialects. The geminates in all dialects but Classic Arabic occur intact. In Classical Arabic, however, a stem vowel occurs to break up the geminate cluster if the suffix is consonant initial. We propose that the differences in patterning between Classical Arabic and the dialects reflect the historical source of these roots. Originally they were biconsonantal and due to a phonological rule of gemation, a third consonant was created. This third consonant was later treated as lexical. The reverse process which created a third consonant was in part morphologically supported by the existence of morphological gemination. The fact that most verb roots contain three consonants must have also played a role. A third factor concerns the notion of word length. Lahitte (1970) shows that within a word, if one phoneme is geminated, the following phoneme will be compensatorily shortened. Lahitte's work seems to indicate that languages have temporal targets which govern the length of individual segments over a given domain. If the verb root constitutes the domain which is subject to temporal compensation and the target time is based on the forms of the trilliteral root, then gemination of a consonant may be expected. This historical development of the doubled roots may be understood only in terms of the complex interaction between the phonology, the morphology, and certain recognized but poorly understood notions of length.

JOHN R. WESTBURY & PATRICIA A. KEATING, Massachusetts Institute

Model of Stop Consonant Voicing and a Theory of Markedness

To what extent are facts about phonetic markedness the result of properties of the speech production mechanism? We consider this question in reference to several constraints on voicing during stop constrictions. We present an explicit model, in the form of a simple equivalent network, of the breath-stream dynamics of speech production, and use the model to predict the incidence and duration of stop voicing in four environments. Given certain acoustic specifications, and the assumption that the vocal folds remain continuously adducted, the model predicts utterance-initial stops to be voiceless unaspirated; medial (interonorant) stops to be voiced; utterance-final stops to be partially voiced; and medial stop clusters to be initially voiced and then voiceless, where voicing refers to actual vocal fold vibration. Model outputs for single stops, but not for medial clusters, are consistent both with data from child speech and inter- and intra-language distributions of stop voicing and correspond to phonetically unmarked feature values. These results suggest how notions of markedness can be investigated and refined with an explicit model of speech production.
A Psychological Theory of Allomorphic Relatedness and Morphological Segmentation

This theory consists of general assumptions and specific hypotheses about aspects of speakers' internalized morphology that are intended to provide a framework for research on psychologically real morphology. Some general assumptions are: 1) In making linguistic analyses, speakers use the cognitively simplest process available to them for a given type of language data; this does not result in minimally simple grammars; phonological rules are influenced by speakers' previous morphological analyses, not vice versa; 3) speakers' analyses are greatly influenced by the degree of transparency between two or more immediately related forms, defined as the number and location of phonetic alternations in possible allomorphs and the degree of semantic closeness and saliency. Relative opacity between possibly related forms can result in the use of other kinds of data in abstracting and segmenting morphemes, or in failure to abstract them at all. The specific hypotheses include three strategies used in segmentation, the circumstances under which speakers posit nonmeaningful morphemes, and how degrees of semantic and phonetic closeness interact to influence allomorphic connections, aspects of which are already supported by previous experimental and language change research. By implication, this theory also constrains possible hypotheses about psychologically real phonological rules. It proposes an internalized morphology that differs on many points from that implied by the theory of generative phonology.

ERIC S. WHEELER, University of Toronto

Semantics for Recognition Grammars: The Case of hit and break

The design of grammars for the recognition and interpretation of natural language expressions includes some problems as the selection of an informative yet well-motivated semantic notation. The verbs hit and break show this: John broke the window has the paraphrase The window broke but John hit the window has no paraphrase *The window hit. While surface form leaves the distinction uncaptured, traditional 'case grammar' accounts make semantic distinctions unmotivated in the language. Using a system in which each participant in an event is represented as a Player and each Player is engaged in a Pose (state of being or action) even if there is no surface word to name the Pose, one can account for the hit-break difference with neither too little nor too much notation. Other distinctions follow and the notation can be applied generally to describe participant roles.

MARIUSZ J. WILSON, Michigan State University

Acquisition of Narrative Discourse

This study of thirty 8 and 11 year old children uses William Labov's description of narrative structure to analyze the children's retellings of fairy tales. Psycho-linguistic and anthropological analyses of the narrative also form part of the theoretical study. Differences between the two age groups were found in the children's ability to control and use evaluative elements in the development of the narrative, specifically in establishing the conflicts in the orientations and early episodes of the narrative and in producing coherent chronological sequencing. Both age groups appear to have greater control over the greater syntactic structure necessary for a well-formed narrative. In addition, controlling more complex syntactic structures of other kinds allowed the older children, more often than the younger, to preserve a well-formed narrative structure. The acquisition of narrative discourse and the acquisition of syntax are interrelated.

RICHARD K. LONG, Barnard College/Columbia University

A Foot-based Theory of Mute-e in French

This paper offers a 'defooting' solution (Selkirk 1980, Prince 1980) to the problem of mute-e in French. Selkirk (1978) has argued that a metrical treatment of French demands a derived foot composed of a syllable containing a full vowel plus a following, dependent syllable containing mute-e. Mute-e in this position is subject to subsequent deletion. This accounts in a relatively uncomplicated way for the alternating occurrence with no vowel that occurs. It will not, however, describe the rich array of additional facts concerning the vowel's deletion, such as the tendency of e to remain in the first syllable of a word, to delete between continuants and stop words, word-boundaries, to delete in compounds where the second member is polyallomorphic, etc. (e.g. compare chez/lure to je l'jure, porte-faute to port'manteau). This analysis takes Selkirk's model as a point of departure for an account for the wide range of data made available by field and laboratory studies as well as for the traditional phonological evidence.

RICHARD K. LONG, Barnard College/Columbia University

Why Conspiracies Exist

Since natural phonology advocates abandoning constraints on representation (phonological templates) in favor of substitutions, it must rule out arguments advanced by Kenstowicz and Klisansberth (1977). In favor of constraints: (1) Rule conspiracies can only be expressed as phonic conspiracies because the constraints might involve structural properties beyond the rule alleged to be a given phonetic target. E.g. a speaker with a morphophonemic final devoicing rule might tack vowels onto words ending in fricatives. This would suggest a constraint against final voiced obstruents independent of the devoicing rule. Natural phonology's reply to (1) is that conspiracies can be explained without making them formal constraints in the grammar. A given phonetic target may evoke more than one pronunciation. In English, for example, it is hard to pin down at least two processes to simplify the production of the initial cluster in /Zklsjew/ epenthesis (Zklsjewst) and initial devoicing (splsjewst). Since children only suppress processes for those targets they must pronounce, foreign structures are likely to trigger all processes they are subject to. The problem with (2) is that speakers of languages with final devoicing invariably devoice. The prediction fails.

ANTHONY C. WOODBURY, University of Texas at Austin

Rhetorical Structure in Central Yup'ik Enkimo Narrative

Recent work by Tedlock, Bybee, and Bright convincingly argues that Native American narrative performance is best rendered in line-and-verse poetic format, a style not necessarily faithful to the literal speaking style, but better insight into structural patterns at the discourse level. Nevertheless it is not fully clear what linguistic features underly the rhetorical structuring that this form is meant to represent, representing the difficulty of assessing the linguistic functions (beyond the aesthetic) of the structure they have discovered. This paper presents an analysis of rhetorical structure in Central Yup'ik, defining the units and how they are signalled. Based on this analysis, the following conclusions can be made. Central Yup'ik has two modes of the linguistic function of controlling and guiding the discourse: (1) that rather than being limited to poetry, what is representable as lines and verses is a feature of all CF discourse, but that distinctions within that general category of rhetorical structuring is subject to change across genres and styles and sex and age and community, and (2) that rhetorical structure in CF is highly accessible to native consciousness, i.e., native can easily be taught to make line-and-verse transcripts of taped material, and agree on the results; (3) that pragmatically, CF rhetorical structure regulates turn-taking in conversation and in narrative performance; (4) CF rhetorical structure is not 'read off', i.e., determined by, surface or shallow structure, but instead carries original, non-recoverable syntactic information.

WEN WITLECTION, University of Texas at Austin
Modifying Subjacency with Immediate Domination

In its current form, the principle of subjacency (Chomsky 1977, Rizzi 1977) cannot account for the pattern of island constraints found in Swedish and Norwegian (where topicalized constructions are islands, but indirect questions and complex noun phrases are not), and it makes some incorrect predictions concerning extraction out of simple sentences in English and multiply embedded questions in Italian. If subjacency is modified so that bounding nodes block binding only if they occur in a mother-daughter configuration where one bounding node immediately dominates another, the facts of Swedish and Norwegian are predicted as one of three possible patterns of island constraints in languages that allow unbounded movement (these three patterns being the ones generated by a choice of $S$ and/or $\overline{S}$ in addition to NP as bounding nodes) and the predictions for English and Italian are improved. Predictions for the Italian type that go beyond the data investigated by Rizzi are confirmed in Brazilian Portuguese. Finally, these results support the notion that topologicalization does not involve Wh movement and that subjacency is a constraint on binding rather than on movement.

Rizzi, L. 1977 "Violations of the wh-island constraint in Italian and the subjacency condition" Mimeographed, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa.

MARSHA S. WRIGHT, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Puxhou and Shanghai Tone Sandhi

The paper will discuss Min and Wu tone sandhi, using Puxhou and Shanghai as representative cases. Underlying forms of the tones are set up, and sandhi is defined on a s-i metrical tree for Min. The proper sandhi forms are derived via a rule which moves tone markers away from the end of a strong boundary. The Min system is then contrasted to Shanghai, with a s-i metrical tree and a mirror-image rule for di-syllabic sandhi.

abstract

of colloquium paper
A Semantic Typology of Causatives

The notion of contact in causation is fundamental in the description of causatives, and its incorporation into a semantic typology of causatives provides explanations for many hitherto unanswered questions in this area.

1. CLAIM

The notion of contact in causatives and elsewhere can be considered a sum of contact initiation and contact completion. Initiation and completion, furthermore, can be stated as conditions on the parties involved. To illustrate with a non-linguistic example, consider John's contacting Mary by phone. In order to initiate contact, John must dial Mary's number; and in order to complete the contact, Mary must pick up the phone. Given these conditions, John will be able to contact Mary by phone only if John dials Mary's number and Mary picks up the phone. John will not be able to make contact if either John does not dial Mary's number or Mary does not pick up the phone. Thus, in order for contact to take place, John and Mary must fulfill the conditions that constitute contact initiation and completion respectively.

In a parallel manner, contact in causation, too, is a sum of contact initiation and completion, and these components are stated as conditions on the parties involved, viz., the causee and the causee. These conditions can be stated as follows: in order for causative contact to be initiated, the causee must be personally involved in the verb activity; and in order for causative contact to be completed, the causee must be affected by this activity.

In Hindi grammar, a personally involved causee is signalled by the suffix -aa on the verb; a non-involved causee by the suffix -vaa on the verb; an affected causee is signalled by the case marker (c.m.) -ko and a non-affected causee is marked by the c.m. -ne. (Sarkar 1979: ch. IV shows this distinction on causes to be independently justified.) These definitions predict that the c.m.-suffix combination -aa/-ko will signal contactive causation, and the three combinations -vaa/-ko, -aa/-ko, -vaa/-ne will signal noncontactive causation. With these predictions, four pieces of hitherto puzzling and unrelated semantic data fall into place.

1.1 Semantic contrast: The analysis predicts that the causative suffixes -aa and -vaa will signal the semantic contrast between contactive and noncontactive causation with some causees, as in (1) - (2). (1) mai-nee raa-koo paat bary-paa-aaraa I taught Ram the lesson! vs (2) mai-nee raa-koo paat bary-vaa-ya Ram read the lesson.

1.2 Semantic mergers: The proposed analysis correctly predicts that the suffixes -aa and -vaa will not signal the contrast between contactive and noncontactive causation with some causees, as in (3). (3) mai-nee maa-kii saa-tir-aaraa -vaa-ya Ram I had the servant do work!

1.3 Causativ-ly Noncontactive Causes: Although both the -aa and -vaa forms in (3) alike signal noncontactive causation, the cc form is perhaps more appropriate if the causative agent wanted his own work done (Masica 1971:53), or if the causative agent is helping or overseeing the activity. The notion of 'personally involved causee' provided for the causative suffix -aa formalises these intuitions about the cc forms in these mergers elegantly.

1.4 Maximally Causativ-ly Contactive Causes: Consider (4). (4) mai-nee raa-see kii kii paat bary-waa-li I had Ram read the book! In (4), when the causee agent of 'read-causative' is turned by -waa, the goal is to get the causee agent to read the book. When the causee agent is marked by -aa, the goal
in to get the book read, and the causee agent is merely an instrument towards this end. This semantic contrast is to be expected if the -log causee is analysed as the affected, and the -see causee analysed as the non-affected causee.

The pair (1)-(2) above shows that the contrast between contactive and noncontactive causation cannot be attributed to an intermediary, as has been maintained in both general (Kolodovics 1969) as well as Hindi (Kellogg 1972) linguistics; and the fact that the suffix -log sometimes signals causative (as in (9)) and at other times noncontactive (as in (3)) causation shows why the semantics of contact cannot be regarded as a single semantic notion (assumed with the suffix -sg). 2.3 Cross-Linguistic Generalisation: In many languages the dative or the accusative c.s. typically signals direct, contactive causation, and the instrumental c.s. signals indirect, noncontactive causation (Cole 1976). Assuming that a dative or an accusative c.s. signals an affected causee and the instrumental c.s. signals the nonaffected causee, we can say that universally, an affected causee is a necessary condition for contactive causation (Hindi additionally requires a personally involved causee realised by the suffix -log) while a nonaffected causee is a sufficient condition for noncontactive causation. Lexical and syntactic restrictions on c.s. distribution explain why Hindi departs from other languages to introduce contrast on the causee as well.

3. A Causative Typology: Constraints

With a contactive - noncontactive contrast, we can set up a semantic typology of causative case frames in (5), where -log symbolises contactive, -sg symbolises noncontactive causation.

(5) **Typology**

Examples

I (Obj)

kat 'get cut'

II [kat Logs]

kat 'cut', e.g. "sake"

III [kat Logs Obj] e.g. "teach"

IV [kat Logs Obj] e.g. "have study"

Notice that this typology replaces the blanket term 'causative' with a set of very precise terms.

3.1 Markedness: The case frames of the typology (5) permit interesting observations in terms of universal markedness. Cross-linguistic data shows the noncontactive causative frame IV (in (5)) to be the most highly marked case frame, the simple transitive frame II to be the least marked, with intransitive frame I and contactive causative frame III in between.

3.2 Upper Bound: In transformational analyses (e.g., Kachru 1974) where causativisation applies with potentially infinite recursion, there is no explanation for why causativisation ceases to be morphologically expressed after a certain number of stages, and why this number happens to be four (as in /dik/ 'get seen' /deekh/ 'see' /dik-log/ 'show' /dik-vas/ 'have show'). The typology (5) yields an explanation because it provides for exactly the four semantic contrasts represented by this paradigm.

3.3 Idiosyncratic Number of Contrasts: Paradigms that have the maximum of four semantic contrasts are nevertheless rare; typically, verbs show three or fewer semantic contrasts. This apparent exactness is rendered quite systematic using the notion of systematic gaps in (4) which result if prerequisites specified for these case frames are not met. For example, contactive causation in case frame III of (5) requires an affected causee (Section 2.). Thus, if a verb does not have an affected agent, -sg suffusion will not be able to create the case frame III, creating a systematic gap that leaves us with only a three-way contrast, as in (6). (6) I: /kat/ 'get cut'; II: /kat Logs/ 'cut'; III: (gap); IV: /kat-sa/ /kat-vas/ 'have cut'.

Second, if a verb does not have an object, it will not be able to create a case frame I, leaving only a three-way contrast, as in (7). (7) I: (gap); II: /daug/ 'run'; III: /karas/ 'chase'; IV: /daug-vas/ 'have run' both I and III are lacking in a paradigm such as (8), leaving only a two-way contrast. (8) I: (gap); II: /kar- 'do'; III: (gap); IV: /kar-vas/ 'have done'. (12) in (8) is a gap because the base verb /kar/ does not have the long stem vowel required for the intransitive rule.)

3.4 Systematic vs. Accidental Gaps: In defining semantically systematic gaps, this typology distinguishes these from semantically accidental gaps (which sometimes occur for phonological or other reasons, and which can surface marginally and show up in cross-dialectal variation).

To conclude, this paper shows the proposed definition of causative contrast to be crucial for both descriptive and explanatory adequacy in the grammar of causatives.
APPLIED LINGUISTICS IN EDUCATION

The applied linguistics projects focusing on education are described in brief reports. The databases covered include various native, second and foreign language speakers of various ages and ethnicities. Method and materialistic methods are represented involving both oral and written language. The brief reports show a range of purposes, analytic tools and theoretical constructs. Problems arising from analytic and data collection efforts are discussed and as the consequences of the research language as a school subject or as a medium of instruction is the unifying focus.

In addition, three longer papers will consider some issues of general importance to linguists involved with educational research. One deals with the relations between native and second language research efforts; a second considers the interdisciplinary nature of the work; the third deals with some of the actual and potential roles of linguists and linguistics in an educational research effort.

The session discussion will focus on the actual and desired state of the art, given the general issues and the work exemplified in the basic reports.

APPLIED LINGUISTICS IN THE LAW COURTS

ROBERT JOHNSON, Oregon State University

The Interpretation of Interpretation: A Case from American Sign Language

In 1980, a deaf man was charged with a capital offense. The police made use of several sign language interpreters for the transmission of his Miranda rights, for his interrogations, and for receiving his statements. In a pre-trial hearing, testimony centered on the defendant's bilingual abilities in English and American Sign Language and on the nature of the translations he received. The court suppressed all evidence in the case on the grounds that the defendant could not have knowingly waived his rights through the interpreters and their translations.

A linguist testifying under oath in such a situation is faced with a number of problems not ordinarily encountered in academic settings. Among these are: how true in an absolute legal sense are the admittedly relative truths of our discipline? In the face of conventional wisdom about language, how do we demonstrate the validity of our theoretical and objective concerns, especially in the non-negotiable speech situation of the courtroom? Given widespread doubts about the validity of testing linguistic abilities, to what extent may we claim to be able to evaluate the abilities of a defendant or an interpreter?

EUGENE BRIERE, University of Southern California

Linguistics and Testing in the Certification Process of Federal Court Interpreters

Congress passed Public Law 95-539 in 1978. The law, commonly called the "Court Interpreters' Act," directed the Administrative Office of the United States Courts (AUSC) to "prescribe, determine, and certify the qualifications of persons who may serve as certified interpreters in (federal) courts in bilingual proceedings." This paper describes the certification procedure which was developed and adopted by the AUSC and the reasons for adopting this specific procedure. The procedure involved a written screening test in English and Spanish, each of which contained five sections, and an oral performance test designed to measure the skills of an interpreter based on performance of job-related activities which actually occur in court proceedings.
ROSS W. SHIV, Georgetown University & Center for Applied Linguistics

The Role of the Linguist as Expert Witness

The purpose of this paper is to outline the practical and ethical problems which arise when a linguist is asked to serve as an expert witness in a court case. It grows out of personal experience in several such cases and is intended as a basis for further discussion in this complex area. Since the courts are recognizing more and more the usefulness of linguistic testimony, the need to identify the role of the linguist in such cases becomes clear. This paper addresses the question of the guilt or innocence of the person being defended through the use of communicating with the attorneys and to the jury and the physical aspects of cross-examination, treatment by the press and media and the differences between the scientific requirements of linguistic expertise and the need to communicate effectively with the parties. The author has given advice to physicians and psychiatrists, who frequently base their testimony on opinion.

APPLIED LINGUISTICS IN MEDICINE

SUSAN FISHER, University of Tennessee

The Selling of Treatment: Decisions in Doctor-Patient Communication

This paper addresses the ways in which doctors and patients communicate to reach treatment decisions. The patients were women with abnormal Pap smears referred, diagnosed and treated in one of two clinical settings in a large teaching hospital. A community clinic staffed by residents, under the supervision of staff physicians, and a faculty clinic staffed by professors of medicine. I found that patients diagnosed and treated in the community clinic were more likely to receive less conservative treatment — i.e., to receive hysterectomy. In the exchange of information between doctors and patients language was used strategically to move toward the accomplishment of treatment decisions. On some occasions doctors provided specific information and gained access to less specific information. Both doctors and patients used Questioning Strategies. On other occasions information was provided in ways that functioned as Presentational and Persuasive Strategies. These strategies were "selling mechanisms." They both provided specific information and suggested or specified how that information was to be understood. Presentational Strategies were soft sells while Persuasive Strategies were harder sells. Only doctors used these strategies and they used them while providing information about cancer and treatment options.

DEBORAH TANKEN, Georgetown University

Frame Analysis as a View to Doctor-Patient Communication in a Pediatric Setting

Based on a series of videotapes involving a pediatrician, her colleagues, a handicapped child, and the child's parents, analysis focused on linguistic evidence of differencing frames, or structures of expectations, growing out of demands of the immediate interaction, roles, prior knowledge and concerns, and communicative habits. Demands of the immediate interaction include the pediatrician's need to perform 3 distinct tasks (examine the child, entertain the child, consult with mother) in a single setting (pediatrician office). Each task is associated with a distinct code address to a distinct audience (report to video camera, telling child, converging with mother). Furthermore, their previous knowledge and concerns lead the doctor and mother to differing definitions of such concepts as "health," and such differences can be seen in how they talk about the child's symptoms. Microanalysis elucidates linguistic determinants of differences in how the doctor describes the dangers of the child's condition to the mother and to her colleagues. It is seen, for example, that her expectations and concerns influence the form taken by her questions, which in turn influence -- even constrain -- the mother's answers. Thus an understanding of differing frames has practical implications for communication in the pediatric setting.

PETER PRINCE, JOEL FRADER, & CHARLES BOST, University of Pennsylvania

The Expression of Uncertainty in Physician-Physician Discourse

Following a pilot project investigating some difficulties in providing intensive care, we undertook a comprehensive study of a large pediatric intensive care unit. An initial hypothesis was that physicians are comfortable dealing with medical-technical matters and experiencing difficulty (frustration, depression, anxiety) only when faced with ethical matters. A basis in which they lack formal training, was ultimately rejected: the data showed a remarkably high degree of uncertainty in the medical-technical domain itself, suggesting that these in fact was the cause of the emotional difficulties. For a period of six months, the ICU rounds were taped, and six 2-hour sessions were transcribed. One of the authors (P.E.P.) corrected the transcripts, removing all identifying references to persons and institutions. These transcripts were turned over to another author (E.F.P.) for linguistic analysis. The tapes and original transcripts being destroyed. Hedging is exceptionally frequent and is virtually confined to medical-technical statements. Two types occur: approximators, which indicate that reality is nonprototypic with respect to some category, and qualifiers, which indicate that speaker-commitment is marked in some way, some implicating uncertainty, often as a result of plausible reasoning, others attributing the belief to another. Many self-repairs involve the addition of hedges, especially shields, constituting a high percentage of total disfluencies. This suggests that uncertainty about the truth of one's medical-technical statements represents a salient and ongoing concern of the physician and perhaps indicates a source of the emotional difficulties encountered.

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The Micropolitics of Medical Encounters

Recently, an increasing number of lay and scholarly sources have suggested that something is "wrong" with the talk that goes on between patients and their doctors. Medical journals and popular magazines are rife with advice on what to do about it. A major problem with such advice is its lack of grounding in systematic empirical research on physician-patient communication. In order to know, for example, how to educate patients to ask "better" questions, one would first want to know what kinds of questions patients do ask. Similarly, in educating physicians to "improve" their rapport with patients, one would benefit by a knowledge of the kind of rapport currently in existence. If communication is the issue here, then an investigation of the structure of communication itself would surely be a first priority.

This paper reports findings of preliminary research on actual conversations between physicians and patients recorded in a medical setting. Employing recent work in conversation analysis, the paper shows how such commonplace occurrences as interruptions and displaced questions may be related to traditional sociocultural interests in power and control.
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